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THE  
MYTHOLOGY  
AND  
FABLES  
OF THE  
ANTIENTS,

Explained from  
HISTORY.

By the Abbé *BANIER*,  
Member of the ROYAL ACADEMY of  
INSCRIPTIONS and the BELLES-LETTRES.

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V O L. III.

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*Translated from the Original FRENCH.*

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L O N D O N :

Printed for *A. MILLAR*, at *Buchanan's-Head*, against  
*St. Clement's-Church* in the *Strand*.  
M.DCC.XL.



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Containing, among other Curious Things,

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|--|---|
| I. The Notions of the <i>Egyptians</i> ,<br>and of the <i>Greek</i> Poets and<br>Philosophers, concerning a Fu-<br>ture State. | IV. Of the <i>Virtues</i> , <i>Vices</i> , and<br>: <i>Passions</i> , that were deified.          |
| II. A particular Description of<br>the Poetical Hell and <i>Elysian</i><br>Fields.   | V. Of the <i>German</i> and <i>Gallie</i><br>Divinities, and those of Great<br>: <i>Britain</i> . |
| III. The History of the Judges of<br>Hell, and of the Infernal Gods.   | VI. The History of the Heroic<br>Age, and of the celebrated<br>: <i>Heroes</i> of Antiquity.      |
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MYTHO-



## MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

# HISTORY.

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### BOOK IV.\*

#### *Of the Infernal Gods.*

In order to give some tolerable Account of Hell and the Elysian Fields, such as the *Greeks* conceived of them, I shall examine, 1. What Sentiments the *Egyptians* had of the human Soul, and of what it was in after its Separation from the Body. 2. What the *Greeks* had derived from the Ceremonies performed by that People at Funerals, all their Opinions about the State of Souls after Death; and particularly their Ideas of the Infernal Regions and Elysian Fields. 3. Give an exact Description of these Mansions, founded upon the Works of the Antients, especially upon *Homer* and *Virgil*. 4. Speak of the Gods who presided over the Infernal Regions. Of Persons of greater Distinction who were said to have been doomed to *Tartarus* for the Expiation of Crimes.

L. III.

B

C H A P.

\* Here begins Vol. 5 of the Original.

## C H A P. I.

*What Sentiments the Egyptians had about the State of the Soul after Death.*

IF there is any Point wherein the Pagan Theology deviates less than another from the Light of Nature, it is this which relates to the State of Souls after Death, and to the Sentence pronounced upon them in the other World, since it supposes the Knowledge of the Immortality of the Soul.

This Article, 'tis true, had been so distorted by Fables ridiculous and absurd, that even Children did not believe them, as *Juvenal* has it; but then it is as true, that the Ground-work thereof was good, and served for a Curb to Lust and Licentiousness.

'Tis certain, in the first Place, that this Part of the Creed of the *Greeks* was derived to them from *Egypt*; and, for Proof of it, I shall quote what *Diodorus Siculus* tells us of the *Egyptian* Customs on this Head, and then compare it with what we find in the most antient Poets, and the Ceremonies observed by the *Greeks*.

The Author now named, after he has told us (1) that according to the *Egyptians* themselves, *Orpheus* had introduced into *Greece* the whole Fable of the Infernal Regions, adds; “ The Punishments of the  
“ Wicked in *Tartarus*, the Mansions of the Blessed in  
“ the *Elysian* Fields, and some other such Notions,  
“ are evidently borrowed from the Funeral Rites of  
“ the *Egyptians*. *Mercury*, the Conductor of Souls  
“ among the *Greeks*, was formed on the Model of a  
“ Man, to whom the antient *Egyptians* used to com-  
“ mit the Care of *Apis*'s dead Body to carry it to  
“ another, who received it under a Mask with three  
“ Heads like those of *Cerberus*. *Orpheus* having com-  
“ municated the Knowledge of this Ceremony to  
“ *Greece*, *Homer* applies it in these Verses of the  
“ *Odyssey*:

Cyl-

(1) *L. i. c. 36.*

Cyllenius now to Pluto's dreary Reign  
 Conveys the Dead, a lamentable Train !  
 The golden Wand that causes Sleep to fly,  
 Or in soft Slumbers seals the wakeful Eye ;  
 That drives the Ghosts to Realms of Night or Day,  
 Points out the long, uncomfortable Way.

The Poet subjoins a little after :

*And now they reach'd the Earth's remotest Ends,  
 And now the Gates where Evening Sol descends,  
 And Leuca's Rock, and Ocean's utmost Streams,  
 And now pervade the dusky Land of Dreams,  
 And rest at last, where Souls unbodied dwell  
 In ever flowering Meads of Asphodel.  
 The empty Forms of Men inhabit there,  
 Impassive Semblance, Images of Air !*

Pope's *Odyss.* 24. v. 1. & 15.

" Now the Ocean is the *Nile* itself, to which the  
 " *Egyptians*, in their Language, give a Name of the  
 " same Import with that of the Ocean. The Gates  
 " of the Sun are the City of *Heliopolis* ; and those  
 " happy Plains, said to be the Mansion of the just  
 " Dead, are literally nothing else but the delightful  
 " Fields that are on the Confines of the Lake *Acheru-*  
 " *sia* near *Memphis*, which are diversified with Fields  
 " and Ponds, covered with Corn or Lotus. 'Tis  
 " not without Foundation that the Dead are said to  
 " dwell there ; for there it is that most of the *Egyp-*  
 " *tian* Funerals end, when having transported their  
 " Bodies over the *Nile* and the Lake *Acherusia*, they  
 " are at last deposited in Tombs which are ranged un-  
 " der Ground in this Plain.

" The Ceremonies used in *Egypt* at this very Day,  
 " are conformable to all that the *Greeks* say of the In-  
 " fernal Regions ; such as the Boat which transports  
 " the Bodies, the Piece of Money that must be given  
 " the Ferry-man, whose Name is *Charon* in the *Egyp-*  
 " *tian* Language ; the Temple of the gloomy *Hecate*  
 " placed at the Entrance of Hell ; the Gates of Co-

#### 4 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.

“ *cytus* and *Letbe* set upon brazen Hinges ; the other  
 “ Gates, which are those of Truth ; the Image or  
 “ Justice without the Head. Thus it is as to all the  
 “ rest, which appear to be nothing but an exact Co-  
 “ py of those Funeral Obsequies, such as they are ac-  
 “ tually performed. In the City *Acanthus*, which is  
 “ beyond the *Nile*, on the Side of *Libya*, about six  
 “ Score Stadia from *Memphis*, there is a Cask full of  
 “ Holes, into which three hundred and sixty Priests  
 “ daily pour Water from the *Nile*. Not far from  
 “ thence, the Fable of the As (1) is really executed  
 “ in a publick Assembly, where a Man twists a long  
 “ Cord of Rushes, which is untwisted at the same  
 “ Time by People that are behind him.”

The same Author, after having described the *Egyptian* Manner of embalming their Dead, thus goes on ;  
 “ When the Body is to be interred, the Day is first  
 “ intimated to the Judges, then to the Family and  
 “ Friends of the deceased. This Intimation is given  
 “ by mentioning the Person’s Name, and by say-  
 “ ing, He is going to pass the Lake. Immediate-  
 “ ly forty Judges assemble, and seat themselves in a  
 “ Tribunal in form of a Semi-circle, placed on the  
 “ other Side of the Lake. Artificers, appointed for  
 “ this Purpose, place upon the Lake a Boat which  
 “ they have built, which is guided by a Pilot, whom  
 “ the *Egyptians* name *Charon* in their Language. We  
 “ are told, that *Orpheus* being in *Egypt*, and having  
 “ seen this Ceremony, founded upon it the Fable of  
 “ the Infernal Regions, adding some Circumstances  
 “ to what he had there seen practised ; we shall  
 “ speak of them very soon at more Length. Before  
 “ the Coffin is put into this Boat, the Law permits all  
 “ to come and table their Complaints against the  
 “ Dead. If any one convicts him of having led a  
 “ bad Life, the Judges pass Sentence, and deprive  
 “ the Dead of his destined Burial. But if he who  
 “ enters the Accusation fails in the Proof, he incurs  
 “ severe Penalties. When no Accuser happens, or  
 “ when

(1) See *Eras. Adag. Chil.* 1. Cent. 3. 83.



“ when those who have appeared are themselves convicted of Calumny, all the Relations lay aside their Mourning, praise the Deceased, without mentioning however his Pedigree like the *Greeks*, because all the *Egyptians* think themselves equally noble. They begin his Encomium from his Education; then, running over the several Periods of his Life, they extol his Piety, his Justice, his Courage, and pray the Infernal Gods to receive him into the Mansions of the Blessed. The whole Audience applauds the Funeral Oration; join new Encomiums, with it, and congratulate the Dead in being entered upon a peaceful and glorious Immortality.”

The same *Diodorus*, after having told us that their Ancestors were sometimes kept in their Houses all embalmed, that by seeing them they might preserve the Memory of their good Actions, adds, that they also preserved there the dead Bodies of those who had been denied Burial for Crimes or Debt; and that sometimes their Descendants, grown rich or powerful, discharged their Debts, or insisted on their Justification, and procured for them an honourable Burial. For the *Egyptians*, continues he, have always been religiously observant of putting particular Honour upon their Dead. They frequently pledge their Bodies for their Debts; and those who don't relieve them are infamous while they live, and deprived of Burial after their Decease.

*Porphyry* (1) has preserved to us the Prayer, or rather the Absolution, which the *Egyptian* Priests gave the Kinsmen of the Deceased, and he had taken it from *Euphantus* an Author now lost.

“ O Sun, thou first Divinity! and ye celestial Gods! from whom Men have derived Life, vouchsafe to receive me this Day into your holy Tabernacles. I have endeavoured to the best of my Power to render my Life acceptable to you. I have demeaned myself with the highest Veneration towards the Gods whom I was acquainted with in my Infancy; I never failed in my Duty to those

(1) De Abs. 1. 4.

6 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.

“ who gave me being, nor in natural Affection to the  
 “ Womb that bore me. My Hands are pure from  
 “ my Neighbour’s Blood ; I maintained an inviolable  
 “ Regard to Truth and Fidelity ; and may I not ap-  
 “ peal to the Silence of Men, who have nothing to  
 “ lay to my Charge, as a sure Testimony of my In-  
 “ tegrity ? If however any personal and secret Fault  
 “ have escaped me, whether in eating or drinking,  
 “ these Entrails bear the Blame.” Then the Relations  
 produced the Entrails of the Deceased, and they were  
 forthwith thrown into the Lake.

“ The *Greeks*, remarks the same *Diodorus*, by their  
 “ Fables and Fictions, have corrupted the true Notions  
 “ of the Recompense of the Good and the Punish-  
 “ ment of the Wicked ; and thereby have exposed  
 “ to the Ridicule of Libertines one of the most power-  
 “ ful Motives to induce Men to live well.”

C H A P. II.

*The Sentiments of the Greek Philosophers upon  
 the same Subject.*

**P**LATO is he of the Philosophers who has rea-  
 soned most upon the Soul, and the State of de-  
 parted Spirits ; but it must be owned that his System,  
 as well as that of all the rest, is ill supported and full  
 of Inconsistencies : When once we are out of the  
 right Way, every Advance we make but leads us the  
 farther astray. When a Man dies, according to this  
 Philosopher, his Soul goes into a Place which he calls  
 Divine, and is there judged. If the Person’s Life was  
 conformable to the light of Reason, he is ushered in  
 to a higher Apartment, where he enjoys Pleasure and  
 Prosperity of all Kinds in the Society of the Gods :  
 The Souls of bad Men sink into a noisome Abyss,  
 there to dwell with thick Darkeness, and to suffer all  
 Sorts of Misery. Then this Philosopher gives a De-  
 scription of Hell, of the Elysian Fields, and speaks of  
 the Rivers in those Places, the Judges, the Furies, &c.  
 much like *Homer*, whose Notions he copied.

*Socrates*

*Socrates* his Master was of the same way of thinking with himself. That Philosopher distinguished a threefold State of Souls departed. Those who had neither distinguished Merit nor enormous Vices, inhabited on the Confines of *Acherusia*, where being purified by the Waters of the Lake, they received the Reward of the few Virtues they had practised. The Souls of the Wicked wandered about their Tombs, where they were tormented in different Ways. After which having drunk of the Water of *Lethe*, they entered into new Bodies, more or less honourable, according to their Merit. Lastly the Souls of the Good went immediately into the Elysian Fields.

*Pythagoras* believed that the Soul, upon its immediate Separation from the Body, was conducted by *Mercury* into a Place of the purest Air, where were the Elysian Fields, called by *Virgil* the *Aerial Regions*, *Aerios campos*. There it was, said *Pythagoras*, that the Souls of Philosophers, of all others the best, became like unto the Gods, while those of the Wicked were tormented by the Furies without Intermiſſion: But both the one and the other, after a certain Space of Time, which he calls the Time of Purifications, returned to the Earth to animate new Bodies. He was the first in *Europe*, to mention it by the by, that taught, at least publicly, the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or of the Transmigration of Souls into new Bodies, which Doctrine he had learned from the *Egyptians*, among whom he had travelled. I say, he taught this Doctrine; for indeed long before him, *Orpheus* and *Homer*, who had also borrowed it from the same People, had spoke of it in their Works.

The *Egyptians* then are to be reckoned the Founders of this Opinion, which afterwards was diffused on one Hand thro' *Europe*, whither *Melampus*, *Orpheus*, *Homer* and others introduced it; and which in like manner penetrated into the Center of *India*, where it made such wonderful Progress that it prevails there at this Day. What I have advanced with Relation to this Opinion is expressly

asserted by *Herodotus* (1). The *Egyptians*, says he, are the first who believed the Immortality of the Soul, and the same People are to be reckoned the first Inventors of the Transmigration of Souls. Their Priests, says he, teach that the Soul does not die with the Body, but is received by *Amenthes*. This *Amenthes* was a Place under Ground, much like the Hell of the *Greek* Poets. *Plutarch* (2), who says this Word imports, *that which gives, and that which receives*, adds that it was a Place in the Center of the Earth, the common Receptacle of departed Souls. As this Gulf received them, so it gave them back in like Manner; and when they came out of it, they were united to new Bodies; first to those of terrestrial Animals, then to those of Fishes and Sea Monsters, then to those of Birds, and after a Circulation of three thousand Years from one of those Bodies into another (3), they returned to re-animate human Bodies whence they departed, again to begin the same Revolution: And thus they were immortal. To this Opinion, says *Herodotus*, was owing the Care which the *Egyptians* took to embalm their dead Bodies at an infinite Expence, as well as those stately Tombs whereon they bestowed such vast Sums; while they neglected their Houses, which they looked upon as no better than Inns, or Tabernacles not worthy their Regard: Which makes *Diodorus Siculus* say, that the *Egyptians* were less curious to build Houses for the Living, than Tombs for the Dead.

## C H A P. III.

*The Sentiments of the Poets.*

THE Poets, though usually transported with an Enthusiastick Warmth which is not always guided by Reason, have however delivered much the same Sentiments with the Philosophers about the State of Souls after Death; but each of them having followed his own Caprice, 'tis no Wonder that we find in their Works so many peculiar Notions. And indeed, though they

(1) L. 2. (2) De Is. & Osir. (3) Herod. loc. cit.

they agree in general, that the Soul goes either to *Elysium* or *Tartarus*, yet they are far from being unanimous as to the Situation of those two Mansions.

Some place the Elysian Fields in the middle Region of the Air; some in the Moon, others in the Sun; others, in fine, in the Centre of the Earth adjoining to *Tartarus* itself. The most common Opinion is that they lay in one of the Isles of the Ocean, called the *Fortunate Islands*, which are reckoned to be the *Canaries*. But it is a Question whether in those antient Times they had any Knowledge of Islands so remote from the Continent. And therefore 'tis better to say, that according to them the Mansion of the Blessed was in the charming Country of *Betica* (a); whether the *Phanicians* had travelled from the earliest Times. This Country was delicious, watered with Rivers, Streams, and Fountains. There were charming Plains, Woods, and enchanted Groves, Mountains containing Mines of Gold and Silver, and a fertile Soil yielding all the Necessaries of Life in Abundance: This is the Representation given of it by all the Antients; and consequently no Place more proper to furnish the Poets with their charming Descriptions of the Regions of the Blessed.

Farther the *Tartessus*, which was in this Province, is undoubtedly the *Tartarus* of the Poets; this at least is the Sentiment of the learned *Bochart*. And if we add that this Country is at the Extremity of the old World, since the Antients knew nothing beyond it, but believed that the Sun went every Evening to Bed in the Ocean, and gave no more Light to the World till the next Day, 'tis evident they would be ready to think it a Region covered with eternal Darkness.

The same Poets differ no less among themselves with respect to the infernal Regions. All that we can gather from the Theogony of *Hesiod* is, that this Place which he always calls *Tartarus*, was a Prison where the *Titans* were lodged with *Saturn* himself; that this Prison was kept by I know not what Sort of

(a) The present *Andalusia* in the Extremity of *Spain* towards

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of Being, called *Campe*, whom *Jupiter*, become Lord of the World, placed under the Custody of Giants with an hundred Hands.

*Homer* (1) had more distinct Notions as to this Region of the Dead; and according to him all the Souls were conducted thither by *Mercury*: He even settles the Place where it was, namely in the Country of the *Cimmerians*, People buried in eternal Darkness, at the Extremity of the Ocean, where *Styx*, *Pblegeton*, and the other Rivers of Hell rolled their Waves. The Antients were very much puzzled to determine what Country the Poet had in his Eye. Some will have him to mean the Confines of *Cadiz*, or *Betica*, that Country being at the Extremity of the Ocean, where the Sun dips in his Waves, and where consequently must be that Darkness he speaks of. Some think the Poet, who has always been reckoned an excellent Geographer, designed thereby the Inhabitants of the Northern Regions, even those who for whole Months are deprived of the Light of the Sun. Others are of Opinion he must be understood to mean the People who dwell at the Extremity of the *Euxine* Sea, where was the Country of the *Cimmerians*, and *Strabo* favours this Opinion, when, speaking of *Homer*, he says: "That Poet knew the *Cimmerians* of the *Bosphorus*, who inhabit towards the North, in Regions always over-spread with thick Clouds; and he could not be a Stranger to them, for it was about the Time of his Birth, or not many Years before, that these *Cimmerians* made Inroads as far as *Ionia*." This Poet therefore had some Knowledge of the *Cimmerians* of the *Bosphorus*, and by a poetical License, he has transplanted them to the Coasts of *Italy*, as he has done the *Cyaneæ* or *Symplegades*, which are Rocks at the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea.

*M. le Clerc* (2) thinks *Homer* had an Eye to the *Thesprotians* and those of *Epirus*, who being continually at work in the Mines, were really buried in Darkness. Farther 'tis in *Epirus*, that those Rivers were which

(1) *Odyss.* l. 10, & 11.

(2) *Biblio. Univ.*

that Poet describes, as shall be said hereafter. But 'tis evident we are not to go so far in Search of the *Cimmerians* whom *Homer* speaks of; they were really upon the Western Coasts of *Italy*, near *Baie* and *Puteoli*; and my Reason for it is, that *Ulysses* arrives there the same Day that he takes his Leave of *Circe*. The Description which he gives of this Country is, according to *Strabo*, very conformable to Geography; and if the Poet adds that this Region was at the Extremities of the Ocean, it is by a Licence which Poetry justifies.

Here is what *Circe* says to *Ulysses* affrighted at the Proposal she had made him of going down to Hell, to consult *Tiresias's* Ghost:

*Thy fated Road (the magick Pow'r reply'd)*  
*Divine Ulysses! Asks no mortal Guide.*  
*Rear but the Mast, the spacious Sail display,*  
*The northern Winds shall wing thee on thy Way.*  
*Soon shalt thou reach old Ocean's utmost Ends,*  
*Where to the Main the shelving Shore descends;*  
*The barren Trees of Proserpine's black Woods,*  
*Poplars and Willows trembling o'er the Floods:*  
*There fix thy Vessel in the lonely Bay,*  
*And enter there the Kingdom void of Day:*  
*Where Phlegeton's loud Torrents rushing down,*  
*Hiss in the flaming Gulf of Acheron;*  
*And where slow rolling from the Stygian Bed,*  
*Cocytus' lamentable Waters spread, &c.*

Pope's Odyss. B. 10. v. 598.

*Ulysses* encouraged by this Account of the Voyage, sets Sail in the Morning, and in the Evening of the same Day arrives in the Place which the Goddess had described to him. 'Tis therefore evident that the Ocean is put there only to give a greater Air of the Marvellous to that Heroe's Voyage. Accordingly *Strabo* positively says: *That the Cimmerians of Homer are upon the Coasts of Italy is a certain Fact; the Antients, adds he, placed Homer's Necromancy near the*  
Lake

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*Lake Avernus* (a). There the Rivers were which he speaks of in the Passage now quoted. *Servius* who agrees with him (1), at the same Time accounts for what may have given the Poet a Handle to say that Country was covered with Darknefs. "Near to *Baie*, " says that learned Commentator, is a low and gloomy " Vale, furrounded on all Sides with high Mountains, " which shut out the Light of the Sun either rising " or setting." And if we add that here is the Lake *Avernus*, whose exhalations were formerly mortal, that the Country was full of Sulphur and Bitumen, it will justify *Homer* in having there placed the Entry to *Pluto's* Kingdom.

*Pliny* adds further, that besides the *Acherusian* Lake, the *Avernus* and the parched plains of the *Phlegræans*, there was of old in that Place a City called *Cimmerium* (b).

*Bochart* (2), to mention it by the by, is then very probably in the right in saying, that the Word *Cimmerian* comes from the *Phœnician* Word *Cimmir*, dark, or rather the *Blacknefs of Darknefs*; but I reckon he is mistaken in placing the *Cimmerians* in *Homer* upon the Coast of *Provence*; for how could *Ulysses* have arrived there the same Day that he set out from the *Circean* Promontory?

Be that as it will, *Virgil* (3) has followed *Homer's* Notion, in placing with him, though without any Disguise, the Mouth of Hell upon the same Coast, and near the Lake *Avernus*, as we shall see by and by. But the other Poets don't agree with the two whose Authorities we have now quoted, since some of them place the Entrance of Hell at the Promontory of *Tenarus*, where was the Cave whence, according to the Fable,

(a) They gave the Name of *Homer's* Necromancy to the eleventh Book of the *Odyſſey*, because the Subject of it is the calling up of *Tireſias's* Ghost.

(1) Upon the 6th *Æn.*

(b) *Avernus lacus, juxta quem Cimmerium oppidum quondam: Dein Puteoli, poſtque Phlegræi campi, Acheruſia palus, &c. Pliny, L. 3. c. 6.*

(2) *Chap. L. 1. c. 33.*

(3) *En. L. 6.*



Fable, *Hercules* had dragged *Cerberus* when he went down to Hell. Others reckon that this Place was in *Tbesprotia*, and *Lucan* (1) is the only one as I know, who has removed the Entrance of Hell to the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

We are further to remark that the Poets distinguish three Sorts of things in Man, his Body, his Soul, his Ghost or Phantom (2). *Virgil* making *Aeneas* invoke the *Manes* of his Father *Anchises* before he celebrates his Anniverfary, fays :

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*Salvete recepti*  
*Nequicquam cineres, animæque umbræque paternæ* (3).

And *Dido* dying makes this Reflection :

*Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago* (4).

*Lucretius* is yet more exprefs as to this Article :

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*Esse Acherusia templa,*  
*Quo neque permaneant animæ, neque corpora nostra,*  
*Sed quædam simulacra, modis pallentia miris* (5).

The *Latin* Poets now quoted have only copied *Homer* upon the Article in Question. That Poet speaking of Hell in the eleventh Book of the *Odyfsey* fays, *Proferpine* had granted *Tirefias* the Priviledge of retaining all his Understanding after Death ; that even in that difmal State he had Eyes fo penetrating, as to fee into the Secrets of Futurity, while the other Dead were in Comparifon of him but Shades and vain Phantoms. But the fame *Tirefias* addreffing *Ulyffes*, fully unfolds this Piece of *Mythology* : " Such, fays he, is the Condition of all Mortals when Life quits the Body ; no more are they fenced with Sinews, or cloathed with Flefh and Bones ; the grofs corporal Frame becomes Fewel for the Flames when it is relinquifhed by the Spirit ; and as for the Soul that fubtil aerial Vehicle it flies away like a Dream." Here very plainly are the three Things I am fpeaking of.

(1) De Bel. Civ.

(2) See what has been faid upon this be-

(3) En. l. 5.

(4) En. l. 4.

(5) Lucr. l. 1.

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of. The material and terrestrial Body, which is reduced to Ashes upon the Funeral-Pile: The Spirit, that is, the spiritual Part of the Soul which returns to Heaven, the Place of its Original; and the Soul, that is, the subtil aerial Substance which cloaths the Body, flies away like a Dream. 'Tis this last that goes down to the infernal Regions, and is called the Phantom or Image.

If we would trace this Opinion to its Source, we shall find it also to be derived from the *Egyptians*, who believed the Souls to be composed of a subtil and luminous Body, and of what we call *Spirit*: The subtil Body is the material part of the Soul; and the Understanding, *φρόνησις*, is the spiritual part. After Death, that is, after the Separation of the terrestrial Body from the Soul, there is another Separation of the two parts of this Soul. The subtil Body, which is the *Phantom*, the Image of the terrestrial Body, goes to the infernal Regions; and the Understanding, the *Spirit*, which is the spiritual Part, ascends to Heaven. Thus, according to this Theology, the Souls of Men, or rather their Shades, *quædam simulacra*, were in the infernal Regions separate from their Intellect; and these were mere Phantoms, Images, that bore even the Marks of the terrestrial Body; unless they had received the Privilege of preserving with them their intellectual Part, as *Homer* says of the Soothsayer *Tiresias*.

It was therefore a settled Doctrine of Theology in those Times of Darkness, that after Death the material Body was resolved into Ashes; that the Spirit *πνεῦμα* and *φρόνησις*, the spiritual part of the Soul, returned to Heaven; and the Soul, that is, the subtil Substance which was as it were a Covering to the Body, its Phantom, its Image, went down to the infernal Regions.

The Poets are not unanimous as to the Time that Souls were to dwell in Hell, or in the Elysian Fields. *Anchises* seems to insinuate to his Son *Æneas*, that the latter after a Revolution of a thousand Years, drank

of the Water of *Lethe*, and then went into other Bodies, following in some Measure the Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, as has been said :

*Hæc omnes, ubi mille rotam voluere per annos,  
Letheum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno ;  
Scilicet immemores, supera ut convexa revisant  
Rursus, Et incipiunt in corpora velle reverti. (1)*

The Case was otherwise with those who were condemned to *Tartarus*, they being doomed to dwell there for ever. *Virgil* says of the unhappy *Theseus*, “ there he is fixed eternally to remain : ”

————— *Sedet æterumque sedebit  
Infelix Theseus.*

And the other Poets assert the same of *Ixion*, *Tantalus*, the *Titans*, and all the other Criminals, though their Systems are hardly consistent as to this Article. But 'tis proper to remark that *Pythagoras* and his Disciples seem to have limited the Time of those Pains to a thousand Years ; this at least is the Term fixed to the Expiations mentioned by *Plato* in his Republick ; and in this he seems to have followed the Opinion of those Philosophers, as well as *Virgil*, not to mention others, when he says : *Mille rotam voluere per annos.*

As to those who were neither in *Tartarus* nor in the Elysian Fields, but in the vast Forests that lay before these two Places, such as *Dido*, *Deiphobus*, and the rest whom *Aeneas* met, after a certain Time of Purgation and Suffering, they were sent into the Elysian Fields :

*Quisque suos patimur manes, exinde per amplum  
Mittimur Elysiũ, Et pauci læta arva tenemus, (2)*

And this again is what makes *Deiphobus* say to the *Sibyl*:

————— *Ne sævi, magna sacerdos,  
Discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris. Id. Ib.*

C H A P.

(1) *Virgil, Æn. l. 6.*

(2) *Virgil, ibid.*

## C H A P: IV.

*A particular Description of Hell according to the Poets.*

**O**F all the Poets who have mentioned Hell, and the Pains that are there endured, I shall cite only *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Pindar*, because they have drawn together all that profane Antiquity taught on this Subject; but before I come to Particulars, I shall observe that if *Virgil*, the faithful Copier of *Homer*, is often inferior to him in other Things, yet in this to me he appears far to surpass him, and much more *Claudian*, *Silius Italicus*, and the rest.

*Circè*, after having taught *Ulysses* the Way to Hell, as we have said in the former Chapter, thus continues to address him;

*First draw thy Faulchion, and on ev'ry Side  
Trench the black Earth a Cubit long and wide :  
To all the Shades around Libations pour,  
And o'er th' ingredients strow the hallow'd Flour.  
New Wine and Milk, with Honey temper'd, bring,  
And living Water from the crystal Spring.  
Then the wan Shades and feeble Ghoſts implore,  
With promis'd Off'rings on thy native Shore ;  
A barren Cow, the stateliest of the Isle,  
And, heap'd with various Wealth, a blazing Pile :  
These to the rest ; but to the Seer must bleed  
A sable Ram, the Pride of all thy Breed.  
These solemn Vows and holy Off'rings paid  
To all the phantom Nations of the Dead ;  
Be next thy Care the sable Sheep to place  
Full o'er the Pit, and bell-ward turn their Face :  
But from th' infernal Rite thine Eye withdraw,  
And back to Ocean glance with rev'rend Awe.  
Sudden shall skim along the dusky Glades  
Thin airy Shoals and visionary Shades.  
Then give Command the sacrifice to haste,  
Let the flec'd Victims in the Flames be cast,*

*And*

*And sacred Vows and mystic Songs apply'd  
To grisly Pluto, and his gloomy Bride:  
Wide o'er the Pool thy Faulchion wav'd around,  
Shall drive the Spectres from forbidden Ground:  
The sacred Draught shall all the Dead forbear,  
Till awful from the Shades arise the Seer.  
Let him craculous, the End, the Way,  
The Turns of all thy future Fate display,  
Thy Pilgrimage to come, and Remnant of the Day.*

Pope's *Odyss.* B. XI. V. 14.

*Ulysses* literally obeys what *Circe* had prescribed to him: The Shades thirsting after the Blood of the Victims, come and suck it up; *Ulysses* repels them with his Sword, and after having learned from *Tiresias* what was to be his Fate, he retires. Such is the Description *Homer* gives of Hell. 'Tis true, in order to make something of so slender a Fiction, which, after all, is but a mere Piece of Conjurat[i]on, he makes the Ghosts recite their Adventures, which are often very interesting.

Tho' *Pindar* seems to have taken *Homer* for his Model, yet he departs from his Original, and pursues other Notions than those of that antient Poet. First, he makes two different Kingdoms of that subterranean Region, and sets over each of them a particular Monarch. *Pluto*, according to him, is the Governor of Hell, and *Saturn* the Sovereign of the Elyt[i]an Fields, where he reigns with his Wife *Rhea*, and has *Rhadamanthus* for his Assessor, whom all the other Poets place in the Empire of *Pluto*. Herein this Poet conforms to *Hesiod* (1), who says, that the Souls of Heroes went to dwell in happy Regions near the Ocean, at the Extremities of the Earth, where *Saturn* reigned. Then, following the Ideas of the *Pythagoreans*, *Pindar* lays down three Sorts of Transmigrations of Souls, partly in this World, partly in the other, telling us, that such as in those three States preserved their Souls always pure, arrived at last at the august Palace of *Saturn*. The three Revolutions which *Socra-*

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*tes* makes the Souls of Philosophers perform before their Return to the Place of their Original, have a great Affinity with the three Lives this Poet assigns for his Heroes before they are placed in the Elysian Fields, upon which it is proper to make two Remarks.

*First*, that *Pindar* supposes it was equally possible to practise Virtue, and perform meritorious Actions in Hell, as in this World. *Secondly*, that he seems to fix the Residence of the Blessed in the Elysian Fields for ever; whence, however, according to *Virgil*, and the other Poets, they were to depart after a certain Period of Time, having drunk the Water of Oblivion; and this Period was usually limited to a thousand Years.

But in order to set this whole Doctrine in one and the same Point of View, 'tis necessary to quote the whole Passage from this Poet, which is as follows.

“ After Death, the incorrigible Souls of the Wicked are delivered over to dreadful Punishments;  
“ and in the Kingdom of *Pluto*, there is a Judge who  
“ examines Crimes committed in this earthly Empire  
“ of *Jupiter*, and pronounces a final Sentence with  
“ inflexible Severity.

“ There the Just lead a Life exempt from all Sorts  
“ of Pain. They enjoy one eternal Day without  
“ Night; a pure Sun enlightens them continually.  
“ They are not obliged to employ the Labour of  
“ their Hands in ransacking Sea and Land to relieve  
“ the pitiful Necessities of Life. Those who were  
“ strictly conscientious in keeping their Oaths, converse with the venerable Divinities of those subterraneous Mansions, and taste Pleasures without Alloy,  
“ while those who loved Perjury, suffer Torments,  
“ the very Sight whereof is horrid and dreadful.

“ But those who after spending three Lives upon  
“ Earth, and in the Infernal Regions, have been so  
“ happy as to preserve their Souls always pure in those  
“ several States, as they have trod in the Paths which  
“ *Jupiter* had marked out to them, so they arrive at  
“ the

“ the majestick Palace of *Saturn*. Gentle Zephyrs,  
 “ which rise from the Sea, fan this charming Island,  
 “ the eternal Mansion of the Blessed. There are to  
 “ be seen gaudy Flowers shining all around, whole  
 “ Brightness vies with the burnished Gold. Some  
 “ spring out of the Ground, others hang in Clusters  
 “ on the Trees, while others bestrow the Waters.  
 “ With these they make Crowns and Garlands to deck  
 “ their Arms and Heads. The whole Kingdom is  
 “ governed by the just Decrees of *Rhadamanthus*, who  
 “ sits for ever upon a Tribunal with *Saturn*, *Rhea*’s  
 “ Spouse, and Father of the Gods. The Throne of  
 “ the Goddess is elevated above all the rest.”

I said *Pindar* had taken *Homer* for his Model; here is the Passage in that Poet which he had in his Eye. It is in the fourth Book of the *Odyssey*, where *Proteus* thus bespeaks *Menelaus*;

*Elysium shall be thine; the blissful Plains  
 Of utmost Earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns.  
 Joys ever young, unmix'd with Pain or Fear,  
 Fill the wide Circle of th' eternal Year:  
 Stern Winter smiles on that auspicious Clime:  
 The Fields are florid with unfading Prime:  
 From the bleak Pole no Winds inclement blow,  
 Mold the round Hail, or flake the fleecy Snow;  
 But from the breezy Deep, the Blest imbale  
 The fragrant Murmurs of the western Gale.*

Pope's *Odys.* B. IV. V. 765.

We may remark, before we are done with the Doctrine of *Pindar* concerning the State of Souls after Death, that what he says of *Saturn* reigning in the Elysian Fields, is a Notion taken from *Hesiod*; tho' the other Poets, in the celebrated Division of the World among the three Brothers, had no Regard to this God whom his Son *Jupiter* had dethroned, and plung'd headlong into the Depth of *Tartarus*, whose Empire fell to *Pluto* by an Article of that Partition. 'Tis true the Fable also supposes that Prince, after his Expulsion, to have retired into *Italy*, where he reigned

with *Janus*, and that the Time of his Reign was reckoned the golden Age. 'Tis probably this Circumstance that *Pindar* had in his View, when he represents the Continuation of a Reign which was too short upon Earth for the Happiness of Men, and makes it eternal with respect to those who had practised Virtue, while they sojourned in this World.

*Virgil*, after having made *Æneas* offer Sacrifices to the *Manes*, and fortified him with the golden Bough, a sure Pass-port for Admission into the Kingdom of *Pluto*, gives him a *Sibyl* for his Guide, after which he thus begins the Description of the Mansions of the Dead ;

*Deep, deep, a Cavern lies, devoid of Light,  
All rough with Rocks, and horrible to Sight ;  
The gaping Gulph inclos'd with sable Floods,  
And the brown Horrors of surrounding Woods.  
From her black Jaws such baleful Vapours rise,  
Blot the bright day, and blast the golden Skies,  
That not a Bird can stretch her Pinions there  
Through the thick Poisons and incumber'd Air :  
O'ertook by Death her flagging Pinions cease,  
And hence Aornus was it call'd by Greece.  
Hither the Priestess four black Heifers led,  
Between their Horns the bellow'd Wine she shed ;  
From their high Front the top-moſt Hairs ſhe drew,  
And in the Flames the firſt Oblations threw. &c.*

*Pit's Æneid. VI. 332.*

After the Sacrifice ſhe plunged herſelf firſt into the Gulf which leads to the Kingdom of *Pluto*, and *Æneas* follows her with firm and reſolute Steps through a dark and ſolitary Grove.

*At Hell's dread Mouth a thouſand Monſters wait ;  
Grief weeps, and Vengeance bellows in the Gate :  
Baſe Want, low Fear, and Famine's lawleſs Rage,  
And pale Diſeaſe, and ſlow repining Age ;  
Fierce, formidable Fiends ! the Portal keep ;  
Wiſh Pain, Toil, Death, and Death's Half-brother*



*There Joys embitter'd with Remorse appear ;  
Daughters of Guilt ! here Storms destructive War.  
Mad Discord there her snaky Tresses tore ;  
Here, stretch'd on Iron Beds, the Furies roar.  
Full in the Midst a spreading Elm display'd  
His aged Arms, and cast a mighty Shade.  
Each trembling Leaf with some light Vision teems,  
And beaves impregnated with airy Dreams.  
With double Forms each Scylla took her Place  
In Hell's dark Entrance, with the Centaur's Race ;  
And close by Lerna's hissing Monster, stands  
BRIAREUS dreadful with a hundred Hands.  
There stern GERYON raged ; and, all around,  
Fierce Harpies scream'd, and direful GORGONS frown'd.*  
*Ibid.* 385.

Upon their Exit from the Cave they find a Way which leads through obscure Woods to the River *Acheron* : Thither the Souls of those who are to pass over to the other Side flock together from all Hands ; but as none are permitted to enter *Charon's Boat*, till they have received the Honours of Burial (*a*), those who have been deprived of it are forced to wander an hundred Years upon those dreary Banks (*b*). *Charon* seeing a Man approach him in Armour, gives him to know, that none but the Souls of the Dead are to pass over the River ; but soothed with the Sight of the golden Bough which the *Sibyl* shews him, he receives them both into his Boat, and ferries them over to the other Shore. No sooner are they passed this fatal River than they find another dreadful one which serves as a Gate to the Kingdom of *Pluto* ; it is kept by *Cerberus* the Dog with the three Heads ; and the *Sibyl* having laid him asleep by a Composition of Honey and Poppies, they get over this Passage and enter *Pluto's* Realms.

C 3

Upon

(a) *Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta  
Transportare, priusquam sedibus ossa quierunt.*

(b) *Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum.*

Upon their Arrival in this dismal Mansion, they find the Souls of those who died before they came to the Use of Reason; next of Persons who were unjustly condemned to Death, and of such as had taken away their own Lives. Here presents to their View a Grove of Myrtles, which serves for a Retreat to those whom amorous Despair had bereaved of the Light of Life. Leaving this Grove, they come to the Quarter of Heroes, who died with their Arms in their Hands. Adjoining to this is a Sort of Apartment which borders on one Side upon *Tartarus*, and on the other upon the Elysian Fields: Here it is that *Minos*, *Eacus*, and *Rhadamanthus* administer Justice; the latter judges the *Asiatics*, and the others the *Europeans*, and *Minos* decides the Differences that arise from the Judgments of his Brethren, the Judge from whom lies no Appeal, and upon the Sentence of this impartial Judge some are sent to the Elysian Fields, others are condemned to *Tartarus*.

*Tartarus* is a hideous Prison of a terrible Depth, surrounded with the miry Bogs of *Cocytus*, and of the River *Pblegeton*, which rolls Torrents of Flames all around; Three Rows of Walls with brazen Gates, render the Place inaccessible. *Typhbone*, the most hellish of the three Furies, watches at the Gate, and hinders any from going out. *Rhadamanthus* extorts from his wretched Prisoners a Confession of their most secret Crimes, and then delivers them over to the three Furies, to be punished according to their Demerits; these Goddesses are always ready to exert their Fury upon those miserable Victims: Frightful Serpents which they hold in their Hands, are the Whips with which they lash them. In this hideous Mansion are confined those of distinguished Wickedness, whose very Crimes have made them famous: The proud *Titans* whom *Jupiter* thunderstruck, when they attempted to besiege the Gods of *Olympus*, are in the deepest Part of *Tartarus*. The two *Aloides*, *Ephialtes* and *Orus*, whom *Nepheune* had by *Hipbimedia* the Wife of

of the Giant *Alous*, suffer there a Punishment proportioned to their Crimes.

In this dreadful Mansion is also lodged the mad *Salmonæus*, who attempted to imitate *Jupiter's* Thunders : The daring *Tityus*, who presumed to make Love to *Latona*, and whom *Apollo* transfix'd with his Arrows, is there condemned to horrible Torments : A cruel Vulture is continually preying upon his Liver, which grows again as fast as it is devoured. The presumptuous *Ixion* who boasted that he had lain with *Juno*, is there doomed to turn eternally a Wheel incircled with Serpents. *Theseus*, who attempted to carry off *Proserpine* for his Friend *Piritheus*, sits for ever upon a Stone whence he cannot possibly stir. *Tantalus*, for having designed to put a Cheat upon the Gods, and to serve up to them at Table the Members of his own Son *Pelops*, there pines away with the most outrageous Hunger amidst Plenty of Meats which fly from him as soon as he approaches them. The *Danaids*, those unhappy Daughters of *Danaus*, who murdered their own Husbands, are there condemned eternally to pour Water into a Cask full of Holes. There *Sisyphus*, for revealing the Secrets of the Gods, rolls a huge Stone to the Top of a Mountain, whence it continually tumbles down again. *Oedipus*, who slew his Father *Laius*, and married his Mother *Jocasta* ; his wretched Sons *Eschæus* and *Polynices*, who waged War upon one another, and were slain by each others Hands in the fatal Combat ; *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, *Egistus*, *Clytemnestra*, and all the other signal Offenders, suffer there Torments proportioned to their Crimes.

Such is the Description which the Poets give of their Hell ; But if they have invented so frightful a Place for the Punishment of the Wicked, they have not been wanting in Return to give us a charming Representation of the Mansion of the Blessed.

On the Right of *Tartarus* is the Way that leads to the Elysian Fields, those happy Isles where the Souls of such as have lived virtuously in this World enjoy profound Peace and Tranquillity, accompanied with

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the most innocent refined Pleasures. Let us imagine to ourselves enchanted Places abounding with every Thing conducive to Happiness; Bowers for ever Green, charming Meadows, with Fountains and Streams gliding gently through them, the Air healthful, temperate, and serene; Birds eternally warbling in delightful Groves, a perpetual Spring with other Suns and other Stars (*a*). These and the like are the Images under which the Poets (1) paint the Regions of Bliss; those happy Isles, the Kingdom of *Adraftus*, as they sometimes call it; in a Word, the Elysian Fields. But as the Descriptions which they give of them, were only the Fruit of their own Imaginations, every one of them represents the Pleasures and Employments of the Place conformable to his own Inclinations. *Tibullus*, voluptuous and prone to the Charms of Love, makes it to abound with Mirth and all sensual Pleasures (*b*).

*Virgil*, more chaste, admits nothing there but innocent Sports, and Employments worthy Heroes who are the Inhabitants; and herein he has copied *Homer*. In the *Greek Poet*, the Ghost of *Achilles* wages War with the wild Beasts, and in the *Latin Poet* the *Trojan Heroes* exercise themselves in managing Horses, or in handling Arms. Some Poets have added the Pleasures of good Cheer, describe Elysium as a Place of continual Feasting, while nothing, they say, is so sorry and mean as the Entertainments *Hecate* gives her Guests in Hell. Which proves, to mention it by the by, that the Part of Man which inhabited those Regions, was corporeal, since it could not subsist without Nourishment.

If we trace *Virgil's* Ideas with Attention, we shall find that he divides into seven Apartments the  
Topographical

(*a*) *Largior hic campos æther & lumina vestit  
Purpureo; solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.* *Æn.* 6. 640.

(1) *Homer, Virgil, Pindar, Claudian, Catullus, &c.*

(*b*) *Hic choreæ, cantusque vigent - - - - -  
Ac juvenum series teneris immixta puellis  
Ludit, & assidue prælia miscet amor.* *L.* 1. 3. 631

Topographical Description he gives of the Mansion of Ghosts. The first is that of Infants that die so soon as they are born. (a)

*Now, as they enter'd, doleful Screams they bear ;  
And tender Cries of Infants pierce their Ear :  
Just new to Life, by too severe a Doom,  
Snatch'd from the Cradle to the silent Tomb !*

Ibid. 592.

The second was possessed by those who had been charged with false Accusations, and unjustly condemned to Death (b). In the third were those whom cruel Destiny had forced to chuse a voluntary Death ; who, innocent as they were, seeing themselves overwhelmed with the Miseries of Life, had conceived an Aversion to it, and set their Souls at Liberty from their Bodies, as from an oppressive Load (c). The fourth, which we may call the *Fields of Tears or Mourning*, where is a Forrest of Myrtles cut into divers Walks, is the Mansion of those who in their Life-time had experienced the Hardships of unpitied Love (d). There is the unhappy *Phedra*, who killed herself for the Disdain of young *Hippolytus*, who was insensible to her Passion. *Præcis*, whole Life the unfortunate *Cephalus* took away with the Dart which she had given him ; *Eriphyle*, *Evadne*, *Laodamia*, *Passiphaë*, *Dido*, *Ceneus*, who from a Girl had been transformed into a Boy, and by the Order of Destiny had again recovered his former State. The fifth was destined to the Heroes (e). There were *Tydeus*, *Adrastus*, *Parthenopeus*, and several others. The sixth Appartment was the frightful Prison of *Tartarus*, where are the noted Offenders whom I shall speak of afterwards, together with the *Parcæ*,  
the

[a] *Continuo audite voces, vagitus & ingens,  
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo.* Æn. l. 6.

[b] *Hic juxta fulso damnati crimine mortis.*

[c] *Proxima deinde tenent mæsti loca, qui sibi letum  
Infantes peperere manu, &c.*

[d] *Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit.*

[e] *- - - - - Jamque arva tenebant  
Ultima, quæ bello clari secreta frequentant.*

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the Furies, &c. In fine, the last was the Mansion the Blessed, or the Elysian Fields.

These several Mansions were not divided at random; *Minos*, who held the fatal Urn, summoned the Ghosts before him, took Information of their Crimes, examined their Lives, weighed the Merit of their Actions, and appointed each of them to his proper Place of Abode (1).

Such were the Fables which the antient Poets delivered with respect to the Mansions of Souls departed; a System embellished indeed with Ideas which were the Offspring of fertile Imagination; but whose Groundwork was derived from the *Egyptian* Customs as we shall presently see.

### C H A P. V.

*That what the Greeks delivered on the Subject of the Infernal Regions and Elysian Fields, was borrowed from the Egyptian Usages already mentioned.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING all the Fables added by the *Greeks* to the *Egyptian* System, yet 'tis easy to see it to be the Foundation of all that they have delivered upon this Subject; and though *Diodorus* has said so, I judge it however necessary to consider this Article somewhat more particularly. First all the *Charon* of the *Greeks*, that rough and stern Ferryman whom *Virgil* paints so well, is the same with that of *Egypt*. He of the *Greeks* is upon the *Cocytus* waiting to transport the Ghosts to the other Side of the River: The *Egyptian* had his fixed Residence upon the Banks of the Lake *Querron*, or *Acherusia*. That of the *Greek* Poets rigidly exacted a Duty for the Passage; that of the *Egyptians* was so regular and exact therein, that they tell us he would not dispense with the King's Son. The infernal Lake was formed by a River which conveyed its Waters thither: That of *Querron* was an Efflux of the *Nile*. The first nine Towers surrounded the Kingdom of the Dead, as we have

(1) *Virg. Æn.* 6. 431.

in *Virgil*: *Novies Styx interfusa*, &c. The *Nile* formed in *Egypt* a vast Number of Canals.

The different Mansions which *Virgil* describes in the infernal Regions, especially that of *Tartarus*, a gloomy Dungeon, placed in the Center of the Earth, are founded upon the different Cells and Windings of the Labyrinth, chiefly those which, according to *Herodotus* and the other Antients, were under Ground. The sacred Crocodiles which the *Egyptians* nourished in those subterraneous Places, had given the Idea of those Monsters that were said to be in the Kingdom of *Pluto*, and in the Avenues that lead thither.

*Homer* (1) says, the Entry to the infernal Regions was upon the Banks of the Ocean. The *Nile* is called by the same Poet Ω'νεαυόε. The Idea of those Gates of the Sun so much celebrated by the Poets, is founded only upon what the *Greeks* had heard of the City *Heliopolis*. That of the Judges *Eacus*, *Minos*, and *Rhadamanthus*, is evidently founded upon what we have quoted from *Diodorus*, concerning that severe Scrutiny which was made by the *Egyptian* Priests into the Lives and Actions of the Dead. Those of the infernal Rivers, are derived from the Lake *Acherusia* or *Querron*, and served to form the *Acheron* of the Poets; *Achou-Cherron*, as *M. Fourmont* remarks (2), signifying the Fenny Places of *Charon*. *Cerberus*, according to the same Academick, took his Name from an *Egyptian* King, named *Chebres*, or *Kebron*. In like Manner the Name of *Tartarus* comes from *Dardarot*, which in *Egyptian* signifies an eternal Habitation. Beyond the Lake *Querron*, were delightful Woods, a charming Grove, and a Temple consecrated to black *Hecate*, with two Marshes, *Cocytus* and *Lethe*: Near this Place was likewise a City named *Acanthus*, where a Priest, from we know not what Principle of Religion, poured every Day Water from the *Nile* into a Vessel full of Holes. Hence the Elysian Fields, the Rivers of Oblivion, the *Cocytus*, and the Punishment of the *Danaids*. *Mercury*, with his *Caduceus* in his Hand, whom

(1) Il. l. 10, & 11.

(2) Mem. de l'Acad. T. 1. p. 9.

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whom *Homer* makes the Conductor of Souls into Hell, is only a Copy of those who in *Egypt* had the Care of funeral Obsequies, and conducted their pompous Processions.

Lastly, the *Aides* of the *Greeks* is the same with the *Amenthes* of the *Egyptians*, mentioned by *Plutarch* (1), that subterranean Apartment, whither the Souls of the Dead went, and whence they returned (a). Add to this that the *Styx*, another infernal River, was likewise in *Egypt*. This accordingly is what we are told by *Servius*, who cites in Proof of it, a Work of *Seneca*, intitled : *Of the Egyptian Ceremonies*, which Time has destroyed. “ *Isis*, said he, having found the dissipated Members of *Osiris*, whom *Typhon* had murdered, chose a Place for their Interment near a Marsh not very accessible, beyond which was an Island which there was no landing upon ; and this Marsh was called *Styx*, because it inspired with Melancholy those who looked upon it.”

But to prove yet more clearly what has been now advanced, I shall follow *Virgil* Step by Step, and enter into a Detail which I hope will not seem quite superfluous.

### C H A P. VI.

#### *Of Charon and Cerberus.*

THE Idea of the Ferry-man *Charon* is derived, as *Diodorus* remarks, from the Signification of the Word in the *Egyptian* Language, which imports a Boatman, Portitor ; thus of an appellative Noun, the Poet makes the Name of a Divinity.

*Jam senior, sed cruda DEI viridisque senectus ;*

To whom they have given the Charge of transporting Souls in a Boat over the River *Acheron* : They have preserved to him the same Character with that of the

(1) De If. & Osir.

(a) This, according to *Plutarch*, is the Etymology of the Word *Amenthes*, which imports, That which gives and receives.



the *Egyptians*, making him, like the other, rough, choleric, morose, avaritious. A Proof of which is his Manner of receiving *Æneas*, and the small Regard he has to the Words of that Hero, till he has seen the golden Bow.

*Mortal ! whoe'er thou art, in Arms array'd,  
Stand off, approach not ; but at Distance say,  
Why to these Waters dar'st thou bend thy Way ?  
These are the Realms of Sleep, the dreadful Coasts  
Of sable Night, and airy gliding Ghosts. (a)*

*Ibid.* 539.

This Character they drew from what they had learned by Tradition of the *Charon of Egypt*, as shall be said presently : But as they would needs in every Thing be thought Originals, they invented several Fables upon this Occasion ; they composed a Genealogy for this God, and made him the Son of *Erebus*, and the Night, worthy Parents of the Boatman of Hell. They give him a sullen and crabbed Humour, without any Respect either to Dignity, Goods, or Riches ; and yet how his Name comes to denote Joy and Gayety (1), I know not, unless it be by way of Contrary.

The Poets have amused themselves in giving different Descriptions of *Charon*, but none of them has come near the inimitable *Virgil*.

*Lord of the Flood, imperious Charon stands ;  
But rough, begrim'd, and dreadful he appear'd ;  
Rude and neglected hung his Length of Beard ;  
All patch'd and knotted flutters his Attire ;  
His wrathful Eyeballs glare with sanguine Fire.  
Too old, still unimpair'd by Years he stood,  
And boary Vigour blest'd the surly God.*

*Himself*

(a. *Quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad littora tendis,  
Fere age quid venias, jam istinc & comprime gressus :  
Hic locus umbrarum est, &c.* *Æn.* 6. 338.

(1) *Nat.* l. 3.

*Himself still ply'd the Oars, his Canvas spread,  
And in his sable Bark convey'd the Dead (a).*

Ibid. 418.

As *Charon* was believed to carry none over gratis, hence was established the Custom of placing under the Tongue of the Deceased a piece of Money, which the *Latins* call *Naulus*, and the *Greeks* *δανάη*, for the Freight (b). This Custom they likewise derived from the *Egyptians*, who gave something to him who transported the Dead over the Lake *Acherusia*. There is even an antient Tradition in the Country, setting forth, that *Charon* therein exercised a petty Tyranny, exacting that Capitation even from the Sons of Kings. Accordingly *Lucian* assures us, that the Custom of putting an Obulus into the Mouth of the Dead, to pay their Fare, was universal among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and we know none who dispensed with it but the *Hermonians*, because they thought themselves so near Hell, that they reckoned there was no Necessity for their paying any thing for their Passage (c). But we may add that *Charon* lost nothing thereby; for if that People did not pay him his Dues, the *Athenians* were so superstitious as to believe that they were obliged to give something more for their Kings, in order to distinguish them from the Herd of vulgar Souls; accordingly they put into their Mouths no less than three pieces of Gold (1). When *Charon* was forced to carry over any living Person, he was first to have a Sight of the golden Bough, which we shall speak of afterwards; and because *Hercules* was admitted without this Passport, when he went to deliver *Alcestes*, *Charon*, as we learn from *Servius* after *Orpheus*, was put in Prison for a Year, though he had received him with Reluctance and by Constraint.

Accordingly he complains to *Aeneas*.

*Known*

(a) *Portitor has horrendus aquas & flumina servat,  
Horribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento  
Canities inculta jacet, &c.*

(b) See *Lucian's* Dial. of the Dead, *Diodorus*, l. 1.

(c) *Lylio Girald.* Synt. de Diis Inferiis, Nat. l. 3. after *Strabo*.

(1) *Nat.* l. 3.

*Know I repent I led PIRITHOUS o'er,  
With mighty THESEUS, to the farther Shore ;  
That great ALCIDES past the Stygian Floods ;  
Tho' these were Heroes, and the Sons of Gods.*

Ibid. 546.

But we are farther to know that they were not contented with this piece of Money ; and in order to make their Passage the more sure, they put into the Coffin of the Defunct an Attestation of his Life and Morals (1). This was a kind of Pass, the Form whereof is preserved by an Author : “ I undersigned “ *Anicius Sextus*, the Pontiff, attest that such a one “ was a Person of a good Life and Conversation : “ Let his Manes rest in Peace (a).” Whereby it appears that to make this Attestation the better received in the other World, the Pontiff himself was in Use to write it. The *Muscovites* at this very Day practise the same Custom which came from *Egypt*, where an Encomium was pronounced upon the Defunct by the Border of the Lake, to keep the Judges from being prepossessed by his Accusers, as we have it in *Diodorus Siculus*.

Some Authors believe that *Charon* was a King of *Egypt*, and confound him with some Prince or other, whose Name has an Affinity to his, as has been said in the preceeding Chapter : But an *Arabian* Author (b) has gone farther, believing that *Charon* was *Moses's* Uncle or Cousin-German : And as he was at first in the Party of his Relation, he made his Laws and Ordinances strictly observed ; and he again in Return taught him Chymistry and the Secret of the great Work, which *Charon* made so good Use of, that in a little Time he accumulated great Riches thereby, as is believed at this Day in *Egypt*, according to several Relations (2). *Vossius* in his Treatise of Idolatry, al-

(1) Eust. in Hom. and the Scholiast on Pindar.

(2) Ego Sextus Anicius Pontifex, testor hunc honeste vixisse : *ut ei inveniant requiem.* Fab. Cel. l. 3. ant.

(3) *Murtadi* in his *Egypt*. See the Translation of it by *Pattier*.

(4) See the third Voyage of *Paul Lucas*, V. 3.

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ledges that the Word *Charon* comes from the *Hebrew*, and signifies *Wrath*, because he is the Minister of the Wrath and Vengeance of the Gods; and is at the same Time persuaded that he is the same with the infernal *Mercury*, whose Function, as has been said elsewhere, was to conduct Souls to Hell. But I hold for the *Charon* of *Egypt*, the Model of that of the *Greeks*, whose Name, according to *Diodorus*, signifies a *Ferryman*. *Mahomet* speaks also of a *Charon* (1), who was overwhelmed by the Earth, at the Prayer of *Moses*; but 'tis probable that he confounded *Charon* with *Coré*, who was swallowed up for having murmured against the Legislator.

Let us say something now of *Cerberus*, that famous Keeper of the infernal Regions, the Idea whereof was likewise derived from *Egypt*; where Burial-places were kept by Mastive Dogs; but what I am going to relate of the Serpent of *Tenarus*, served to embellish his Story.

*Cerberus*. The profound Cave of *Tenarus* was once inhabited by a frightful Serpent, or a kind of Dragon, which ravaged the Confines of that Promontory (2); and as this Cave was reckoned the Gate of Hell, hence they took Occasion to say that the Dragon was the Porter of those dreary Mansions: And this is the Original of *Cerberus*, who was called the Dog of Hell (3), though it was nothing but a Serpent. *Homer* is the first who gave him that Appellation. 'Tis true, in After-times *Cerberus* was reckoned a Dog with three Heads, but they never got rid altogether of the Idea of the Serpent of *Tenarus*: Thus instead of Hair, his Neck was said to be encompassed with Snakes (a); and the three Heads and three Tongues were given him only because the voluble Motion of Serpents Tongues seems to make three of them; or because their Tongue is somewhat

(1) Alcoran. c. 28. (2) Pausan. in Lacon. (3) Nat. l. 5.

(a) Cui vates horrere videns jam colla colubris.

Virg. Æn. 6.

Quamvis furiale centum muniant angues caput.

Hor. Od. l. 3.

somewhat like a barbed Javelin (a). We may add that the History of *Aidoneus*, who had his Mines watched by mastive Dogs, may also have given Rise to the Fable of *Cerberus*: And as *Hercules*, passing through *Epirus*, delivered *Theseus*, and carried off perhaps one of those Mastives, hence the Fable of his having chained *Cerberus* (1).

But the most common Opinion derives the Origin of the Fable from *Hercules's* having by the Command of *Eurystheus* visited the Cave of *Tenarus* in Search of the Serpent that there made his abode, and brought him bound to the King of *Mycenæ*; and the additional Circumstance of *Cerberus's* passing through *Thessaly*, and vomiting up a venomous Juice, which poisoned its Herbs, was owing to there having been many poisonous Plants in that Country: Which also had given Occasion to all the Fables of the Sorceresses there, who were said by their Enchantments to bring down the Moon to the Earth. We must not omit that *Hesiod* makes *Cerberus* the Son of *Typhon* and *Echidna*. Some Authors derive his Name from the Greek Word *Κεβερρος*, *Carnivorans*, or *Voracious Flesh-eater* (2).

*Pausanias* speaks thus (3) of the Promontory of *Tenarus* and the Fable of *Cerberus*. "About fifty Stadia from *Teuthrones* you have the Promontory of *Tenarus*, which juts out considerably into the Sea, and under which there are two Ports. Upon this Promontory is a Temple to *Neptune* in Form of a Grotto, and at the Entrance a Statue of that God. Some Greek Poets have imagined it was through this that *Hercules* carried off *Philo's* Dog; but besides that there is no subterranean Passage in this Grotto, 'tis not probable that a God should hold his Empire under Ground, nor that our Souls should repair thither after Death. *Hecataeus*

Vol. III. D "teus

Tibull.

(a) Cui sunt tres linguæ, tergeminumque caput.

Sordidum tabo caput

Lambunt colubræ; viperis horrent juba,

longaque tortâ sibilat cauda draco.

Sen. in Her. Fur.

(1) See the History of *Hercules*. (2) *Bibliotheca*, l. 8. (3) In

o 25.

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“ *teus* of *Miletus* had a rational enough Notion of  
 “ it, when he said that this Place of *Tenarus* served  
 “ for a Den to a formidable Serpent, which was called  
 “ the Dog of Hell, because whoever was stung by  
 “ him instantly died ; and he alledges, that *Hercules*  
 “ carried this Serpent to *Eurystheus*. *Homer*, who is  
 “ the first that mentioned the Dog of Hell which  
 “ *Hercules* dragged after him, distinguishes him by  
 “ no proper Name, nor describes him, though he does  
 “ the Chimera : But the succeeding Poets, who  
 “ called this Dog *Cerberus*, gave him three Heads,  
 “ and make a great Monster of him ; though *Ho-*  
 “ *mer* by the Dog of Hell, might as well understand  
 “ a Dragon, as one of those domestic Animals.”

### C H A P. VII.

#### *Of the Infernal Rivers.*

**A**CHERON is a River in *Epirus*, or rather in  
*Thesprotia*, which takes its Rise from the Lake  
*Acherusia* (a), and discharges itself near *Ambracia*, other-  
 wise called *Larta*, into the *Adriatic* Gulf.

The

(a) *Strabo*, l. 7. Though *Plato*, in *Phæd.* says, it enters into  
*Acherusia*. However *Titus Livius*, l. 8. calls the Place where this  
 River, after having received the Waters of some other Brooks,  
 disembogues itself into the Sea, the *Thesprotic* Gulf : But as the  
 Passage in that Author speaks particularly of the Course of this Ri-  
 ver, we must quote it here. He is speaking of *Alexander King*  
 of *Epirus*, to whom *Acheron* was to be fatal : *Accito a Tarentino*  
*in Italiam, data distio erat, cavere Acherusiam aquam, Pandosiam*  
*amque urbem ; ibi satis ejus terminum dari : eoque ocyus transire*  
*in Italiam, ut quam maxime procul abesset urbe Pandosia in Epiro*  
*Et Acheronte amne, quem ex Molosside fluentem, in stagna inferna*  
*accipit Thesprotius sinus.* From this Passage it appears that *Acheron*  
 took its Rise from *Molossis*, that it run through *Epirus*, near  
 the City *Pandosia*, and communicated its Name to the Gulf  
 the Sea where it discharges itself.

*Pliny*, l. 4. c. 1. says, *Acheron* disembogues itself into the Lake  
*Ambracia* : However *Thucydides* tells us it runs into the Lake *Ache-*  
*sia* ; now this Lake and that Gulf are very remote from one another  
 the Antients are of a contrary Opinion to *Pliny* ; therefore we  
 quit this Author, as well as *Martianus Capella*, and *Martius*  
 upon *Seneca*, who have followed him. See *Grant-Martin*  
*Græc. Ant.*

The Water of this River is bitter and unwholesome (1), and this is partly the Reason why they have made an infernal River of it ; it remains actually a long Time hid under Ground, and rises up again at a very great Distance from the Place where it goes out of Sight. Its Name had also contributed to this Fable, for it imports *Anguish* or an *bouling Noise* : Perhaps too *Orpheus* gave this Lake, and afterwards the River, the Name of the Lake *Acberusia*, which he had seen near *Memphis*, when he accommodated to *Greece* the Ideas which he had borrowed from *Egypt* with respect to the Dead. Several Fables were afterwards added to what we have now been relating, they gave out that *Acheron* was the Son of *Ceres*, or of *Titan* and *Terra*; that the Fear he had of the Giants made him lie concealed for some Time, and even go down to Hell to screen himself from their Fury. Some Authors have alledged, that *Jupiter* had cast him into Hell, because his Water served to quench the Thirst of the *Titans* : A Fable founded upon the Circumstance of this River's running a long Time under the Earth, which was the Mother of the *Titans*. They add that *Acheron* was Father to that *Ascalaphus* who was changed into an Owl, as shall be said in the History of *Proserpine* (2), that there was a King of *Epirus* named *Acheron*, who gave his Name to that River.

Be that as it will, we must not forget to take Notice that there was another River of this Name in the Country of the *Bruttians*, near *Pandesia*, which gave Rise to a fatal Ambiguity (3). The Oracle of *Dodona*, as we have it in *Titus Livius*, in the Passage we have quoted, having warned *Alexander* the King of the *Macedonians* to fly *Acheron*, that Prince thinking it meant the *Acheron* which was in *Thesprotia*, would not go far away from the Place where he was, and was slain there. There is also another River of the Name near *Naaras* in *Laconia*.

The *Cocytus* is another River in *Epirus*, or  
 in *Thesprotia*, which empties itself to-

*Cocytus.*

D 2

together

(1) *Pauf. in Lac.* (2) *Antiochus in sua navigatione.* (3) *Strabo l. 6.*

gether with the *Pyriphlegeton*, into the Lake *Acherusia*, and whose Name signifies *Sighs, Groans*; and that of *Pyriphlegeton*, *Burning* (1): These Etymologies, and the Neighbourhood of those Rivers to *Acheron*, made them be reckoned among the Rivers in Hell. Here I embrace the Opinion of Mr. *Samson*, who gives the *Cocytus* that Course, without alledging however any Authority for it. I know no Historian who gives *Cocytus* the Name of a River (a). *Pausanias* calls it only ὕδωρ ἀτεσπέλατον; which makes me believe that it was rather a Fen of muddy Water than a River.

*Styx.* The *Styx* is in *Arcadia*. 'Tis properly a Fountain that flows from a Rock, and then forms a Stream that continues a long Time buried under Ground: Its Water is Mortal, and this Quality, according to *Pausanias* (2), is what gave a Handle to the Poets to make it a River or a Lake in Hell: I shall take the following Description of it from him.

Hard by a City of *Arcadia*, named *Nonacris*, is a very high Precipice, whence distils Water that falls into the River *Cratis*. This Water is mortal to Men and other Animals: It breaks in Pieces earthen and porcelain Vessels, and all others, except those made of a Horse's Hoof. Upon this Idea a Fable has been composed; the *Styx* has been animated, made the Daughter of the Ocean (3), and Wife of one *Pallas* or *Piras* (4). We are told that she was the Mother of *Hydra*, &c. Her Name was so terrible, that the most inviolable Oath was to swear by *Styx*, and the Gods themselves were very religious in keeping it (b). Those of them who perjured themselves after taking this Oath, were very severely punished. *Jupiter* ordered *Iris* to set before them a Cup full of poisonous Water of this Fountain, and he banished them from his Table and Conversation for a Year: He even deprived them of their Divinity for nine Years, as if it

(1) φλεγω, uro.

(a) See the antient Map of Greece by *Strabo*, and *Grant-Meml.* his *Græcia*, p. 204.

(2) L. 8. 18. (3) *Hesiod* in *Theog.* (4) *Pausan.* loc. cit.

(b) *Di cuius jurare timuit & fallere numen.* *Virg. Æn.* l.



had been an Office whose Functions he suspended. The Reason given by the Mythologists why the Gods were so religious as to this Article, is, that *Victory*, who was believed to be the Daughter of *Styx*, as has been said in the History of *Jupiter*, had assisted the Gods against the Giants, which had obliged that God, in Gratitude, to pass a Decree that the Oath by *Styx* should be inviolable. But this again is only another Fable, founded upon the antient Custom of using the Water of *Styx* for the Tryal of the Guilty and the Innocent, much after the Manner of the *Jews*, as to their Water of Jealousy. To conclude, when the Gods swore by *Styx*, they were to have one Hand upon the Earth, and the other upon the Sea, as *Homer* remarks (1).

'Tis easy to see that two Things conduced to make them place these Rivers in Hell; first, that they were almost all in *Epirus*, which was reckoned, upon Account of *Aidoneus*, the Kingdom of *Pluto*. Secondly, The Etymology of their Names; *Acheron* signifies *the Extreme* \*, whereby was denoted that those who came into this Country to work at the Mines, almost all died there: *Cocytus* imports *Howling*; *Styx*, *the Water of Silence* †; *Pyrphlegeton*, *Burning*. In general, all the Waters that had any bad Quality were reckoned Rivers of Hell, as in *Italy* the Lake *Avernus* near *Puzzoli* (a), and *Lethe* or the River of *Oblivion*, which was in *Africa*. And thus it was that the *Greeks* would needs ascribe to their own Country what really belonged to *Egypt*.

D 3

CHAP.

(1) *Iliad* 14.

\* Others derive the Name from A & χαῖρα, as you would say, *Sad* or *Joyless*. To which *Milton* alludes, *Par. lost*, B. XI. 578.

*Sad Acheron, of Sorrow, black and deep.*

† Or αὐτοῦ τοῦ στυγίου, *Hateful*. So *Milton*, *ib.* v. 577.

*Abhorred Styx, the Flood of deadly Hate.*

(a) The Sulphur and Bitumen which are in great Quantities near *Avernus*, had so corrupted its Water, that *Virgil* says, the Birds fed by flying over it, unless they mounted very high. 'Tis even Circumstance that gave the Name of that Lake, for *Avernus*, and Ἀετρες, signifies *without Birds*.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Other Particularities of the System of the Poetical Hell.*

THE first was their imagining that the Ghosts whose Bodies remained without Burial, wandered for a hundred Years upon the Banks of the *Cocytus*, before they were admitted into *Charon's Boat* (a). These *Egyptian* Customs may have given Rise to this Notion. First, when the Priests refused the Passage over the *Acherusian Lake* to the Body of any one, because he had not paid his Debts, the Relations kept it at Home till they were in a Condition to discharge the Debt. Another of their Customs was, that in transporting any dead Body over the Lake, if it happened to fall into it, and was not recovered, funeral Obsequies were performed to it after a hundred Years were expired, at the Expence of the Publick, as we learn from *Servius* (b).

I don't find any thing in the *Egyptian Antiquities* that has an Affinity to the golden Bough which the *Sibyl* tells *Aeneas* is necessary as a Passport, when he was to visit the infernal Regions. This Bough had been plucked from *Hecate's* or *Proserpine's Grove* :

*A mighty Tree, that bears a golden Bough,  
Grows in a Vale surrounded with a Grove,  
And sacred to the Queen of Stygian Jove.  
Her neather World no Mortals can behold,  
Till from the Bole they strip the blooming Gold,  
The mighty Queen requires this Gift alone,  
And claims the shining Wonder for her own.  
One pluck'd away, a second Branch you see  
Shoot forth in Gold, and glitter thro' the Tree,  
Go then ; with Care erect thy searching Eyes,  
And in proud Triumph seize the glorious Prize,*

(a) Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum, &c. Virg. l. 6.

(b) Si quis in fluvio pereat, nec ejus inveniatur cadaver, post centum annos ultima perfolvuntur officia. Hinc extractum, centum errant annos, &c. *Servius*, in 6. *Æn.*

*Thy purpos'd Journey if the Fates allow,  
Free to thy Touch shall bend the costly Bough.  
If not, the Tree will mortal Strength disdain ;  
And Steel shall hew the glitt'ring Branch in vain.*

Ibid. 196.

*Servius*, who was desirous to trace the Original of this Fable (1), pretends that it is taken from a Ceremony, which *Orestes* upon his Return from *Tauris* founded in the Worship of *Diana*. That Heroe, after having deposited in a Temple the Statue of *Diana*, which he had stolen at *Thoas*, appointed this Temple and the Grove surrounding it, to be an inviolable Place of Refuge. In the Middle of this Grove was a Tree, from whose Approach all were debarred by a Priest of that Goddess ; and if any Criminal, who had fled to this Place for Refuge, could pluck off a Branch of it, he was allowed to fight with the Priest ; and if he overcame him, to take his Place.

The learned Jesuit, *La Cerda*, adopts what is said by this antient Commentator on *Virgil* : But it must be owned that if this be the Original of the golden Bough, 'tis a very remote one. I am therefore rather inclined to think that this Notion is the Product of poetical Imagination ; and that however they borrowed from the *Egyptians* the greatest Part of what they have fabled about the Mansions of the other World ; yet they also added some Circumstances for which they had no Model.

We are not to think the same Way of the two Gates, through which was the Passage from the infernal Regions, the one of Horn, the other of Ivory, since this Fable came from *Egypt*, as has been observed in the fifth Chapter ; after this Manner are they described by the Poets : (2)

*Immur'd within the silent Bow'r of Sleep,  
Two Portals firm the various Phantoms keep :  
Of Iv'ry one ; whence flit to mock the Brain,  
Of winged Lies a light fantastick Train :*

D 4

The

(1) In 6. *Æn.* (2) *Odyss.* 19.

*The Gate oppos'd pellucid Valves adorn,  
 And Columns fair incas'd with polish'd Horn :  
 Where Images of Truth for Passage wait,  
 With visions manifest of future Fate.*

Pope's *Odyss.* XIX. 657.

*Virgil* also describes these two Gates ; and by making his *Heroe* pass through that of Ivory, destroys at one Stroke, and very preposterously methinks, all that he had advanced in one of the finest Books of his Poem. These are mere Imaginations as well as the Reflexions of the Commentators on *Virgil* and *Homer* ; not excepting *Madam Dacier* herself, who will have it that the transparent Horn figures Dreams that come from the Air, and the Ivory, which is an opaque Body, those that proceed from the Earth. That the latter coming from terrestrial Vapours are false, while the others coming from the Air and Heaven, are true. The Passage of Scripture which she applies on this Occasion, does not seem designed for explaining such Reveries (a). Here it may be asked what was the Foundation of those Journeys to the infernal Regions, performed by most of the fabulous Heroes. What gave Rise to them I take to have been the Conjurat[i]on of *Euridice's* Ghost by *Orpheus*. He being very deeply affected with the Death of his Spouse, of whom he was bereaved by a fatal Accident, went into *Thesp[ro]tia*, where was an Oracle of the Dead, and this Expedition was disguised in the Poem composed upon that Subject, under the Image of a Journey to Hell. *Homer* who imitated that antient Poet, makes *Ulysses* likewise descend thither to consult *Tiresias's* Ghost ; this pretended Journey, as has been already noticed, has all the Aim of a Piece of Conjurat[i]on. Fable set forth in like Manner that *Theseus* and *Pirithous* had undertaken the same Journey to carry off *Proserpine* ; as also *Hercules* who had delivered *Theseus*, whom *Pluto* detained Prisoner, and carried off *Cerberus* with him. *Bacchus* too

(a) 'Tis said in the *Ecclesiasticus*, *Nisi ab altissimo emissa fuerit visio, ne dederis in illis cor tuum* : Unless Dreams come from God, give no Heed to them.

too was made to descend thither, to consult his Mother *Semele*: *Pindarus* sends *Perseus* the same Way; and *Virgil* gives *Aeneas* the Sibyl of *Cuma* to conduct him to Hell. Lastly, *Herodotus* tells us, that *Rampsinibus* King of *Egypt*, had visited the Place where the *Greeks* said Hell was, that he had played there at Dice with *Ceres*, and sometimes had won, sometimes lost; and that the Goddess had dismissed him with a valuable Present (a).

## CH A P. IX.

### *Of the Judges of Hell.*

**I**T was also from the *Egyptians* that the *Greeks* borrowed their Notion of the infernal Judges, as we have observed from *Diodorus Siculus*. However, if we would take their Word for it, this Fable was very antient among them, as we see in several Places of *Plato* (1). According to antient Tradition, said they, we learn that there was at all Times a Law established, that Men after this Life should be judged, in order to be rewarded or punished as their Actions were good or bad. Under the Reign of *Saturn*, and in the first Years of the Reign of *Jupiter*, this Sentence was pronounced immediately before Death; which gave Occasion to flagrant Iniquities. Princes who had been unjust and cruel, appearing before their Judges with all the Pomp and Apparatus of their Power, and producing Witnesses who deposed in their Favour, because they dreaded their Wrath while they were yet in Life, the Judges, dazzled by this Pageantry, and seduced by those false Testimonies, declared the Princes innocent, and made them pass into the happy Mansion of the Just. The same thing we may say in Proportion as to the Virtuous, who were poor and unsupported, Calumny pursued them even to the last Tribunal, and

(a) L. 2. c. 122. *Gronovius* translates the Greek Word *Χρυσάκη* by *Mantle aureum*, which in *English* signifies a Cloath or Napkin of Gold, or rather wrought with Gold.

(1) In *Gorgia*, p. 523. In *Axiop.* p. 371.

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and found a Way to get them condemned as flagitious in the other World. The Fable adds that upon the reiterated Complaints that were laid before *Jupiter*, and the strong Remonstrances that were made to him, he changed the Form of those Judgments. The Time was fixed to the very Moment after Death. *Rhadamanthus* and *Eacus*, the two Sons of *Jupiter*, were appointed the Judges, the first for the *Asiatics*, the other for the *Europeans*; and over them *Minos* to give a final Decision in dark and dubious Cases. Their Tribunal was erected in a Place called *the Field of Truth*, because there falshood and Calumny had no Access. There a Prince, so soon as he had expired, stood forth to View stripped of all his showy Grandeur, in his own proper Colours, without Guard or Attendance, quite speechless, and trembling for himself after he had made the whole Earth to tremble. If he was found guilty of Vices capable of being expiated, he was confined to *Tartarus* only for a Time, with Assurance to be set at Liberty so soon as he was sufficiently purified.

*Minos*, *Eacus*, and *Rhadamanthus*, were therefore the three Personages who for their strict Probity were chosen to be the Judges in Hell. This would be the proper Place to give their History, but I shall have a more natural Occasion to speak of them elsewhere in the History of *Greece*, where they will have a large Part to act (1).

### C H A P. X.

*Of the Infernal Gods, Pluto, Ceres\*, Proserpine, and Cottyto.*

**P**LUTO, the Son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, or *Ops*, was the youngest of the three *Titan* Brothers, who escaped the Cruelty of their Father. We have already said that in the Division of the World Hell was his Lot, that is, *Italy*, and afterwards *Spain*. To the Arguments

(1) In the sixth Vol.

\* Though *Ceres* is of the Number of the terrestrial Divinities, yet we join her History with that of *Pluto*, because of the Connection between them, and to avoid Repetitions.

Chap. X. *explain'd by HISTORY.* 43

ments already offered to prove that these are the two Countries designed by the *Greeks*, when they gave that Prince Hell for his Lot, I shall add what *Diodorus Siculus* says, namely, that this Fable arose from his being the first who founded the Custom of burying the Dead, of transferring them into Sepulchres, and of bestowing other Honours upon them, which before him had been neglected. But what Probability is there that Duties so natural would be overlooked till the Time of *Pluto*? 'Tis therefore much more probable that he was reckoned the King of Hell, because he lived in a very low Country in respect of *Greece*, where *Jupiter* had fixed his Empire; and the following are the true Foundations of a History which has been so much disguised.

*Pluto* having retired to the Extremity of *Spain*, applied himself greatly to carry on the working of the Gold and Silver Mines, which were very common, especially on the Side of *Cadiz*, where he fixed his Residence (a). Upon which 'tis proper to remark, that though *Spain* is not reckoned at this Day a Country fertile in Mines, yet the Antients speak of it to us as a Country where were many Mines of Gold and Silver: They tell us even by a kind of Hyperbole, that its Mountains and Hills were almost all Mountains of Gold (1); that nigh to *Tartesus* was a Mountain of Silver (2). *Aristotle* informs us that the first *Phœnicians* who landed there, found so great a Quantity of Gold and Silver, that they made their Anchors of those precious Metals. The Author of the Book of the *Maccabees* (3) speaking of the *Romans*, says that they, by the Conquest of *Spain*, made themselves Masters of the Mines of Gold and Silver that were in that

(a) *Betica* where *Pluto* settled, was that Province which we now call *Andalusia*; and the River *Betis*, now called *Guadalquivir*, gave that Name to it. This River formed of old at its Mouth a small Island called *Tartesus*, with a City of that Name; this was the *Tartessus* of the Antients, whence *Tartarus* was formed.

(1) *Possidonius*. (2) *Avienus*. (3) *L. J. c. 8.*

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that Country (a). *Silius* the Poet calls *Spain* a Country fertile in Gold (b).

This doubtless is what obliged *Pluto*, who was ingenious in that kind of Work, to fix his Residence about *Tartessus*; and this is also what made him pass for the God of Riches, and go under the Name of *Pluto* (c), instead of that of *Agesilaus* which he had before; which has frequently made him be confounded with *Plutus* the God of Riches, whom we shall speak of in the following Chapter.

Farther, the Situation of *Pluto's* Kingdom, which was a very low Country in respect of *Greece*, made him pass for the God of Hell. Besides as he continually employed Labourers in the Mines, who are obliged to rake a far Way into the Bowels of the Earth, and in a Manner, as far as Hell and the gloomy Mansions of the Manes, in Search of hid Treasures (d), hence he was said to dwell in the Center of the Earth. Add to this that they who work in the Mines, commonly die there: *Pluto* was therefore reckoned the King of the Dead; and the very Name which he bore, *Ades*, signified *Death*, *Destruction* (e).

Moreover the Ocean, upon whose Coast he reign'd, was accounted a Place overspread with Darknes; and this, I reckon, is the Foundation of all the Fables that were invented afterwards concerning *Pluto* and his Realms of Darknes. 'Tis probable, for Example, that the famous *Tartarus*, that Place so noted in *Pluto's* Empire, comes from *Tartessus* which is near *Cadiz* (f): The River *Lethe* comes, not improbably, from the  
*Guadeletbe*

(a) Et quanta fuerunt in regione Hispaniæ, & quot in potestatem redegerunt metalla argenti & auri quæ illic sunt.

(b) - - - - - Jam terra cedit Ibera,  
Auriferis tandem Phenix depulsus ab oris.

(c) Dictus est Pluto, ἀπο τοῦ πλουτε, hoc est, a divitiis, quæ ex terræ eruuntur visceribus.

(d) In sede manium opes quærimus, nos ad inferos agunt. *Plin.* l. 32. c. 1.

(e) It seems to be formed from the Phœnician Word *Ed*, or *Aid*, exitium.

(f) See *Strabo* & *Don Perzon's* Antiquity of the *Celts*.



*Guadeletæ* which runs over-again<sup>t</sup> that City; and the Lake *Avernus* from the Word *Abarona*, importing, *at the Extremities*; a Name given to that Lake which is near the Ocean; accordingly *Pluto* was specially worshipped at *Cadis* under the Name of *Death*, as *Philostratus* remarks (a). As to which there can be no Doubt, since the *Phœnicians*, whose Language was established at *Cadis* with the Colonies that *Hercules* had planted there, called *Pluto Muth*, their Name for *Death* (b).

Add to this, that all the Names given to him in the several Countries where he was worshipped, have a Reference to this Title, *God of the Dead*. The *Latins* called him *Sumanus* (c), the *Sabines*, *Soranus*, a Word which has Affinity to that of *Coffin*; others *Orcus* or *Argus* (d) or *Februus* (e). The Keys that were put into his Hand instead of a Scepter, signified that this God had the Keys of a Kingdom whence there is no Return: The Sacrifice of black Sheep that were offered him, and other Things of that Nature, allude to the same. This God had several other Names, *Jupiter Stygius*, *Agæsilæus*, *Agæfander*, because he passed for a Leader of People and Colonies, Ἀγεσιλάς, Leader of People, Ἀγεσανδρὺς, of Men; Πλάτος, rich upon Account of the Mines; *Dis* or *Ades*, a terra, *sub terra ejus regnum*; *Dis-pater* or *Diespiter*. I said they offered black Victims to *Pluto*, to which I add that he had this in common with all the infernal Divinities. Ditches were Dug about the Altars, and the principal Ceremony consisted in pouring in thither the Blood of the Victims, as if it had been necessary for it to penetrate to the Kingdom of that God. Again whatever was of bad Prefage was especially consecrated to him, for which Reason the *Romans* dedicated to him the second Month of the Year, and the second Day of the same Month; and that because, according

(a) *Soli hominum festis cantibus Mortem celebrant*, says he of the People of *Cadis*.

(b) *Bechart*, *Chan.* l. i. c. 34. After *Sanchoniathon*.

(c) As much as to say, God of the *Mants*.

(d) *Quasi urgeret interitum*.

(e) From an old Latin Word *Februo*, *purgo*, *lustræ*.

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to a Principle diffused through *Italy* from the Time of *Pythagoras*, the Number two was of all Numbers the most unlucky, designing the bad Principle, and consequently Disorder and Confusion. *Plato* (1), the divine *Plato*, tinctured with the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, compared this Number to *Diana* always barren, and consequently despised.

We have few Monuments of *Pluto* ; but in those which Time has preserved, he is represented with his Scepter or Batton with two Points, to distinguish it from *Neptune's* Trident which had three. We find him likewise seated upon a Throne, holding a Scepter or a Spear in his left Hand, and with the Right giving *Cerberus* a Soap. Sometimes he has the *Calatbus* upon his Head, because *Serapis* whose Symbol the *Calatbus* is, was the same among the *Egyptians*, as *Pluto* among the *Greeks* (a).

*Pluto*, though retired to the utmost Extremity of *Spain*, had Intelligence of the Beauty of *Proserpine*, the Daughter of *Ceres* Queen of *Sicily*, and resolved, according to a Custom very common in those Times, to commit a Rape upon her ; perhaps too having demanded her in Marriage, this young Princess would not quit her Mother, for a Climate that was looked upon as the Extremity of the World ; other Princesses had probably been of the same way of Thinking, and this doubtless is what had given the Poets a Handle to say (b) that this God had complained heavily that though the Brother of *Jupiter*, and the richest Prince in the World, yet no body would marry him ; thus he resolved to carry off *Proserpine* the Daughter of *Ceres*.

*Dio* (c), this was *Ceres's* Name, was Queen of *Sicily* (a),

(1) In *Timeo*.

(a) *Plutarch* in *Is. & Os. Heraclides, Porphyry, &c.*

(b) *Dux Erebi quondam timidus exarsit in iras*

*Prælia moturus superis, quod solus egeret*

*Connubiis, sterileque diu consumeret annos.*

*Claud. de raptu Proserp. l. 1.*

(c) See the sixth Volume of the *Biblioth. Universelle*, where *M. le Clerc* explains this Fable after *Ibodonius* and other Antients, *Engelius, &c.*

*h* (a). The Reign of this Princess was famed for the Care she took in teaching her People the Art of Agriculture; she also established several laws concerning Policy (1) and the Property of Lands, that every one might reap what he sowed without any Molestation (b): Hence this Queen came to be looked upon as the Goddess of Corn and of the Earth. 'Tis proper to remark however that *Ceres* taught Agriculture only to the *Greeks*; the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and several other People, exercised it a long Time before. 'Tis even very probable that this Art had not been quite unknown in *Sicily* and *Greece* till the Time of *Ceres*, and that it was only improved by that famous Queen.

In the mean Time *Pluto* terrified, even in the Bottom of *Hell*, by the Earthquakes in *Sicily*, occasioned by the Efforts which *Typhæus* used, to shake off the cumbrous Load of Mount *Etna*, under which he was buried, resolved to visit that Country, to see if there was not some Chasm made that penetrated even into his Kingdom, fearing that the affrighted Ghosts might see the Light of Day; and after having examined all narrowly, he itopped upon Mount *Eryx*.

*Ceres* had her ordinary Residence in a delightful Place in *Sicily* called *Enna* (c), which signifies *charming Fountain* (2), where were beautiful Meadows watered with perpetual Springs (d). Her only Daughter, who was called *Pherephata*, which imports *Plentiful Fruit*, was walking one Day in those charming Meadows, gathering Flowers with some Virgins of her Retinue, and the Sirens who accompanied them: *Pluto* saw her, fell in Love with her, carried her off, and in an Instant mounting his Chariot drawn by four Horses, pursued his Way directly to *Hell*, notwithstanding

(a) There was another *Ceres*, the Daughter of *Cælus*. *Boccace*, *Lib. Gen. Deor.*

(1) *Porphy.* l. 4. de *Abf.* §. 22.

(b) What *Virgil* calls, *Partiri limite campum.*

(c) *Cic.* in *Verr.* *Diod.* l. 5. *Ovid.* *Fast.* l. 4. & *Met.* l. 5. and others.

(2) *Bochart*, *Chan.* l. 1. c. 28.

(d) *Violis aliisque florum generibus viridans.*

*Diod.* loc. cit.

withstanding the wise Remonstrances of *Minerva*, who endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from this Design. Arrived near *Syracuse*, he found a Lake near which was the Nymph *Cyane*, who after having reproached him for this Violence, was going to stop his Chariot; but *Pluto* with a Blow of his Scepter, opens to himself a Way which leads him to Hell. The Nymph abandoned to despair melts into Tears, and is transformed into Water.

Mean Time *Ceres* apprized of what had befallen her Daughter, run over Sea and Land in quest of her; and when she had travelled all the Day long, she lighted a Torch to continue her Search by Night. One Day as she was quite spent with Fatigue, and found no Fountain to quench her Thirst, she came and knocked at the Door of a Hut, whence came out an old Woman, named *Baubo*, of whom she asked some Drink. The good Woman having presented her with a Draught, the Goddess swallowed it so greedily, that a young Child who was in the Cottage fell a laughing; and *Ceres* provoked with the Indiscretion, threw upon the Child what remained in the Vase, and forthwith he was transformed into a Lizard. *Ceres*, upon her Departure, came near the Lake of *Syracuse*, and perceiving her Daughter's Veil floating upon the Water, she judged her Ravishers must have made their Escape that Way. But she could have got no farther Information of them (*Cyane*, who could have given her Intelligence, having lost the Use of Speech since her Metamorphosis) had it not been for *Aretusa*, a Fountain-Nymph of the same Name, whose Waters, coming from *Elis* into *Sicily*, glide under the Bottom of the Sea, and in the Confines of *Styx*. This Nymph informed the afflicted Goddess that she had seen *Proserpine*, and that she had been ravished by *Pluto*; adding, as an Abatement to her Grief, that her Daughter was a Queen and Spouse to the God of Hell. She entreated her at the same Time not to carry farther her Resentment against the Earth, become barren since  
the

the Goddess had denied to it her precious Gifts, for it was not guilty of the Rape of her Daughter.

Upon this Intelligence *Ceres* mounts her Chariot, traverses the immense Regions of the Air; and arriving at *Olympus*, casts herself down at the Foot of *Jupiter's* Throne, and demands of him her Daughter, who was also his. *Jupiter* having let her know that *Pluto* was not a disadvantageous Match for *Proserpine*, assures her however that she should be given back to her, if she had kept a strict Abstinence since she had been in Hell; but that if she had ate the least Thing, Destiny opposed her Return.

*Proserpine* walking in the Gardens of the Elysian Fields, had plucked a Pomegranate; whereof she had ate some Grains, *Ascalaphus* who was the only one that had seen her, made his Court thereby to his Master, and all that *Jupiter* could do, was to order *Proserpine* to remain six Months of the Year with her Husband, and other six Months with her Mother.

The Indiscretion of *Ascalaphus* cost him dear, since *Proserpine*, by sprinkling him with the Water of *Styx*, transformed him into an Owl.

In the mean Time *Ceres*, satisfied with *Jupiter's* Decision, bethought her how to repair the calamitous Effects occasioned by Famine and Barrenness. As *Attica* had been more distressed by it than other Countries, she went to *Eleusis*, where after having informed *Trip- tolemus* of all that concerned Agriculture, she lent him her Chariot, and ordered him to travel through the whole Earth to teach its Inhabitants so necessary an Art. *Trip- tolemus* having traversed *Europe* and *Asia*, arrived in *Scythia* at the Court of *Lyncus*. This Tyrant, jealous of the Preference which the Goddess had given to that Prince, designed to assassinate him; but just as he was going to pierce his Heart, he was transformed into a Lynx, an Animal which is the Symbol of Cruelty.

Thus *Ovid*, and after him *Claudian*, in his fine Poem upon the Rape of *Proserpine*, relate this Adventure; and what is singular in it, the Historians agree

with the Poets, at least in the Main. *Strabo* (1) mentions the Meadows of *Enna* where *Proserpine* was carried off; and *Cicero*, who seems to take the Fact for granted, has left us a Description of this Place equally elegant and ornamented (2) *Diodorus* says in several Places that *Sicily*, of all the Countries in the Earth, had been most honoured by *Ceres's* Favours, and that there the Goddess had fixed her ordinary Residence. But as this Author must have been very well informed in the Antiquities of his own Country, and as he seems to have read the Writers who went before him, I think fit to copy all that he says upon this Subject. "The *Sicilians*, says he (3), hold by Tradition from their Ancestors, that their Island is consecrated to *Ceres* and her Daughter *Proserpine*; some Poets have written, continues he, that at the Marriage of *Pluto* with that Princess, *Jupiter* gave them *Sicily* for a Nuptial Present; and the Historians, who are accounted the most faithful, say it was in *Sicily* that *Ceres* and *Proserpine* shewed themselves to Men for the first Time, and that this Island is the first in the World where Corn grew." *Homer*, the most celebrated of the Poets, has followed this Tradition, when he says, speaking of *Sicily*:

*The Soil untill'd a ready Harvest yields,  
With Wheat and Barley wave the golden Fields,  
Spontaneous Wines from weighty Clusters pour,  
And Jove descends in each prolific Show'r.*

Pope's *Odysse*. 9. 123.

"Accordingly we see still in the *Leontine* Territory and several other Places of *Sicily*, wild Wheat springing up of itself."

This Author proceeds to give the Description of the Fields of *Enna* where *Proserpine* was carried off, and relates all the other Circumstances of this Fable in the Manner as we have now given them. He adds too that the *Syracusans* have a Custom of offering Oblations every Year, each according to his Abilities,

near

(1) L. 7. (2) Verr. sixth. (3) L. 5. c. 2.

near the Fountain *Cyane*, which *Pluto* made to spring up, when in that Place he opened a Way to himself with a Blow of his Trident, and that after those private Sacrifices they make a publick Offering of Bulls, whose Blood they shed over the same Fountain.

As *Attica*, says the same Author, was the Country most honoured with *Ceres's* Favours next to *Sicily*, the *Athenians* instituted in Honour of her, not only Sacrifices, but also the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, which became venerable for their Sanctity and Antiquity.

Again, the *Sicilians*, continues he, besides the annual Sacrifices which they performed at the Fountain *Cyane*, instituted Feasts in Honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; and they celebrated them in a Manner suitable to a People on whom those Goddeses had conferred so many distinguishing Marks of Respect. These Feasts they place in different Seasons of the Year, in Allusion to the different Appearances of the Corn. The Rape of *Proserpine* is celebrated towards the Time of the Harvest, and the Search of *Ceres*, in Seed Time. The Latter lasts six Days, with splendid and magnificent Apparatus. 'Tis also usual, while this Feast continues, to mix in Conversation some loose and wanton Expressions, because by such Talk *Ceres* had been diverted from her Affliction for the Loss of her Daughter.

After this Detail, *Diodorus* cites, in Confirmation of it, the Authority of antient Poets, especially that of *Carcinus*, who had often been Witnels at *Syracuse* to the Devotion with which the *Sicilians* celebrated the Feasts we have been speaking of.

Besides the Cultivation of Corn, *Ceres*, as we are told by the same Historian, had given Laws to the *Sicilians*; and it was for that Reason she had the Name of *Theismophoros* given her by the People. It was not possible, *Diodorus* judiciously observes, that she could have made Men two finer Presents than to supply them with the Necessaries of Life, and to teach them to live virtuously (a).

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Notwith-

(a) Other Places of *Diodorus*, where he repeats the same things, have waved.

Notwithstanding all these Testimonies, most Mythologists look upon the Rape of *Proserpine* to be only an Allegory which has an obvious Relation to Agriculture. Thus, according to them, the Division which *Jupiter* makes of the Time that this Goddess was to stay with her Husband and her Mother, means no more, but that the Grain, after having lodged six Months in the Earth, appears upon its Surface, grows up, and ripens. And as *Sanctoniathon* informs us that *Proserpine*, *Saturn's* Daughter, died very young, so the Fable may also be allegorized by saying, she was ravished by *Pluto*, only because the Name of that God among the *Phenicians* is *Muth*, which signifies Death. However, ingenious Authors, relying upon the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, refer this Event to History; and as *Don Pezron* and *M. le Clerc* have supported it with most Probability, I shall quote what they say.

*Pluto*, says the former of those Authors (1), though retired to the Extremity of *Spain*, which fell to his Lot, yet had Information of the Beauty of *Proserpine* his Niece (a), and having sent one of his Captains into *Sicily*, who found her with few Attendants, had her carried off without Resistance, and put her into a Chariot, which carried her to the Borders of the Sea, near *Syracuse*, where she was embarked and conducted into *Spain*. As we ascribe to the commanding Officer what is done by his Orders, so it was said that *Pluto* himself carried her off. We may farther add that he used Violence, because after Proposals of Marriage with her, *Ceres* had given him a Denial; and hereby would be verified what we are told by the Poets, namely, that this God had often complained, that, though *Jupiter's* Brother, and the richest Prince of the World, he had not been able to find a proper Match (b), as has been already said.

Besides,

(1) Ant. of the Language of the *Celts*.

(a) She was the Daughter of *Ceres* and of *Jupiter* his Brother; accordingly *Virgil* says, *Castâ licet patrui servet Proserpina lin-*  
*Æn.* l. 6.

(b) *Dux Erebi quondam tumidas exarsit in iras.*



Besides, Rapes were very common in those Times, especially when the Parents refused the Person who was courted for Marriage.

*M. le Clerc* (1), who has explained this Fable perfectly well, alledges that it was not *Pluto* carried off *Proserpine*, but *Aidoneus* the King of *Epirus*, or *Orcus* King of the *Molossi*. As *Aidoneus* employed Labourers in the Mines, and as in the Way to his Country it was necessary to pass a River named *Acheron*, hence this Prince was often confounded with *Pluto*. *Epirus*, which was a very low Country with Respect to the rest of *Greece*, was taken for Hell itself, and we know that *Theseus's* Travels, and after him those of *Hercules* into that Country, were looked upon as Journeys to Hell.

These things premised, that Author proves that *Ceres* or *Dio* reigned in *Sicily* at the same Time that *Aidoneus* governed *Epirus*. The Reign of that Princess was renowned for the Care she took to teach her People Agriculture. She also founded Policy, and settled the Property of Lands, that every one might reap what he sowed without any Molestation.

However ingenious this Explication of *M. le Clerc's* is, I cannot persuade myself that the Rape of *Proserpine* can be ascribed to *Aidoneus* King of *Epirus*, since that Prince lived only in the Time of *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus*, that is, about fifty Years before the Siege of *Troy*, whereas the *Titan* Prince, who went under the Name of *Pluto*, reigned several Ages before. Is it probable that *Ceres* was the first who taught *Sicily* and *Greece* the Art of Agriculture, only in the Time of *Hercules* and *Theseus*? Did they live then upon Acorns and wild Herbs? And had not *Greece* learned, from the Time of *Lycaon* and *Phoroneus*, to substitute more solid food in Place of that which they had in common with the Beasts.

*M. le Clerc*, I know, distinguishes two *Aidoneus's*; the one cotemporary with *Theseus*, and the other with *Abraham* or *Isaac*; and he says it was in the Time of

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the former that *Proserpine* was ravished ; but besides that these two Princes resemble one another too much not to be the same, we may truly say it is but a Question about a Name, and that he calls that Prince *Aidonius* to whom others give the Name of *Pluto*.

But not to insist, 'tis not improbable that those two Explications are no better themselves than two new Fables. Is it to be imagined that *Ceres*, when she was in Quest of her Daughter who was ravished from her, established her own Worship among the *Albani-ans* ; that *Erechtheus* would admit of Feasts which she herself had founded in her own Life-time ; and that *Triptolemus*, whose Father reigned in that Time in *Elenfis*, was Priest to a Woman who was not able to find out her own Daughter.

I know several Chronologists, and particularly the celebrated Sir *Isaac Newton*, relying upon the Authority of *Greek* Writers, endeavour to fix the Time when *Ceres* lived ; that they determine the Date of her Expedition from *Sicily* to *Albens* ; speak of the Year of her Death, and of the Worship that was paid her not long after. But notwithstanding these Authorities, I am persuaded that we are not to seek in *Greece* for any other *Ceres* than the *Ifis* of the *Egyptians*, nor for other Mysteries than those of that Goddess. We are unquestionably certain that almost all the Gods of the *Greeks* and their Worship, came from the eastern Countries, and especially from *Egypt*, with the Colonies that had peopled *Greece* at different Times ; and if there are any of them about whose Transportation we may be certain, it is *Bacchus* or *Osiris*, and *Ceres* or *Ifis* : What therefore had given Rise to the Fable is this. *Greece* was infested with a severe Famine under the Reign of *Erechtheus*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (1) ; *Ovid* too gives a beautiful and ample Description of this Famine. The *Albani-ans*, whose Soil was not very fertile, were more distressed by it than their Neighbours. *Erechtheus* thought fit to send to *Egypt* in quest of Corn, and those whom he had sent

brought, besides the Corn that was sold to them, Worship and Ceremonies of the Divinities whoided over Agriculture.

The Calamity which they had lately suffered, and Dread they had of being again overtaken with famine, made them embrace, without Opposition, the series of a Goddess who was thought to have power to secure them from it. *Triptolemus* at the

Time received that Worship into *Eleusis*. He himself would needs be the first Priest of *Ceres*, and as he lived in Plenty himself, he took to assist his Neighbours by teaching them the series which he had now learned. *Sicily* had emulated the Mysteries of that Goddess some Time before, his was the Reason of its being given out that

had come from *Sicily* to *Athens*. They added her Daughter had been ravished, because the Corns Fruits, which her Name designs, had ceased for Time to yield Subsistence. Again it was said that had carried her away to Hell, because the same had remained all that Time as it were buried in the Center of the Earth; in fine, that *Jupiter* had ended the Quarrel between *Ceres* and *Pluto*, because he saw the Earth again covered with new Harvests. This is the Foundation of this Fable; the Introduction of the Mysteries of *Ceres* into *Sicily* and *Greece*, is what I advance without Proof, since *Herodotus* positively says that the *Thesmophoria*, one of the principal Feasts of *Ceres*, were introduced thither by the Daughters of *Danaus*.

The famous Poet, whose Name is defaced in the *Æra* of the *Arundel* Marbles, celebrated this in a Poem, as we are told in that *Æra*: And proper to remark, 1. That this Poem, which had undoubtedly read, was composed ten Years before the Arrival of *Ceres*. 2. That the Author of the Chronicle of these Marbles considers the Rape of *Proserpine* as a Fable, together with *Ceres's* Travels, and other Circumstances intermixed with this, which undoubtedly imports that the Poet, who speaks of in that Place, had extremely dis-

guised the History of the Translation of *Ceres's* Worship into *Attica*.

If however there are learned Men who, with *Diodorus Siculus*, are inclined to maintain that there really was a *Ceres* in *Sicily*, who gave Laws of Agriculture, we may for their Satisfaction suppose that she, having lost her Daughter, and come to *Attica* in Quest of her, taught *Triptolemus* the Mysteries of *Isis*, and that the *Greeks* having put herself afterwards among the Gods, her Worship came to be confounded with that of the Goddesses of the *Egyptians*.

In the Treaty which *Ceres* made with *Pluto*, *Jupiter* granted her the Return of her Daughter, on Condition that she had ate nothing since her Arrival in Hell. *Ascalaphus* having informed that he had seen her eat six Kernels of a Pomegranate, which she had gathered in the Gardens of Hell, the Decree was reversed, and *Jupiter* ordered *Proserpine* to be six Months in Hell and six Months with her Mother ; or, as we have it in *Apollodorus* (1), nine Months with *Ceres* and three Months with *Pluto*. That Princess, to be revenged upon *Ascalaphus* for his Indiscretion, metamorphosed him into an Owl.

*Ascalaphus*, say they who maintain that *Proserpine* was really stole away by *Pluto*, was one of that Prince's Courtiers, who having advised his Master to the Rape of *Proserpine*, did all in his Power to defeat *Ceres's* Negotiations, and hinder her Daughter from being given back. *Proserpine* afterwards put him to Death, and this is what gave Rise to the Fable : The pernicious Counsels which he had given his Master were the Cause of his Death. His Transformation into an Owl is only a Metaphor, representing to us an odious Person ; unless you will chuse rather to say, that this Fable was published only to figure to us that he kept himself always hid in *Pluto's* Mines, whereof he was the Overseer, and where he died. 'Tis probable that he was crushed to Death by the Fall of some Rock ; which gave the Poets a Handle to feign that

that *Proserpine* had covered him with a huge Stone, as may be seen in *Apollodorus* (1), who will have it that he was punished in that Manner by *Ceres* herself. The Name of *Ascalaphus* imports *one who breaks Stones in Pieces*, and this Name was probably given him to denote his Office. Some Authors contend that he was transformed into a kind of Lizard, which the *Greeks* call *Ascalabos*, and no doubt 'tis the Similitude of Names that gave them a Hint to say so.

*Ovid* adds, that the Nymph *Cyane* reproaching *Pluto* for the Violence he offered to *Proserpine*, was changed by that God into a Fountain; a Circumstance which I take to have no other Foundation but that it was near that Fountain which runs in the Confines of *Syracuse*, that *Pluto's* Emissaries embarked. What the same Poet adds, that a Virgin named *Menta*, whom *Proserpine* changed into a Plant which still bears her Name, and which the *Greeks* call *Hedysmos*, because of its fine Smell, probably means that that Queen, not being able to bear a Rival to share her Husbands Affection, put her to Death. The Resemblance of Names made those who wrote this History of that Court to invent the Transformation.

In the same Place there is also Mention made of the Syrens who accompanied *Proserpine* at the Time she was carried off. But that I may not be obliged to make Repetitions I refer to what I have said of them in the History of the Sea Gods (2). All I shall say now is, that *Ovid* feigned that the Syrens, who accompanied *Proserpine* when she was carried away, obtained from the Gods to become Birds, that they might go in Quest of her, probably because the Syrens, who inhabited upon the Coasts of *Italy*, pretty near *Sicily*, having learnt the Misfortune which had befallen that Princess, fitted out a Ship with Sails to go in Search of her.

The Fable of the Fountain *Aretusa*, and of the Amours of the River *Alpheus* her Lover, who crossed many Countries to visit his Mistress, is founded, according

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) B. I. c. 10.

according to the learned *Bochart* (1), only upon a Quibble in the Language of the first Inhabitants of *Sicily*. The *Phœnicians* who settled there, having found that Fountain encompassed with Willows, called it *Alphaga*, which signifies *the Fountain of Willows*; others gave it the Name of *Arith*, which signifies *a Stream*. The *Greeks*, who arrived there some Time after, not understanding the Meaning of these two Words, and calling to Mind their *Alpheus* which runs in *Elis*, imagined that because the Fountain and the River had nearly the same Name, *Alpheus* must needs have passed through the Sea all the Way to *Sicily*, near the Fountain *Arethusa*. The Notion appeared ingenious to some of the Wits of that Age, who thereupon composed the Romance of the Amours of the River-God and the Nymph *Arethusa*. Most of the antient Historians have been deluded by this Fable, since they have seriously advanced that the River *Alpheus* passed through the Sea, and came into *Sicily* to flow near the Fountain *Arethusa*. This Fable must even have been well supported, since the Oracle of *Delphos* ordering *Archias* to go and plant a Colony of *Corinthians* at *Syracuse*, the Priestess expressed herself in these Terms: *Go into that Isle where the River Alpheus mingles his Waters with those of the beautiful Arethusa*. *Pausanias* (2), who reckons the Story of the Amours of *Alpheus* and *Arethusa* a Fable, influenced by the Authority of so exprets an Oracle, dares not deny but that River runs through the Sea, though he does not see the Possibility of the Thing.

As the famous *Triptolemus*, Son of *Ceres* and *Neera*, was one of those who gave *Ceres* the best Entertainment when she arrived in *Attica*, hence they fabled that this Goddess had taught him the Art of Agriculture, and sent him in her Chariot, drawn by winged Dragons, to propagate through all the World an Art so necessary to Mankind. They add, that she had nursed him with her own Milk; a strong Expression to intimate to us the Care which she had taken to form that Prince's Education. They even went so far as to say,

(1) *Chan. l. i. c. 18.*(2) *In Eliac.*

that *Ceres* put him into the Fire by Night to purify him, and took him out of it every Morning ; metaphorical Expressions setting forth that this Prince, in order to be initiated into the Mysteries of *Isis*, passed through all the Trials that were used on that Occasion. All these mysterious Fables, as well as the Arrival of her in *Attica*, which is so finely represented upon a marble Tomb ingeniously explained by M. de Boze in a Dissertation published in the fourth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles-Lettres ; all these Fables, I say, have no other Foundation but the introduction of the Worship of *Ceres* into *Greece*, and especially into *Attica*, as we have already proved. *Ptolemy*, who reigned there, came to *Eleusis* by sea, as we learn from *Philostratus*, to carry Corn into distant Countries, where at the same Time he taught the Mysteries of *Ceres*, whereof he himself was priest. Before he set out, he had sowed Corn in a Field of *Attica* named *Raria*, as we learn from the tenth Æra of the *Arundel* Marbles. This without doubt is the Key and Resolution of all these Fables ; certainly it refers to the Time when the Worship of *Ceres*, then so antient in *Egypt*, was received in *Greece*, and not to that of Agriculture, which had been known there long before ; unless we chuse to understand it of a new Method of cultivating the ground, which the *Greeks* learned in their Travels to *Egypt*, and put in Practice at that Time. The Marbles now quoted, fix this Date under the Reign of *Peisistratus* ; that is, according to the Commentators on these Marbles, 1426 Years before *Jesus Christ*, 280 thereby before the *Trojan War* (1).

But here a Difficulty occurs, which I believe has never been hitherto taken Notice of ; namely that the *Arundel* Marbles, which point out the three Dates of these Events, don't range them as other Authors do speak of them. In the first of those Æras, which is the twelfth, they make *Ceres* come into *Attica* : In the

(1) We shall see in the sixth Volume that we must bring this date 100 Years nearer.

the thirteenth they say *Triptolemus* began to sow Corn in the Fields of *Eleusis*; and 'tis only in the fourteenth that Mention is made of the Rape of *Proserpine*, and according to this antient Monument, so much to be regarded for many Characters of Truth, the Arrival of *Ceres* at *Albens*, precedes the Rape of her Daughter 10 Years : I am sorry that the learned Commentators who have examined this Monument, have taken no Notice of this.

The Hazard which *Triptolemus* run in his Travels undoubtedly gave Rise to the Fable of *Lyncus*, whose Cruelty they have figured by transforming him into a Lynx. *Triptolemus* happily escaped the Hands of that Tyrant, who jealous of his Reputation, had a mind to put him to Death. The Fable of *Triptolemus*'s being drawn in a Chariot by winged Dragons, is taken from an Ambiguity in the *Phœnician* Language, whereof the Word used in this History signifies either winged Dragons, or a Ship adorned with Iron Beaks, as we are told by *Bochart* (1), and after him by *M. le Clerc*. However I am inclined to the Opinion of *Philochorus*, cited by *Eusebius*, who says, that this Ship was taken for a flying Dragon, because it had upon its Prow the Figure of a Dragon.

Though I am persuaded that the Fables now explained, have no other Foundation but the Introduction of *Ceres*'s Worship into *Greece*, yet 'tis proper to quote here what we learn from a Fragment of *Stobæus* (2), where it is said that *Erechtheus*, who was at War with the *Eleusinians*, learned from the Oracle that he should be victorious if he sacrificed his Daughter *Proserpine*, which, if true, may have given Rise to the Fable.

Another Fragment, which is *Homer*'s, cited by *Pausanias* (3), teaches us the Names of the first *Greeks*, who were initiated into the Mysteries of *Ceres*. These were, according to that Poet, *Triptolemus*, *Celeus*, *Eumolpus*, and *Diocles*. *S. Clemens Alexandrinus* (4) names them *Baubon*, *Disaules*, *Eubuleus*, *Eumolpus*, and *Triptolemus*. I am apt to suspect it was *Eumolpus* himself, or *Museus*.

(1) *Hier.* l. 3. c. 14. (2) *Serm.* 38. (3) *In Corinth.* (4) *In Proem.*



his Father, that compos'd the Poem we have mentioned in Honour of *Ceres*, and this is the Opinion of *Strabo* and *Pausanias*. This *Eumolpus* being the *Hierophantes* of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, was in so great Reputation that he made War upon *Erechtheus*. The two Generals were slain in the Battle, and it was agreed that the *Erechthidae* should be Kings of *Athens*, and the *Eumolpidae* content themselves with the Dignity of *Hierophantes*.

After having explained all the Fables that have any Connection with the History of *Ceres*, I am next to speak of the Mysteries that were instituted in Honour of her.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and other Feasts of Ceres.*

**I** Am not to enlarge much upon a Subject which *Menthus* has thoroughly canvassed, of whose Works we have an excellent Abstract by *M. le Clerc*; but because I might be censured if I said nothing of a Particular which has so much Connection with the History of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, I shall give a brief Account of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries. And what I am to say of them shall be reduced to three Heads. First, I shall treat of the Festivals, then of the Initiated, lastly, of the Priests that celebrated them.

The *Sicilians*, in Gratitude for the Obligations they lay under to this Goddess, founded Feasts and Mysteries to perpetuate the Memory of her good Services. The Time of the Year marked out the Reason of their Institution, since they were celebrated a little before Harvest in Honour of *Proserpine*, and in Seed-time in Honour of *Dio*. Both of their Feasts were celebrated with a great deal of Solemnity; and *Diodorus Siculus* informs us that in the Latter, which lasted six Days, they represented Mens antient Manner of living before the Invention of Agriculture.

The Inhabitants of *Attica*, gratefully affected with the Services of *Ceres*, as well as the *Sicilians*, distinguish-  
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ed themselves also by Feasts instituted to her Honour. The former was called *Proerosia*, because it was celebrated before sowing and tilling; and the Goddess was termed *Proerosia*, according to the Custom of the Antients who gave their Gods as many Names as they had Feasts and Temples.

The second, which was celebrated at *Athens* some Time after, namely, about the Middle of *October*, was named *Thesmophoria*, that is, *the Feast of the Legislators*; it was instituted by *Triptolemus*: But some *Egyptian* Ceremonies, afterwards added that had a Reference to *Orpheus* and the *Danaids*, made some Antients say, that it was a Feast of *Isis* and *Osiris*, propagated from *Egypt* to *Greece*. This Feast lasted five Days at *Athens*, and two Women born of lawful Wedlock were chosen every Day to preside therein; and they took Care to have Sacrifices offered according to their Means, by the Hands of a Priest named *Stephanophorus*, or *Crowned*. They set out from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, when they performed Sacrifices on the second of the Month *Pyanepsion*, which answers in part to our *October*; and that Day was called *Anodos*, that is, *the Ascent*, because they went up to *Eleusis*. The same Women bore upon their Heads the Books of the Laws of *Dio*, and sung Hymns to her Honour. When they arrived, they lived very reserved, remote from the Company of Men, and appeared in a modest Habit, and without Crowns upon their Heads; abstaining especially from eating Pomegranates, whose Fruit had been so fatal to the Goddess: They even fasted the third Day, which they passed in the Temple of *Ceres*, sitting at the Feet of her Altars. Then they rallied one another to provoke mutual Laughter, as *Baubo* had done to *Ceres*, when she came into her Hut.

Last of all, they performed Sacrifices in secret, the Ceremonies whereof were not allowed to be divulged. The Feast ended with a Sacrifice named *Zemia*, that is, *of Atonement*, being designed to expiate the Faults they had committed during the Solemnity.

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The third Feast was celebrated in the Month of *December*, and was called *Aloa*, from the Word *Alos* which signifies, a *Barn Floor*, because that was the Time when they used to thresh the Corn, and to be in the Barns. But the most solemn was that which was celebrated at *Eleufis*, in the Month of *August*; it was named by Way of Excellence, *the Mysteries*. By whom this Festival was instituted is not agreed. Some Authors would have it to have been by *Erechtbeus*, others by *Museus*, or *Eumolpus*, or *Orpheus* (a). These Things had given Rise to its Institution; the Invention of Agriculture, the Laws of *Ceres*, and the other Adventures which befel her at *Eleufis*; and the Memory of all these was kept up by particular Ceremonies (b). Thus this Solemnity comprehended the Motives of all the rest.

The *Eleufinian* Mysteries were of two Sorts, the Greater and the Lesser; one Qualification requisite to both was to be able to keep a great Secret. Though *Trip- tolemus* had appointed that no Stranger should be capable of being initiated into the great Mysteries, yet *Hercules*, to whom they durst refuse nothing, demanded to be admitted to them, and upon his Account other Ceremonies were instituted, which they called the Lesser Mysteries, and these were celebrated afterwards at *Agra* near *Athens*. Those who were ambitious of being admitted to them, repaired to this Place in the Month of *November*, sacrificed to *Jupiter*, and kept the Skins of the Victims to lay under their Feet when they were purified upon the Banks of the River *Iliffus*. We know not exactly what Sort of Ceremonies were made Use of in those Purifications; only that Salt was there employed, Leaves of the Laurel-Tree, Barley and Crowns of Flowers, Sea-Water and River-Water: He who performed the Ceremony was called *Udranos*, because he poured Water upon

(a) It was in the Month *Boedromion*, which answers in part to the Month of *August*.

(b) See *Monfius* in his Treatise of the *Eleufinian* Mysteries, and *M. le Clerc*, *Bibl. Univ.* Tom. 6,

upon the Candidates for the Mysteries. It was also necessary, during that whole Time, to keep strictly chaste; and, last of all, to sacrifice a Sow with young. These lesser Mysteries served as a Preparation for the greater ones, which were celebrated at *Eleusis*; and by their Means Persons were initiated into the secret Ceremonies of *Ceres*. After having passed thro' a good many Trials, the Person was *Mystes*, that is, qualified for being very soon initiated into the greater Mysteries, and to become *Epoples*, or the Witness of the most secret Mysteries, which was not procured till after five Years Probation; during which, he might enter into the Vestible of the Temple, but not into the Sanctuary: And even when he was *Epoples*, and enjoyed that Privilege, there were still many Things, the Knowledge whereof was reserved to the Priests alone.

When one was initiated, he was introduced by Night into the Temple, after having his Hands washed at the Entry, and a Crown of Myrtle put upon him. Then was opened a little Box wherein were the Laws of *Ceres*, and the Ceremonies of her Mysteries; and after having given him these to read, he was made to transcribe them. A slight Repast, in memory of that which the Goddess had got from *Baubo*, succeeded this Ceremony; after which, the *Mystes* entered into the Sanctuary, over which the Priest drew the Veil, and then all was in Darkness in the twinkling of an Eye. A bright Light succeeded, and exhibited to View the Statue of *Ceres* magnificently adorned; and while they were attentive in considering it, the Light again disappeared, and all was once more wrapped up in profound Darkness. The Peals of Thunder that were heard, the Lightnings that flashed from all Hands, the Thunder that broke in the midst of the Sanctuary, and a thousand monstrous figures that appeared on all Sides, filled the Initiated with Horror and Consternation; but the next Moment a Calm succeeded, and there appeared in broad Daylight a charming Meadow, where all came to dance and make merry together.

'Tis probable that this Meadow was in a Place inclosed with Walls behind the Sanctuary of the Temple, which they opened all of a sudden when the Day-light was let in ; and this Scene appeared the more agreeable, that it succeeded a Night when nothing but doleful and hideous Objects were to be seen. There it was that amidst Jollity and Mirth all the Secrets of the Mysteries were revealed ; there, according to some Authors, the most unbounded Licentiousness reigned ; the *Myllus* was there exhibited, which the *Sicilians* bore about in the Feasts of *Ceres*, and *Tertullian* adds the *Phallus* of the *Egyptians*. But after all, we know not well what passed there, these Mysteries having been long kept an impenetrable Secret ; and had it not been for some Libertines who got themselves initiated in order to divulge them, they had never been brought to Light. This much is true, that the greatest Modesty, and even a pretty severe Chastity was exacted from the *Mystræ* and Women who presided over the Feasts of this Goddess. The Purifications and Oblations that were there practised, would make one imagine they were not so dissolute as some Authors have alledged ; unless we will say that the Abuses which the Fathers of the Church speak of were not in the primitive Institution, but had only crept into them afterwards. The Night being spent in these Ceremonies, the Priest dismissed the Assembly with some barbarous Words, which shews that they had been instituted by People who spoke another Language (*a*), namely by the *Egyptians*, and in a Word that they were the same, as has been already said, with the Mysteries of *Isis*, but to which the *Greeks* had, in Process of Time, added a great many Ceremonies of their own.

After having spoke of the Initiated, we must, before we be done, say something of the Ministers who officiated in these Festivals. The first was a *Hierophantes*, or a *Mythagogos*, that is, a Man who shews

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the

<sup>a</sup> These Words were *Conx* and *Om pax*, which *M. le Clerc* signifies, *to watch and do no Evil*.

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the Sacred Things<sup>(a)</sup>, and the Initiated were not permitted to mention his Name to the Profane. This *Hierophantes* was to be an *Atbenian* of the Family of the *Eumolpide*, of a certain Age, with other Qualifications prescribed by the Laws, and was especially to keep a perpetual Continence. The second was a *Daduchus* or *Torch-bearer*. The third a *Sacred Herald*. The fourth a *Minister of the Altar*; this was a young Man who put up Prayers in Behalf of the Assembly, and was subject to the superior Ministers. Besides these four Ministers there were two Prophets to do Sacrifice, and five Delegates, to see that all Things were performed in Order; the first was called the *King*, and the other four *Epimeletes*.

The Feast of Initiation lasted nine Days; the first was called *Azyrmos*, or *Day of the Assembly*; and it was taken up in the Ceremonies I have been speaking of. On the second, the *Mystæ* were sent to the Sea to bathe themselves. On the third was sacrificed a *Barbel* with Flower and Cakes. On the fourth Oxen were yoked in a Chariot whose Wheels were made like Drums. The Women walked along with the Chariot, crying *Hail, Mother Dio!* and bearing little Boxes in which were Cakes, Wool, Pomegranates, and Poppies. None of the Profane durst look upon this Chariot; and whoever happened to be at the Windows were obliged to withdraw. On the fifth they walked the Streets all Night long, in Imitation of the Search which *Ceres* had made for her Daughter. On the sixth they carried from *Eleufis* to *Athens* a large Statue of a young Man, crowned with Myrtle, and bearing in his right Hand a Torch; him they called *Jacchus*— a Name which M. le Clerc derives from the *Phœnician* *Eaach*, an Interjection of Joy and Transport. And indeed this Statue was accompanied with loud Exclamations of Joy and with Dancing; and 'tis very probable that it represented some of those who accompanied *Ceres* in her Affliction. On the seventh was celebrated the *Gymnic Games*, where the Combat

(a) He was likewise sometimes called *Prophet*.

were naked: These were the most antient Games of Greece, instituted in Memory of the Invention of Tillage. The eight Day was employed in initiating those on whom the Ceremony had not hitherto been performed. This Day was termed *Epidauria*, because *Esculapius* had arrived on that Day from *Epidaurus* to be initiated; a Favour which they were very willing to grant him. The Ninth was employed in filling two Vessels with Water, after which they were emptied in pronouncing some Words, whereby it seems they supplicated the Goddess for Rain, to fructify the Earth (1), and that Day was termed *Plemorboë*, a Word importing *an earthen Vessel flat at Bottom*.

These were the greatest Mysteries of Greece, into which every body was desirous to be initiated: The whole represented the History of *Ceres*, her Laws, and the Care she had taken of Agriculture. Secrecy was therein especially enjoined with great Strictness, not so much to hide their Abominations, as because the Initiated were thereby let into the Secret History of *Ceres* and her Daughter, which was necessary to be concealed from the Public, lest had it been known that these two Goddesses had only been mortal Women, their Worship should have become contemptible; which is the Opinion of *M. le Clerc* after *Meursius* and some of the Antients. This Opinion is favoured by *Cicero* (2), while he insinuates that it was the Humanity of *Ceres* and her Daughter, their Places of Interment, and several other Things of that Nature, that they concealed with so much Care. In the mean Time 'tis proper to remark that the Initiated were allowed to converse together upon these Things, which made the Secret the less uneasy to them.

Lastly, before I conclude the History of *Ceres*, it remains that I describe the Manner of representing her, and what Victims were offered to her. *Ceres* appears commonly upon antient Monuments like a Woman with a very big Belly, crowned with Ears

F 2

of

(1) *M. le Clerc, loc. cit.* (2) *Tulc. Quæst. l. 1. c. 13.*

of Corn, and holding in her Hand a Branch of Poppy : A Circumstance alluding to what we are told by some of the Antients, that upon *Ceres's* Arrival in *Greece*, some Grains of Poppy were given her to dispose her to Sleep, which she had not enjoyed since the Rape of her Daughter, besides that this Plant is very fertile. To her the first Fruits were offered, and her usual Victim was the Sow, because that Animal is very pernicious to Corn-fields. At her Sacrifices they did not use Crowns of Flowers, but of Myrtle or *Narcissus's* to figure the Mourning-dress she had wore since *Proserpine's* unlucky Adventure ; and the *Sicilians*, in imitation of their Queen, run up and down in the Night Time with Torches in their Hands ; this was one of the principal Ceremonies of their Feasts, as has been already said.

As to what remains, though it be neither necessary nor possible to explain all the Circumstances of these Fables, I should be glad however that some body would favour us with some Conjectures about them. We are told that while *Ceres* was in Quest of her Daughter, *Neptune* meeting her fell in Love with her ; that the Goddess having concealed herself under the Form of a Mare, the God of the Sea transformed himself into a Horse to seduce her, with which she was so highly offended, that after having washed herself in a River, she returned into a Cave and there lay concealed. In the mean Time Famine and Pestilence beginning to ravage the whole Earth during the Absence of the Goddess, the Gods made search for her every where, without being able to get any Information of her, till *Pan* keeping his Flocks discovered her, and apprized *Jupiter* of it : He sent the fatal Sisters, who by their Prayers brought her from her Retreat. This Cave was in *Sicily*, and there was to be seen a Statue of *Ceres* clad in Black, with a Horse's Head, holding a Pigeon in one Hand and a Dolphin in the other. The *Sicilians* called her *the black Ceres*, or *the Erinnyes*, because the Outrages offered



ed her by *Neptune* had turned her frantic and furious.

The Mythologists, I know, will discover in this Fable several pretty Allegories; happy he who shall light upon the true one. In the mean Time, I offer it as a Conjecture of my own, that possibly they had no other View in this whole Fiction, but to signify that *Ceres*, in Quest of her Daughter over Sea and Land, suffered some Insult from a Pirate, whose Ship bore the Figure of a Horse; which Story they veiled under the mysterious Fable now related.

I joyn *Cotytto* with *Proserpine*, several Mythologists being of Opinion that this was only a Sirname of that Goddess, founded upon the Resemblance between the Mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, and those which the *Athenians* celebrated in Honour of *Cotytto*. 'Tis true, a great many Obscenities were committed in both; but that is not enough to persuade us that *Cotytto* was only the Sirname of *Proserpine*. I take them to have been two Goddesses quite distinct from one another; this at least is the Opinion of *Strabo* (1), who says, that *Cotytto* was a Goddess worshipped in *Thrace*; and *Synefius*, in his Epistles, agrees with *Strabo*.

The Priests of *Cotytto* had the Name of *Baptæ*, and were justly looked upon as the vilest of Men, upon Account of the obscene Rites with which they defiled themselves without any Check or Controul. And to be sure they must have carried Debauchery very far, since *Juvenal*, who paints them to the Life with one Stroke, says, they tired out their Goddess *Cotytto*, though she was the Goddess of Lewdness.

*Cecropiam soliti Baptæ lassare Cotytto* (2)

The *Athenians* had received from the *Thracians* the Mysteries of this filthy Deity, which were called *Cotyttea*, and they celebrated them with a great deal of solemnity; but in a Secret and mysterious Manner, as we are told by *Juvenal*. *Eupolis* had composed

F 3

a Co-

(1) *L. 19.*

(2) *Sat. 2.*

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a Comedy intituled *Cotytto*, where he rallied those Mysteries, and particularly *Alcibiades* who participated in them; which cost that Poet his Life.

If we may believe the antient Scholiast upon *Juvenal*, 'tis these Mysteries and the Obscenities therein committed that *Canidia* speaks of in *Horace* (1).

*Inultus ut tu viferis Cotyttia  
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis.*

*And do you still hope for Impunity, after having exposed the Mysteries of the Goddess Cotyttto, and divulged those Rites that are sacred to the Freedoms of Love?*

C H A P. XII.

*Plutus the God of Riches.*

**A**S we rake into the very Bosom of Hell, says *Pliny*, in Search of Riches, and are led thereby to the gloomy Kingdom of the Dead, 'tis not without Reason that *Pluto* has been ranked among the Gods of the infernal Regions. *And would to God!* exclaims the Poet *Timacreon* (a), by way of Apostrophe to this God, *you had always remained in those gloomy Mansions, and had never been seen either by Sea or Land.*

Some Antients, from the near Resemblance between their Names, have taken *Plutus* and *Pluto* for one and the same God; but the greatest Part have always distinguished them. All are agreed with *Hesiod* that the latter was the Son of *Chronos* or *Saturn* and *Rhea*; now the same Poet asserts (2) that *Plutus* owed his Original to *Ceres* and *Jasion*. *Ceres*, says he, *having had Commerce with the Heroe Jasion, had a Son by him named Plutus, whom she brought forth in the Island of Crete, and who was very powerful by Sea and Land.*

I am not ignorant that the old Scholiast upon *Hesiod*, followed herein by several other Authors, allego-

(1) *Canid. Respons. Epod. Od. 18.*

(a) See *Lyllo Giraldi. Synt. 6.* who has quoted the Fragment of this antient Greek Poet.

(2) *Theog. in fine.*

rizes this Genealogy of *Plutus*, and that in this Light nothing could be more just than to make him the Son of *Ceres* and *Jafon*, whose whole Life had been applied to Agriculture, since 'tis by Means of this that substantial Riches are acquired.

*Diodorus Siculus* (1), who is of the same Opinion with this antient Scholiast, gives *Plutus* another Extraction; *Jafon*, says he, dwelt in the Island of *Samo-tribrace*, while his Brother *Dardanus* went and settled upon the Coast of *Troas*, received there *Cadmus*, and gave him in Marriage his Sister *Harmonia*; for, says this Author, the *Greek* Mythologists are mistaken when they assert that she was the Sister of *Mars*. The Gods, adds *Diodorus*, vouchsafed to attend the Celebration of this Marriage, and this was the first Time they were present at such a Ceremony. Each of them came thither with his Present, and *Ceres*, who loved *Jafon* dearly, brought Corn for hers. And hence, according to him, is the Source of this Fable. *Jafon*, continues he in the same Passage, afterwards espoused *Cybele*, and was ranked among the Gods.

*Dionysius Halicarnassens*, an Author no less accurate than well instructed in the *Greek* and *Roman* Antiquities, thus speaks of this Personage (2): *Jupiter* having married *Electra*, Daughter of *Atlas*, had two Sons by her, *Dardanus* and *Jafus*. The latter was not married: But *Dardanus* espoused *Chrysa* the Daughter of *Pallas*, by whom he had *Ideus* and *Dimas* who succeeded him; but a particular Deluge in *Arcadia* where they reigned, having obliged *Jafus* and *Dardanus* to depart thence, they went in Quest of Adventures elsewhere. *Dardanus* became at last the Head of the Colony, his Brother *Jafus* being crushed to Death by Thunder, for having made an Attempt upon the Honour of *Ceres*. *Homer* gives the same Account of *Jafon's* Death, as well as *Hermippus* in *Hyginus* (3).

That there was such a Person as *Jafon* is therefore a Thing not be doubted: And since he was a Man of Wealth and Power, which made him pass for a

F 4

Lover

(1) L. 5. (2) *Ant. l. r. c. 53.* (3) *Cælo Poet. in Artophyl.*

Lover of *Ceres*, may we not reduce to History this whole Fiction, and say it was his Son whom they called the God of Riches? It will be objected that there ought to be some Authority brought in Proof of his having had a Son who was called *Plutus*; but if that will do the Business, Authority is not wanting. *Hyginus*, in the Passage already quoted, adds the Testimony of an antient Historian of the City of *Gnoſſus* in the Island of *Crete*, named *Petellides*, who positively asserts it. “ To *Ceres* and *Jafon*, says that “ antient Historian, were born two Sons *Philomelus* and “ *Plutus*, who had but little Favour for one another. “ The latter, who was extremely rich, imparted no “ Share of his Substance to his Brother, who being “ fore reduced, sold the small Estate he had, bought “ two Oxen with the Price, and set about the culti- “ vating of the Ground, and was the first that applied “ himself to Agriculture. His Mother *Ceres*, after “ having admired the Art which her Son had invent- “ ed, placed him among the Stars, where he forms “ the *Bootes*; or the *Artophylax*.” Here then, according to the Authority of an antient Historian, whom *Hyginus* does not contradict, is a Son of *Jafon*, named *Plutus*, a very rich Man; and who consequently may be the God of Riches adored by the *Greeks* (a).

This *Plutus*, the God of Riches, whoever he was, having been observed to dispense his Favours very unequally, was therefore given out to be blind, as well as Love; *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus*, adds that he was lame, because whenever he had a Mind to enrich the Good, he came to them but very slowly; and when he came to favour them, he was said to be  
very

(a) Ex his (id est Cerere & Jafione) ut Petellides Gnoſſius historiarum scriptor demonstrat, nascuntur filii duo Philomelus & Plutus, quos negant inter se convenisse. Nam Plutum qui ditior fuerit, nihil fratri suo de bonis concessisse: Philomelum autem necessario adductum, quodcumque habuerit, vendidisse, ex eo boves duos emisse, & ipsum primum plaustrum fabricatum esse. Itaque arando & colendo agros, ex eo se aluisse. Cujus matrem inventum miratam, ut arantem eum inter sidera constituisse, & Bootem appellasse. Hygin. Cæl. Poet. Astr. in Arctophy.

very clear sighted, and to have good Eyes. We know in what Manner this comic Poet rallies the *Athenians* with respect to this God, and how, when the good *Cremylus* had restored his Sight to him, he puts him in the Place of *Jupiter*, and makes him to be the only God whom they invoked.

*Pindar*, *Aristophanes*, and *Lucian*, tell us, that *Plutus* was a dastardly God, whence *Erasmus* has taken Occasion to make one of his Proverbs; but *Plutus* vindicates himself from that Imputation, in the Comedy which I have cited, and says that as Thieves and Robbers never could catch him, that is, never could make themselves Masters of great Riches, hence they constructed his Precaution and Foresight to be Cowardice.

*Saint Jerome*, followed by several Ecclesiastic Writers, alledges that the *Syriac* or *Chaldaic* Word *Mammona*, was the same with the *Plutus* of the *Greeks*; 'tis true indeed that Word signifies *Riches*, and in the Books of *Genesis* and *Job*, *Matbmon* is taken for Treasures; but this, as I take it, is no Proof that the *Syrians* and *Chaldeans* had made a God of Riches.

## C H A P. XIII.

## The F U R I E S.

**I**F the Pagans have justly been reproached for embracing a licentious Theology, according to which the Gods themselves had given Examples of the greatest Irregularities, we ought at least to do them Justice as to some Articles wherein they had consulted clearer Reason: Such, among others, is that of the *Furies* appointed for chastising those in the other World who had led an irregular Life in this. Though I have given a particular Dissertation upon this Subject, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1), yet I cannot chuse but give an Abstract of it here.

When we trace out the Origin of the Pagan Gods, we are obliged to have Recourse to the Poets who have

(1) *Tam. 7.*

have given their Genealogy; but we soon perceive that they had no other Guides but a confused Tradition, which left them at entire Liberty to choose the Opinion which they thought the most mysterious. Accordingly *Apollodorus* (1) says, the *Furies* had been formed in the Sea from the Blood which issued from the Wound that *Saturn* had given his Father *Cælus*. *Hesiod* who makes them younger by one Generation (2), gives the Earth for their Mother, who conceived them from the Blood of *Saturn*; But the same Poet in another Work (3), so precarious were the Principles of Theology which he followed, asserts that those very Goddesses were the Daughters of *Discord*; and to give a higher Proof of his Exactness, he adds that they were born the fifth Day of the Moon, a Sentiment which *Virgil* has followed in his *Georgicks* (4); thus assigning to a Day which the *Pythagoreans* thought sacred to Justice, the Birth of Goddesses who were to inflict it with the utmost Rigor.

*Lycophron* (4) and *Eschyles* (5) will have it that the *Furies* were the Daughters of Night and *Acheron*. The Author of a Hymn addressed to the *Eumenides* asserts that they owed their Birth to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*; *Sophocles* (6) makes them spring from the Earth and Darkness; and *Epimenides* says, they were the Sisters of *Venus* and the *Parcæ*, and the Daughters of *Saturn* and *Evonymus*. Had I a mind here to make an Ostentation of Learning, I might expatiate upon what is advanced by Mythologists and Commentators as to the different Originals now assigned: But it requires no great Penetration to find out, that the Poets in this followed the Traditions of their own Times and Countries; or that each had given to those Divinities such Parents as seemed to suit best with their Character; and that having nothing plausible nor certain

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(1) L. 1. (2) Theog. l. 1. (3) Opera & Dies.

(4) *Ipse dies alios, alio dedit ordine luna  
Felicis operum: quintam fuge, pallidus Orcus,  
Eumenidesque facæ.*

(4) In Alex. (5) In Eumenid. (6) In Oedip.

to deliver to us upon this Subject, they had a mind to give their Genealogies at least an Air of Mystery which People durst not always dive into. I reckon we must go farther back to find out the true Original of the Divinities now in Question.

It was a general Opinion that after this Life there were Places allotted for the Punishment of the Wicked and the Reward of the Good; and no Doubt upon this Idea were formed the Elysian Fields and Hell; And as there were Judges there appointed for rendring to every one the Justice he deserved, so the *Furies* were imagined to be their Ministers, and to execute the Sentences which they passed upon the Wicked. It is likewise possible (for after all Idolatry followed true Religion too near not to have preserved some of its Truths) it is possible I say, that a confused Knowledge of the Fall of the Angels and their Punishment, had given Rise to the Introduction of *Furies*, who are themselves Devils appointed to be the Tormentors of the Guilty; and this I am apt to think was the true Original of these Divinities; this is what made them be invented by those who embraced this natural Notion, that there were to be Rewards and Punishments after this Life. For though this Truth has been disfigured by the absurd Fables that have been intermixed with it, 'tis easy however to distinguish the Substance of the Opinion from the Veils they were obliged to draw over it, to render it the more familiar.

We ought to judge thus favourably for the Sake of the Philosophers, who doubtless had sounder Ideas than the People, and not say with *Lucretius*, that whatever had been delivered about the infernal Regions had a Reference only to this Life (a).

If the Antients varied as to the Original of the *Furies*, they have not been more unanimous as to their Number; at first it would seem they admitted only three

(a) *Atque ea nimirum quaecunque Acheronte profundo  
Prædita sunt esse; in vita sunt omnia nobis.*

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three of them, *Tisiphone*, *Megea*, and *Alecto*; and these Names which import, *Rage*, *Slaughter*, *Envy*, &c. were perfectly applicable to them (a). *Ausonius* makes it even a kind of Axiom (1), there are three *Gorgons*, three *Harpies*, and three *Destinies*. *Euripides* reckons the Goddess *Lyssa* among the *Furies*, because she inspired Rage and Fury, whence her Name was derived. *Juno* in that Poet orders *Iris* to conduct her armed with Serpents to *Hercules*, to infuse into him that Madness to which he owed the Loss of his Life. *Plutarch* (2) allows of but one *Fury*, whom he calls *Adrasta*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Necessity*, it was she, according to that Author, who was the sole Minister of the Vengeance of the Gods.

From the Manner in which *Virgil* paints the *Harpies*, it appears that he takes them into the Number of the *Furies*: He even calls them by that Name when making *Celso* speak, he says (3),

——— *Vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

In fine, the Goddess *Nemesis*, or the *Nemesis*, for they reckoned more than one of them, are also to be taken into the Number of the *Furies*. They have all their Characters; Daughters of the Night and the Ocean, they were appointed to examine into Mens Actions, for the Punishment of the Bad and the Reward of the Good.

Besides these three particular Names, the Antients gave other general ones to those three Goddesses. The *Latins* called them *Furies*, because of the Fury they inspired; and the *Greeks* *Erynides*, as much as to say ἐρις νῆς, *contentio mentis*; or because, as *Pausanias* remarks, ἐριννεῖν signifies to fall into Fury. The *Sicyonians*, as we are told by the same Author, called them σέμνας θεάς, the venerable Goddesses, and the *Athenians*

(a) *Tisiphone*, quasi τίσις καὶ φόβος, *Megea* comes from μεγαλίστη, or from μεγὰλν Ἐρις, *great Contention*; and *Alecto* from α, & ἀλγῶ, *Refless and Unrelenting*. See *Phurnutus*.

(1) Gryph. Num. ternarii. (2) De Ser. Num. Vind. (3) *Æn.* l. 111. 252.



*s μανίας* (1). In fine, after that *Orestes* had them by Sacrifices, they got the Name of *es*, or *Benevolent*; for I am not of *Lylio Gypinion*, that they were so called by the Rule of, *quod minime sunt benevole* (2). The very of their getting this Name is a Refutation of mology. The *Greek* and *Latin* Poets frequent the *Furies* Epithets denoting either their Character, their Habit, or the Serpents which they wore of Hair, or the Places where they were wor-: Thus *Ovid* (3) calls them the Goddeses of, when he speaks of the Fury with which they *Alys*.

not difficult, after what I have now said, to what were the Functions of the *Furies*. An- has always looked upon them as the Ministers Vengeance of the Gods, and as stern and in- Goddeses, whose sole Employment was to Vice, not only in the infernal Regions, but this Life, pursuing the Guilty incessantly with that gave them no Rest, and with dreadful Vi- which often frightened them out of their Senses. d be obliged to copy almost all the Poets, espe- *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*, were I to re- that they say of the frantic Disorders of whom they tormented. We know with what Strokes *Virgil* paints the Disorder occasioned by those *Furies* in the Court of *Latinus*. What e did to *Etbeocles* and *Polynices*, is unknown e who have read *Statius* (4). *Ovid* represents he same Vivacity the whole Havock caused at by the Fury whom *Juno* had sent to take Re- upon *Atbamas* (5); and all that *Isis* suffered another Fury, whom the same Goddes had up to persecute her. But of all whom those im- le Goddeses tormented, no Body was a more uous Example of their Vengeance than the un- *Orestes*, and the Theatres of *Greece* frequently refounded

in *Arcad.* & in *Att.*  
hebræd. (5) *Met.* l. 4.

(2) *Synt.* 6.

(3) *Fast.* l. 6.

resounded with the Shrieks of that Parricide, whom they pursued with so much Fury:

The *Furies* were employed not only in punishing the Guilty, but also in chastising Men by Diseases, by War, and the other Strokes of celestial Wrath: *Virgil* however seems to have distributed these several Functions among the three *Furies*, so that *Tisiphone* was employed for contagious Distempers (1), while *Alecto's* Functions particularly related to the Disorders of War (2). According to this Idea, *Statius* has called her the Mother of War (3). In fine, when any Person was to be put to Death, *Megara* was she whom the Gods commonly made use of.

*Cicero* has reduced to a very judicious Moral all the different Functions of the *Furies*. "We need not have Recourse, says he, to *Furies* armed with flaming Brands to be the Tormenters of the Wicked. The Stings and Remorses of a guilty Conscience are the only *Furies* designed by the Poets." They figure, no doubt, the Testimony of an evil Conscience, that gnawing Worm which incessantly preys upon the Guilty, of which *Nero* himself complained that he never could get rid, as we are told by *Suetonius* (4).

Goddeffes so awful commanded particular Homage. In short, so great was the Veneration paid to them, that People durst hardly mention their Names, as *Æschylus* tells us in his *Orestes*, or cast their Eyes upon their Temples. If we may believe *Sophocles* (5), it was accounted an Act of Impiety what *Oedipus* did, when going to *Athens* as a Suppliant, he retired into a Grove that was consecrated to them in the Village of *Colone*, and he was obliged, before he departed, to appease them by Sacrifice, whereof this Poet, and *Æschylus*, in his *Pharmaceutria*, have left us the Description. The Inhabitants of *Colone* enjoined him to pour out Fountain-water, which was to be drawn in Vessels whose Handles were covered with the Wool of a young Lamb. After which, turning himself towards the East

(1) *Georg.* 1. 3.(2) *Eneid.* 1. 7.(3) *Theb.* 1.(4) *In Nero.*(5) *In Oedip. Epicolon.*

East, he performed a Libation with *Oxyerat* \*, and threw upon the Earth at three Times nine Olive-branches. He was especially prohibited to mix Wine in the Sacrifice.

The *Furies* had Temples in several Places of Greece. The *Sicyonians*, if we may believe *Pausanias* (1), sacrificed to them yearly upon the Day of their Festival, Ewes big with Lamb, and offered to them Crowns and Garlands of Flowers, especially of *Narcissus*, according to *Sophocles* and *Pburnutus*, a Plant beloved by the infernal Deities, upon account of the Misfortune that had befallen the young Prince of that Name (a). They had likewise a Temple in *Achaia* in the City of *Caryneum*, with very small wooden Statues (2). This Place was so fatal to those who were guilty of any Crimes that, so soon as they entered into it, they were seized with a sudden Fury, which deprived them of their Reason, so much were they disordered by the Presence of those Goddesses, joined with the Reflection upon their Crimes. These Examples must needs have happened even more than once, since it was found necessary, as *Pausanias* says, to debar all from entering thither. The same Author adds, that in the Statues of these Goddesses themselves was nothing either very singular or curious, but that in the Vestibule were several others in Marble of an exquisite Workmanship, representing Women who were taken for the Priestesses of these Goddesses. This is the only Passage, as far as I know, where the *Furies* are said to have had Priestesses, since we find elsewhere that their Ministers were Men, whom the Inhabitants of *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, named *Hyschides*. *Demosthenes* owns that he himself had been the Priest of those Goddesses (3), in the Temple which *Orestes* had built them

\* A Composition of Water and Vinegar.

(1) In Arcad.

(a) *Fastidius* upon the first Book of the *Iliad* says, the Reason why they offered the *Narcissus* to the *Furies*, was owing to the Etymology of the Word *ταρῆναι*, *torpere*. *Quia Furiae torporem immittebant sceleratis.*

(2) Idem. in Acha. (3) Orat. in Midiam.

them near the *Areopagus* (1). We are told, that *Philoctetes*, Uncle to *Orestes*, summoned that unfortunate Prince before that severe Tribunal (2); and his Cause having been tried very strictly, and the Suffrages of the Judges found equal, *Minerva* added hers, whereby he was acquitted; that is to say, Wisdom and Equity at length got the better of the Intrigues and Interest of a Party. All who appear before those Judges, were obliged to offer a Sacrifice in the same Temple, and to swear upon the Altar to the *Furies*, that they were ready to tell the Truth.

But of all the Temples dedicated to those Divinities there was none of them, next to that of the *Areopagus*, more noted than that which the same *Orestes* built in *Arcadia*. It was in that Part of the *Peloponnesus*, that the *Furies* (3) appeared to him for the first Time, which threw him into such a Fit of Madness, that he ate his own Finger. Having retired from thence to a Field named *Ale*, the same Goddesses again appeared to him in white Robes, and a milder Aspect, which again composed his Mind. *Orestes* erected a Temple in each of those Places, and offered to the black *Furies* expiatory Sacrifices to appease the Manes of his Mother, and to the white *Furies* a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving. It was upon this Occasion, to mention it by the By, that the *Furies* got the Name of *Eumenides*. We may add, that the Temples of the *Furies* were secure Sanctuaries for those who retired thither. *Pausanias* remarks (4) that, after the Death of *Codrus*, the *Dorians*, who were guilty of it, would all have been punished with Death by the Judges of the *Areopagus*, had they not avoided it by flying for Refuge to the Temple of these Goddesses.

Tho' the Worship of the *Furies* did not make great Progress in *Italy* as in *Greece*, yet the *Romans* were far from neglecting them; and we learn from *Varro* (5) and *Cicero*, that the Goddess *Furina*, whom the latter takes to be the same with the *Furies*, had  
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(1) *Pausan.* in *Attic.* (2) *Idem* in *Arcad.* (3) Near *Megapolis*. (4) In *Achaic.* (5) *Lib. 5. de ling. lat.*

Temple at *Rome* in the fourteenth Region, and a sacred Grove ; and that the Day of her Festival, which was called the *Furinalia*, was marked in the Kalendar and in the Fasts, the sixth before the Kalends of *September*.

Besides the *Narcissus*, they used likewise in their Sacrifices Branches of Cedar, of Alder, Hawthorn, Saffron and Juniper ; they sacrificed to them Sheep and Turtle-doves, as we learn from *Eliau* (1), and they used in their Sacrifices the same Ceremonies with those of other infernal Deities.

The Author of the Poem of the *Argonauts*, gives a fine Description of one of those Sacrifices, which *Medea* offered for *Jason* before his Combat with the Dragon that kept the golden Fleece, wherein she invokes the *Furies*. First, she makes three Trenches, into which she pours the Blood of the Victims, pronouncing some Words to call up those Divinities : Then she raises a Pile of Cypress, Alder, Juniper, and Thorn, upon which she burns the black Sheep which she had killed ; and after several Libations of sweet Wine and other Liquors composed of Honey, as being most proper to sweeten the sullen Humour of these Goddesses, she believed that she had at length made them propitious to her Lover.

*Pausanias* remarks (2), that in the earlier Times the Statues of these Goddesses had nothing different from those of other Divinities, and that the Poet *Æschyles*, in one of his Tragedies, was the first who represented them with that hideous Air, and those Serpents that made them so dreadful, that the first Representation of his Play proved fatal to many of the Spectators. The Description of the *Furies* given by this Poet was followed, and it passed from the Theatre to the Temples : Henceforth they came to be represented no otherwise but with a grim Aspect and a frightful Mien, with Attire black and bloody, having, instead of Hair, Serpents wreathed about their Heads, a burning Torch in one Hand, and a Whip

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(1) *De Animal.* l. 10. c. 46. (2) *In Arcad.*

of Scorpions in the other, and for their Attendants, *Terror, Rage, Paleness* and *Death*. Thus seated around *Pluto's* Throne, whose Prime Ministers they were, they waited his Orders with an Impatience that marked out all the Fury they were possessed of.

We have now but few antique Figures of these Goddesses; only we see on an Abraxas published by M. *Chifflet*, their three Heads, with Serpents hanging from a Tree, and around, the Word *Iao*; and on a Lamp of *Licetti*, which represents a dead Man lying upon a Bed, the Heads of two *Furies*, with a horrible Countenance. Besides these, we have two Greek Medals, the one belonging to the King's Cabinet, struck under the young *Gordian* by the Inhabitants of *Lyrba*, a Town in *Asia Minor*; and the other by those of *Mastaura*, a City of *Lycia*, where they are represented with Serpents, Keys, lighted Torches, and Daggers in their Hands, without any Thing frightful in their Looks; those of the first of these two Medals, have each a *Calathus* upon her Head, and those of the second, Leaves or Plants, and their Hair as usual. But to supply the Want of Marbles and Bronze, the Poets, especially *Virgil* (1), have left us in their Works Pictures of these Goddesses which represent their Character to the Life.

#### C H A P. XIV.

##### *The Parca, Fate, and the Destinies.*

THERE were no Divinities in the Pagan World who had a more absolute Power than the *Parca*. Mistresses of Human Lot, they regulated its Destinies: Whatever came to pass in the World was subject to their Empire; and we would be mistaken should we imagine that their Functions were confined to the spinning out of our Days, since I shall make it appear that the Movements of the celestial Spheres, and the Combination of the Principles which form the World, were also under their Jurisdiction; for the Philosophers,

(1) *En. l. i.*

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phers, as well as the Poets, have spoke of the Power of these Goddesſes, and they have vied with one another in treating a Subject wherein Physiology had almost as great a Share as moralizing (a).

To observe some Method in this Article, I shall first enquire into the Original of the *Parcæ*: Then I shall speak of their Employments: In the third place of their Number, and the different Names that were given them; and I shall conclude with the History of their Worship, and with some Pictures of them left us by the Historians and Poets.

*Varro* says (1), that as these Goddesſes presided over the Birth of Men, they took their general Name from *partus*, Birth. *Parca*, says he, that is *parta*; or as other Authors say, *à parturiendo*, which comes to the same. *Servius* on the contrary asserts (2), that they were so called only by an *Antiphrasis*, because they spare no body, *quod nemini parcant*, in the same Way as the *Furies* were termed *Eumenides*. 'Tis needless here to cite a great Number of Authors who have treated of the Original of these Goddesſes, since after all we would learn nothing from them but the various Etymologies of a Name which the *Latins* gave to Divinities, the Knowledge of whom they had borrowed from the Theology of the *Greeks*. I know not if the Reader will be better satisfied when I tell him, that the *Greeks* called the *Parcæ* *μοῖραι*, a Word derived from the Verb *μεῖρω*, *divido*, to divide: For though this Name informs us, that these Goddesſes were so called, because they regulated the Events of human Life, and divided our Destinies, yet it still remains to be shewn by what Train of Principles they came to be admitted into the System of Pagan Morality.

If we trace their Origin next in the Poets, we shall find in them such a Diversity of Sentiments as is not  
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(a) See my Dissertation upon the *Parcæ*, Mem. of the Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. 5.

(1) De Orig. Ling. Lat. apud Aul. Gell. 1. 3. c. 16. (2) Upon the fourth Eclogue of Virgil.

likely to be very satisfying. *Hesiod* says, in the Beginning of his *Theogony*, that they were the Daughters of *Night* and *Erebus*, wherein he was followed by *Orpheus*, or at least by him who composed the Hymn upon the *Parcæ*: And 'tis obvious that these two Poets designed thereby to point out the impenetrable Obscurity of our Lot, as *Horace* has it (1): But the same *Hesiod*, as if he had forgot at the End of his *Theogony* what he had said at the Beginning, will have it that these Goddesses owed their Birth to *Jupiter* and *Themis*, the Daughter of *Cælus*, wherein he has been followed by *Apollodorus* (2); *Lycophron*, who does not always agree with the Author of the *Theogony*, asserts (3), that the *Parcæ* were Daughters of the Sea.

Those Moderns who are of Opinion, and not without Reason, that the *Greeks* had derived from the *Phenicians* the greater Part of their Theology, search for the Origin of the *Parcæ* in the Language of that People, with which *Greece* came to be acquainted by different Colonies; and if we will believe the learned *Bocbart* (4), they were invented from some Expressions like those used by *Job* (5) and *Isaiab* (6), when they say, *My Days are cut off more swiftly than the Thread by the Weaver. The Time of my Abode upon Earth is come to an End. God cuts short the Thread of my Life.* *M. le Clerc* (7), who had so often successfully followed the Notions of the Author now quoted, drops him here, and says the Name of the *Parcæ* comes from the *Hebrew Parach*, which signifies *to cut the Thread*: *Hinc*, says he, *Parca Dea quæ filum rumpit*. But he had not considered that the *Greeks*, who were acquainted with these Goddesses before the *Latins*, never called them by that Word. But whatever be in this, I am of opinion that they are the Offspring of Philosophy. The Philosophers, who sought out a Method of reconciling the absolute Power of the Supreme Being with human Liberty, were divided among themselves. Some

(1) L. 3. Od. 39. (2) Bibl. I. 1. (3) In Alex. v. 44.  
(4) Chan. l. 1. (5) Job vii. 6. (6) Is. xxxviii. 12. (7) Note upon *Hesiod*.



Some absolutely denied a Providence, as the *Epicureans*; and to save Liberty they pretended that the Destiny *Fatum* was only a chimerical Divinity: Others established Providence upon the Ruin of Liberty; and not daring to rob the first Principle of the Knowledge and Care of Futurity, which they saw could not subsist if we were Masters of our own Actions, they concluded that all came to pass in the World by an inevitable Necessity, and thereupon formed their *Fatum*. Each of these two Consequences appeared just to their respective Sects.

*Fate* being a blind Divinity, who regulated all Things by a Power whose Effects he neither could foresee nor prevent, it was necessary to give him Ministers to execute his Orders, and thus they imagined the three *Partæ*. *Cicero* (1), after the Philosopher *Chrysippus*, will have it that they themselves were this fatal Necessity that governs us, and which the *Greeks* call *εἰμαρμένη*; and this, no doubt, is the true Original of the Goddeses now in question. The Antients, to mention it by the by, had a pretty singular Notion of their *Fate*, who was, according to them, a Divinity to whom all others were subjected. The Heavens, the Earth, Hell and the Sea were under his Empire, and nothing could reverse what he had decreed; or to speak more justly, he himself was that fatal Necessity according to which all Things happened in the World. *Jupiter* in vain had a Mind to save *Patroclus*; he must examine his Destiny which he does not know. He takes the Scales, weighs it, and the Side that determined the Death of this Heroe being the heaviest, he is obliged to abandon him to his Destiny. How inevitable soever the Decrees of this blind Divinity were, *Homer* however says, they were once like to have fallen short of being put in Execution; so far were they from having clear and consistent Ideas as to this Subject.

These Destinies, in short, were written from all Eternity in a Place where the Gods went to consult them;

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and *Ovid* (1) tells us, that *Jupiter* went thither with *Venus* to look into those of *Julius Caesar*. This Poet subjoins, that those of the Kings were engraved on Diamond.

But passing that, as the whole Destiny of Men, which was thought to be subject to the Power of the *Parce*, respected either the Time of their Nativity, or of their Life or Death; *Clotbo*, the youngest of the three Sisters, presided over the Moment when we come into the World, and held the Distaff; *Lachesis* spun all the Events of our Life; and *Atropos*, the eldest of the three, cut the Thread with Scizars, and thus put a Period to it, according to this antient Verse.

*Clotbo colum retinet, Lachesis net, & Atropos occat.*

The three most usual Names of these Goddesses, had a plain Allusion to *their Offices*: The first is derived from κλωθεῖν, *to spin*, the second from λαχεῖν, *to measure out by Lot*, and the last from ἀτρεκτον, *irreversible*; or which comes to the same thing in the main, *Clotbo*, as *Fulgentius* alledges, signifies *Evocation*, to denote that this Goddess *over-rules* the Moment of our Birth; *Lachesis* signifies *Lot*, because 'tis she that regulates our Destinies; and *Atropos*, without Order and without Law, to teach us that this Destiny is with-held by no Consideration, when the Hour of our Death is once come, and that she owns no other Law but that which *Fate* imposes upon her (2).

According to this Idea, the Poets have described in different Manners this Ministration of the *Parce*; sometimes they exhort them to spin out happy Days, for those who are to be the Favourites of Destiny (3); sometimes they tell us that they prescribe the Time we are to continue upon Earth, as *Homer* says upon Occasion of the Stay that *Ulysses* was to make with the Nymph *Calypso* (4); and *Ovid* speaking of the fatal Brand to which *Meleager's* Destiny was annexed

(1) *Met.* l. 15. (2) *Fulg. Myth.* l. 1. (3) *Catullus* in the *Epith.* of *Thetis* and *Peleus*. (4) *Odys.* l. 1.

nexed (1): Sometimes they tell us, that they reveal a Part of our Destinies, concealing the rest in impenetrable Obscurity (2): That they make Use of the Subserviency of Men, to take away the Lives of those whose Destinies are accomplished, as *Virgil* observes, speaking of *Halesus*. If we may believe the same Poets, they are present at the Moment of our Birth, and sometimes even appear in the Apartment of Women in Child-bed, as *Ovid* and *Hyginus* say of *Meleager* (3), and *Catullus* of *Achilles*, &c. they preside over the Return of those who, having gone down to *Pluto's* Kingdom, had obtain'd Permission from the Gods to revisit the Earth, such as *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Aeneas*, *Theseus*, and some other Heroes. They are the absolute Mistresses of all that lives in the World, as we are told by *Claudian* (4). In fine, 'tis they that dispense as they please, all the Good and Evil that befall us, according to *Hesiod* (5).

These are the Functions which the Poets assign to the Goddesses we are now upon; but the Mythologists had peculiar Notions about them, which it is proper to unfold. *Martianus Capella* reckons the *Parce* the Ministers of Fate; or to use his Words, they were his Secretaries, and the Keepers of his Archives; *Librariæ, archivique custodes*. He adds, that one dictated the Orders of her Master, another wrote them down with great Exactness, and the last executed them by spinning out our Destinies; *unam loqui, alteram scribere, tertiam nere*. Other Mythologists are not quite agreed as to the Ministration of the *Parce*: *Fulgentius* contends, that they served under *Pluto's* Orders (6); accordingly we see *Claudian* represents these Goddesses at the Feet of the God of Hell, to dissuade him from making War upon his Brother *Jupiter* (7). *Phurmutus* on the contrary pretends, that they were the Ministers of *Jupiter*; and since this God, according to the Testimony of *Pausanias* (8), bore the Name of *μοῖρα*

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γῆρας,

(1) Met. l. 8. (2) En. l. 3. (3) Met. l. 8. (4) De rapta Proserp. l. 1. (5) Hym. in Parc. (6) Myth. loc. cit. (7) De Proserp. (8) In Eliac.

γῆρας, or Conductor of the *Parcæ*, we may very well reckon him their Sovereign: But we may reconcile these two Authors, by saying that this was *Stygian Jupiter*, the same with *Pluto*. But whatever be in that, the Opinion most generally followed by the Antients is, that the *Parcæ* served under the Orders of *Fate*, to whom the other Gods and *Jupiter* himself were subject.

The Philosophers again give the *Parcæ* Functions quite different from these now mentioned. *Aristotle* says that *Clotbo* presided over the present Time, *Lachesis* over the future, and *Atropos* over the past; and *Plato* is so fanciful and romantic upon this Subject, that I am afraid his Imagination has a little outrun his Judgment. Sometimes he represents these Goddesses in the midst of the celestial Spheres, with white Robes spangled with Stars, wearing Crowns upon their Heads, and seated upon Thrones refulgent with Light, where they attune their Voices to the Songs of the Sirens: There, says he, *Lachesis* sung past Events (1); *Clotbo* those which the present Moment brings forth; and *Atropos* such as still lye hid in the Womb of Futurity. Sometimes he imagines an Adamantine Spindle, one End of it touching the Earth, while the other is lost in the Clouds: *Necessity* high enthroned upon an Altar, holds this Spindle between her Knees, and the three *Parcæ* which are at the Foot of the Altar, turn it with their Hands. *Plutarch* (a) delivers a Philosophy upon the same Subject not much less subtle. *Atropos*, according to him, placed in the Sphere of the Sun, sheds down upon the Earth the first Principles of Life; *Clotbo*, who has her Residence in the Sphere of the Moon, forms the Stamina that infold the eternal Seeds; and *Lachesis*, whose Abode is upon Earth, presides over the *Destinies* that govern us.

After what I have now said, one would be apt to think that the *Parcæ* were three in Number, and that they

(1) Plato de Rep. l. 10.

(a) Treatise of the Face of the Moon, and in the *Demon of Scylla*.

they had no other Names but those which I have given them so often; and yet the Antients, as we shall see, varied as much about these two Articles as those we have been now upon. Their general Names in the Greek Authors, are *μοίρα, αἶσα, κῆρ; εἰμαρμένη*. The first had a manifest Relation to their Measuring out our Destinies together. The second, according to *Lyllo Gyraldi* (1), denoted either the Darknes in which Futurity is involved, or rather the Eternity of the Divine Decrees, as is explained by *Aristotle*, or the Author of the Treatise *de mundo*, which is attributed to that Philosopher: The two last again were fatal *Necessity* itself, by which all Things are conducted. The particular Names given by *Hesiod* to these three Divinities, *Clotbo*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos* (2), had a manifest Allusion to their Functions, as has been already said.

*Pausanias* names other three *Parce*, very different from those now mentioned: The first, and the most antient of all, was *Venus Urania* (3); it was she rather than *Clotbo*, that presided over Man's Birth, according to the antient Doctrine of the Pagan Theology, that *Love*, the uniting Principle of the Universe, was the eldest of all the Gods. The second was *Fortune* (4), and in proof of his Sentiment he quotes *Pindar's* Authority. In fine, *Ilithia* was the third, according to the Testimony of *Olenus* of *Lycia*, who in *Pausanias* gives her the Epithet of Spinstress *Εὐληνον*.

*Proserpine*, or *Stygian Juno*, who, according to the best Authors of Antiquity, often disputes with *Atropos* the Office of cutting the Thread of our Destiny, as has been said elsewhere, is also to be taken into the Number of the *Parce*.

If we consider the absolute Power the *Parce* were supposed to have over all our Destinies, we would think they must needs have had the most solemn Worship: And yet we find little or nothing upon this Subject in the Writings of the Antients; the reason probably

(1) Hist. Deor. Synt. 6. (2) In Theogon. (3) In Att.  
(4) In Eliac.

bably is, that being accounted inexorable Goddesses whom it was impossible to mitigate, it was judged unnecessary to be at any Trouble and Expence about their Worship. All that we learn from *Pausanias*, is, that they had some Temples in *Greece*, and Statues in several Places. The *Lacedemonians*, as we are told by the same Author, had built them one in the same City of *Sparta*, near *Orestes's* Tomb, and the *Sicyonians* another, which was dedicated to them, in a sacred Grove (1), where they bestowed the same Worship upon them as upon the *Furies*; that is, if we may believe *Menander*, a very antient Author, they offered up to them every Year black Sheep, in a Sacrifice where the Priests, among other Ceremonies, were obliged to wear Crowns of Flowers. The same *Pausanias* says (2), that in the City of *Olympia*, there was an Altar consecrated to *Jupiter* the Director of the *Parcæ*, near which those Goddesses had another; and he adds farther, that in a Temple of *Apollo* at *Delpbos* (3), were the Statues of two *Parcæ* by that of *Jupiter*, who was in Place of the third; and that at *Megara* the Statue of the same God, made by *Theoscomus*, bore upon its Head those of the three Goddesses. Further we learn from the same Author (4), that among the other Figures represented upon *Cypselus's* Chest, was to be seen that of a kind of Monster with a wild and savage Air, great Tusks and crooked Hands, which was known to be a *Parca* from the Inscription upon it.

'Tis easy to see from all that I have now said, and from the Description of these Goddesses given by *Catullus* (5), in what Manner they were represented; but notwithstanding all these, we have not any antique Figure of them remaining; those which we find in *Cartari*, and some other Authors, being only done from the Descriptions given of them by the Poets and Philosophers. However, the Figure of one of the *Parcæ* is thought to be represented upon a Medal which

(1) In Corinth. (2) In *Eliac.* l. 1. (3) Idem in Phocicis.  
(4) In *Eliac.* c. 1. (5) In *Epithal.* Pelei & Thetidis.

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which *Patin* has inserted in his *Treasure*; but the Antiquaries are not agreed about it.

As to what remains, the Manner in which the Antients represented these Goddeffes, contained certain Mysteries which 'tis proper to explain. They were usually figured like three Women of great Age, with Chaplets made of big Locks of white Wool, interwoven with Flowers of *Narcissus*: A white Robe covered their whole Body, and Fillets of the same Colour bound their Chaplets, as *Catullus* has it (1). One held the Distaff, another the Spindle, the third the Scissars to cut the Thread, at the Hour of Death, which *Virgil* calls the Day of the *Parce*.

According to other Authors, the Habits of these three Goddeffes did not resemble one another. *Clotho*, clad in a Robe of different Colours, wore upon her Head a Crown of seven Stars, and held in her Hand a Distaff which reached from Heaven to Earth. *Lachesis*'s Robe was spangled with numberless Stars, and she had by her a great Quantity of Spindles; *Atropos* was clothed in Black, Scissars in her Hand, with a Number of Clews of Thread larger or smaller, according to the Length and Shortness of their Lives whose Destinies they contained.

The great Age of the *Parce* figured no Doubt the Eternity of the Divine Decrees. The Distaff and the Spindle signified that it belonged to them to regulate their Course; and that figurative Thread, the Insignificancy of human Life which is so slender and precarious. *Lycophron* adds that they were lame, to signify, as *Eustathius* remarks, the Inequality of Events in Life, and that mixed State of Good and Evil which we experience by Turns. If they had Wings, as we are told by the Author of a Hymn to *Mercury*, which is ascribed to *Homer*, it was in Allusion to the Rapidity of Time, which flies apace, and passes away like a Dream. The Crowns which they wore upon their Heads, bespoke their absolute Power over the Universe, the Events whereof were under their Direction; and the

(1) Loc. cit.

horrid Cave, where *Orpheus* says (1) they dwelt, was an Emblem of the Obscurity that covers our Destinies. That horrid Mien which *Pausanias* gives to (2) that one of the three *Parcæ* who was near the Tomb of *Etbeocles* and *Polynices*; these great Tusks and crooked Hands which made her more terrible than the fiercest of wild Beasts; all this denoted that nothing could be imagined more dreadful, than the Destinies of those two unfortunate Brothers, and that their Days had been spun by the most terrible of the *Parcæ*. In fine, if the Philosophers placed them in the celestial Spheres, where they accompanied with their Voices the Songs of the Sirens or of the Muses, it was to intimate to us that they regulated that admirable Harmony wherein consist the Order and Arrangement of the Universe.

## C H A P. XV.

*Nemesis, or the Nemeses, and Adrastea.*

**T**HO' Mythologists are not agreed as to the Class wherein the Goddess *Nemesis* is to be ranked, I am of Opinion however, that what suits her best is that of the infernal Gods.

And indeed the Ideas they had of her was that of a Divinity who watches for the Punishment of the Guilty, not only in this World, which she surveyed with vast Concern to find them out for Correction, but also in the other, where she chastises them with the utmost Rigour. And for this Reason she was represented with Wings, sometimes too with a Helm and a Wheel, to set forth that she pursued the Guilty by Sea and Land. Daughter of Justice, she was, if we may believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, appointed to avenge Impiety, and at the same Time to recompense virtuous Actions (a).

Such is the Idea which Antiquity gives us of this Divinity; this is even what has led some Authors to confound her with the three *Parcæ*, or to make her a fourth.

(1) Hymn. in *Parcas*. (2) In *Eliacis*.

(a) *Ultrix facinorum, bonorumque Premiatrix*. *Amm.* l. 14.



1. Accordingly *Pburnutus* says, that *Nemesis* and *Leda* were ranked among the Goddesses : The for-  
said he, corrected the Injustice of Destiny, and  
cond was the Minister of Divine Vengeance ; but  
author, to mention it by the Way, is mistaken  
king *Nemesis* and *Adrasfea* two Divinities, since  
it is but a Sirname of *Nemesis*, when *Adrasfea*  
an Altar to her. Thus he ought not to have  
d their Functions : *Nemesis* in correcting the In-  
of Chance or Fate, was the Minister of Divine  
ance.

veral among the Antients, and many Moderns,  
*Nemesis* to be the same with *Leda*, the Mother  
ystor and *Pollux*, who got that Name after her  
ation ; but the most common Opinion is, that  
is herself was the Mother of those two Heroes  
she had by *Jupiter*, and that *Leda* was only  
Nurse.

ners, and not a few, confound *Nemesis* with *For-*  
and think the Wheel which usually accompanies  
tatues, can signify nothing else ; but I reckon I  
given the true signification of those two Symbols.  
rue however that her Name is allowed to signify  
orce or Power of Fortune, *Vis Fortune*.

: not to insist on that, *Nemesis* was worshipped  
eral Places, as well in *Greece* as *Italy*, even in  
apitol itself ; and according to *P. Victor* she had  
nple at *Rome* ; but no where was her Worship  
pompous than at *Rhamnus*, a Town of *Attica*,  
she had a Statue ten Cubits high, of a single  
, and so exquisitely beautiful, that it was nothing  
of *Phidias*'s finest Works. *Ageracritus* his Scholar,  
according to *Pliny* (a), had designed it for a *Ve-*  
eeing one preferred to it, which was done by *Al-*  
es another Scholar of the same Master, sold his  
: *Rhamnusiens*, on Condition that they would only  
t for a Statue of *Nemesis* (1), whence she got the  
Name

*Pausanias* in his *Atticks* differs from *Pliny*, and will have  
atue to have been the Work of *Phidias* himself ; others give  
ie Statuary *Diodorus*.

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Name of *Rhamnusia*. Antiently the Statues of *Nemesis* were without Wings, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1), and the Inhabitants of *Smyrna* were the first who gave her any ; however, we find none of them at present either upon the Statues or Medals of this Goddess.

In the Title of this Chapter I have put *Nemesis* or *Nemeses*, because *Pausanias* speaks of them in the plural Number, upon Occasion of the Fact which I am going to relate. " As *Alexander* the Great, says that " Author (2) was hunting on Mount *Pagus*, he fell " asleep under a Plane-tree near the Temple of *the* " *Nemeses*, when those Goddesses appeared to him, " and commanded him to build a City on that Spot " of Ground, and to transport thither the antient " City of *Smyrna* : Which he accordingly executed, " for he is the Founder of that City as it is at this " Day." We must not forget that the *Romans*, before they set out for War, offered up a Sacrifice to *Nemesis*, as we learn from *Pomponius Lætus*, probably taking that Goddess for *Fortune*, who ought to accompany and favour Warriors.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the DII MANES.

**T**H<sup>O</sup>' the Function of the Gods called *Manes* was to take Care of the Tombs, where they were thought to make their Abode, we rank them however in the Class of the infernal Gods, because it was their Business also to take Care of the Ghosts of those whose dead Bodies they watched over in their Burial Places, and *Pluto* was their Master: This is the very Reason why that God had the Name of *Summanus*, as much as to say *Summus Manium*, The Sovereign of the *Manes*, as we have it in *Martinus Capella* (a).

The Antients had not a very clear Idea of the *Manes*, since they gave their Name also to the Shades  
of

(1) Loc. cit. (2) L. 7.

(a) Manes Corpori humano Præfules attributi sunt, qui sub Plætonis potestate sunt ; qui ideo summanus dicitur, quasi summum Manium.

of the Dead : They were often confounded with the *Lares*, sometimes with the *Lemures*.

What Mythology teaches us of more Certainty about them, is, that the Gods *Manes* were *Genii* appointed to take Care of Burying-Places, and of the Ghosts that were thought to wander about their Tombs.

Some Antients give the Goddess *Mania* for the Mother of the *Manes* ; but their true Original is to be referred to a prevailing Opinion that the World was full of *Genii*, as has been said in the first Volume (1) ; that there were of them both for the Living and the Dead ; that the one were good and the other bad, and that the former were called *Familiar Lares*, and the latter *Lemures*, or *Larvæ*. Thus when *Virgil* says, *Quisque suos patimur Manes*, 'tis, according to *Servius*, as if he had said, *We have each of us our Genius* (2).

A Passage in *Apuleius*, with respect to the Demon of *Socrates*, explains this whole Mythology. " The Genius, says he, is the Soul of Man disengaged and set at Liberty from the Bonds whereby it is united to the Body. I find in the antient *Latin Language* it was named at that Time *Lemur*. Of these *Lemures*, they whose Province it is to take Care of those who inhabit the Houses where they themselves had dwelt, who are gentle and peaceful, are called *familiar Lares*. Those on the contrary, who for the Punishment of their bad Lives, have no fixed Residence, but are condemned to wander up and down, raising panic Terrors in the Good, whom they seek to disturb, and inflicting real Evils upon the Wicked, are named *Larvæ*; and both the one and the other, whether *Lares* or *Larvæ*, go under the Name of *Dii Manes*, and the Designation of Gods is added to them by way of Honour: *Honoris gratia Dei vocabulum additum est.*"

I know not what Virtue was in the Noise and clashing of Brass and Iron ; but *Lucian* and *Agatharcides*, cited by *Photius*, assure us (3), that it was so insupportable to the *Manes*, that it put them to Flight.

Thus

(1) B. 4. (2) En. 6. (3) Phil. Pseud.

Thus it was also as to the Ghosts that were in the infernal Regions; accordingly *Circe*, in *Homer* (1), recommends to *Ulysses*, when he has offered a Sacrifice to the Gods who preside there, and poured out the Blood of the Victims into a Ditch, to take his Sword in his Hand to keep off the Ghosts who would come to suck up the Blood, which they exceedingly thirsted after. *Virgil*, who always copies the *Greek* Poet, says in like Manner, that *Æneas*, upon his Arrival in Hell, took his Sword to defend himself against the same Ghosts who were fluttering about him. But it seems he was going to fall on them in good Earnest, and had a Mind to try a fencing Bout, when the *Sibyl* let him know that his Thrusts would be useless, because they were nothing but vain Phantoms, on whom Steel could make no Impression (a).

But, not to insist on this, Fear, at least as much as Esteem, made People have an extreme Veneration for these Gods, and they never failed to recommend to them the Dead: Hence the usual Form which we find upon the antient Tombs, *D. M. Diis Manibus*. Hence also those frequent Libations that were performed there, the Object whereof was not only the Ghosts of the Dead, but also the Gods *Manes*, by whom they were guarded. The *Augurs* likewise honoured those Gods with a particular Worship, and never failed to invoke them, because they took them to be the Authors of whatever Good and Evil befel us (b).

## C H A P. XVII.

### *Of the Divinities of the Night, Sleep, and Death.*

WE take also into the Number of the infernal Gods, *Night*, *Sleep*, and *Death*.

*Night*, according to *Hesiod* (2), was Daughter of *Chaos*; and since they made a Divinity of her, they could

(1) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(a) *Et, ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas, &c.* *Æn.* l. 6. 29

(b) As they derived the Name *Manes* from *Manare*, they accordingly believed that Good and Evil proceeded from these Gods.

(2) *Theog.*

could not but reckon her the first and eldest of all, since 'tis so far true that Darkneſs preceded Light, and in the Beginning overſpread the Face of the Deep: *Et tenebræ erant ſuper faciem abyſſi* (1). Accordingly, the Author who goes under *Orpheus's* Name, ſays ſhe was the Mother of the Gods and Men. The Poets, who came after thoſe now cited, have rivaled one another in painting this Divinity. *Theocritus* makes her appear mounted upon a Chariot, preceded by the Stars of the Firmament. Others give her Wings, to figure the Rapidity of her Courſe; but he who has given the moſt ingenious Deſcription of her is *Euripides*, who repreſents this Goddeſs muffled up in a large black Vail beſpangled with Stars, in her Chariot courſing the vaſt Circuit of the Heavens; and this Manner of figuring her has been followed by the Painters and Statuaries. Sometimes, however, we find her without her Chariot, with her Veil ſpangled with Stars fluttering in the Wind, while ſhe approaches the Earth, to extinguiſh the Torch which ſhe has in her Hand, as is to be ſeen in a fine Draught taken from a Manuſcript in the King's Library, which *Montfaucon* has given in his *Paleography*; which proves that this Manner of painting *Night* was practiſed down to the Middle Age, and was ſtill in uſe in the tenth Century.

As *Night* was only a physical Divinity, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, was a Nonentity, ſince Darkneſs is but the bare Privation of Light, the Poets gave her Children of the ſame Kind, whom ſhe was ſaid to have had by *Erebus* (2); namely, *Fear, Sorrow, Envy, Labour, Deſtiny, Old-age, Love, Death, Darkneſs, Miſery, the Parcæ, the Heſperides, Dreams, or Sleep* itſelf. We may add, before we cloſe this Article, that the Antients confounded *Night* with *Diana*, in ſo far as ſhe repreſented the Moon, and painted both of them in the ſame Manner; or, which comes to the ſame, with the God *Lunus*, who, according to *Spartian* (3), was ſhipped at *Carræ*, a City of *Meſopotamia*, whither Emperor *Caracalla* undertook an Expedition in

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order

(1) Gen. i. v. 2. (2) Cic. l. 3. de Nat. Deor. (3) In Comm.

order to worship that God. Mr. *Maffei* has given a Print of *Lunus's* Statue, where he is represented with the *Phrygian* Bonnet arched before ; and we find him upon Medals standing in a military Habit, with a Pike in his Right-hand, and in his Left a Victory, with a Cock at his Feet, whose crowing by Night intimates the returning of the Dawn.

*Nuſtulus* again was another God of the Night ; but he is known only from an Inscription found at *Brest*, upon a Statue which represents that God under the Figure of a young Man habited much like *Atys*, extinguishing his Torch, and having at his Feet an Owl, a Bird of the Night.

We say nothing here of the Moon, the principal Goddess of the Night, having said enough of her in the Article of *Diana*, who, in some Respects, was the Moon itself.

#### *Of Sleep\*, and his Children.*

I shall begin this Article with a proper Remark. The Invocations made to *Sleep* might have, and actually had, two quite different Senses. When he was invoked for the Dead, as we see in the Forms that sometimes occur upon the Tombs of the Antients, such as this, *Æternali Somno*, and the like, the Sleep of Death was meant ; but on all other Occasions, *Sleep* taken in its natural Signification, whom they addressed, in order to enjoy that peaceful undisturbed Repose which he bestows.

*Sleep*, according to *Hesiod* (1), was the Son of *Night*, and Brother of *Death*. *Homer* speaking of this God, says (2), *This is Sleep, who is said to be the Brother of Death*. *Virgil*, who never loses Sight of his Original, says the same Thing, & *consanguineus Leti sopor*. And sure they could never have given him a more apposite Title, since he is the very Image of *Death*. The Author of a Hymn, which passes under *Orpheus's* Name, calls *Sleep* the King of Gods and Men, and of every Thing that breathes upon the Earth. The *Lacedemonians*,

\* Called by the *Greeks* ὕπνος.

(1) *Theogon.* (2) *Il.* l. 14.

nians, as we are told by *Pausanias*, relying upon *Homer's* Authority, joined in their Temples the Representation of *Sleep* with that of *Death*. "We see," says that Author (1), upon one of the Faces of "*Cypselus's* Chest, a Woman bearing two Children in her Arms, the one white, and the other black; the one asleep, and the other seeming to sleep; and both of them with their Feet misshapen. The Inscription makes them known; but, abstracting from the Inscription, who can doubt but that the one of these Children is *Sleep*, and the other *Death*, and the Woman who holds them, *Night*?"

What *Pausanias* says, lets us know that *Sleep* was represented as an Infant; and this is undeniably proved by a fine Marble of an excellent Taste, which we have now extant. 'Tis a Child buried in profound Sleep, with some Poppies in his Hand, and reclining his Head. Near him is a great Vase, full, no doubt, of some narcotick or soporiferous Liquor. The same Author (2) speaks of a Statue that was in a Temple of *Æsculapius*, which had only the Head; but as he seldom remembers what he has said, or what he has to say, he does not let us know whether it was the Head of a Child, or that of a Man. As we have another Statue of *Sleep* under the Figure of a winged Infant, 'tis probable that this was the only Manner of representing this God.

*Philostratus*, in the Picture of *Amphiaraus*, paints *Sleep* under the Figure of a Man clothed in a black Robe, and another white one above, with a drowsy downcast Eye, and in one Hand holding the Horn, thro' which he sends true Dreams; where it is proper to remark, that the Antients distinguished two Sorts of Dreams; the true ones; that is, those which exhibited Things real; and false Dreams, which were mere Illusions. The former were contained in an ordinary Horn, the second in an Ivory one: Hence the two Gates of *Sleep* mentioned by *Homer* and *Virgil* (a).

H 2

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(1) In *Eliac.* c. 18. (2) In *Corinth.*

(a) *Sunt geminæ somni portæ, &c. Æn.* l. 6.

The Poets make frequent Mention of Poppies which this God holds in his Horn, and which he sheds upon weary Mortals. *Ovid* is fuller than any other upon the Article of *Sleep*; 'tis in the Place where he says (1), that *Juno*, tired with the fruitless Vows which *Alcyone* was incessantly putting up to her for her Husband, who had perished in Shipwreck, sends *Iris* to the Palace of *Sleep*, to order him to inform that unhappy fond Spouse of her Husband's Death. Nothing is more elegant than the Description the Poet gives of the Palace of this God, and of the *Dreams* that surround him; but I refer to the Author himself, whom we would be obliged to copy Word for Word, if we would lose nothing of so charming a Description.

*Dreams* passed for the Children of *Sleep*; the Poet now quoted, names three of them; *Morpheus*, who excelled most in assuming the Gate, the Mien, the Air, and tone of Voice of those whom he is to represent; and this *Dream* is only for Men: *Phobetor*, the second, assumes the Similitude of wild Beasts, Birds, and Serpents. The third, called *Phantasia*, transforms himself into Earth, into Rock, River, and every inanimate Thing; but these three *Dreams* were delegated only to the Palaces of Kings and great Ones: There were Numbers of others for the Populace. Further, these three Names agree to what the Poet says of the three *Dreams*; the first signifying *Form and Shape*, which that *Dream* imitated; the second has much the same Signification; and the third is derived from Phantoms which are formed in the Imagination.

*Homer* places the Mansion of *Sleep* in the Island of *Lemnos*, and there it is accordingly that *Juno* comes in quest of the drowsy God to lull *Jupiter* asleep. The other Poets, among whom is *Ovid* (2), fix the Residence of this God in the Country of the *Cimmerians*, as nothing agrees better to *Sleep* than a Country overspread with eternal Darkness. *Virgil* makes (3) the Habitation of *Sleep* and *Dreams* to be in an old Ash-tree, that grew at the Mouth of Hell.

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(1) *Met.* l. 11. (2) *Loc. cit.* (3) *Æn.* l. 6, v. 282.



fine, the *Greeks* acknowledged a Goddess of called *Brizo*, a Name importing to *sleep*; and r which they termed *Brimo*.

Of D E A T H.

we have observed from *Homer* that *Sleep* was the r of *Death*, which is itself the deep eternal *Sleep*, ll add here a Word or two upon that Divinity; : *Greeks* reckoned *Death* among their Gods. Poets, as well as the *Latins*, and *Virgil* among (1), gives him that Title. We know nothing the Worship that was paid him; we only learn, e *Lacedemonians* honoured him as a Divinity, d, as *Pausanias* tells us (2), one of his Statues at of his Brother *Sleep*. We have just now gi- Description from that Author of the Statue of bearing in her Arms her two Sons, *Death* and

ia, the Goddess of Funerals, had a Worship established, and History makes mention of a l which she had at *Rome*, without the Walls of ty. It was especially at the Funerals of old if we may believe *Varro*, whose Testimony is by St. *Augustine* (3), that double Honours were o this Goddess; and from the same Divinity lerved the Names of those mournful Ditties that ung at Funerals. This Goddess, in short, who : known but from *Arnobius*, the only Antient, of whose Writings are extant, that speaks of her, ver employed but in the Agonies of the Patient. it was they began to invoke her.

are the Gods who are said by Mythologists to : over the infernal Regions. Of the same Num- y reckon *Jupiter Stygius* and *Juno Stygia*; but I proved elsewhere, that in this Acceptation they he same with *Pluto* and *Proserpine*. *Liber* and , who, at Bottom, are no other than the Sun loon, when upon their Descent to the lower He- ere, they went, according to popular Belief, to ten the Kingdom of Ghosts; also *Mercury*; but  
H 3 this

this God only conducted the Souls thither, then returned to Heaven his ordinary Mansion.

*Lastly*, to omit nothing of Importance upon this Subject, it remains that I speak of the Worship that was paid to the infernal Gods, and of those signal Offenders, who were believed to be condemned to dwell eternally in *Tartarus*.

### C H A P. XVIII.

#### *Of the Worship paid to the Infernal Gods.*

**B**ESIDES what I have said in the preceding Chapters of the Worship and Honours that were paid to each of the Infernal Gods, I shall here add a few Remarks that relate to them all in general. The first is, that no Altars were erected to them, these being reserved for the celestial Gods, but only Ditches were made for receiving the Blood of the Victims. *Secondly*, that those Victims were to be black, to distinguish them from those offered to the celestial Gods. *Thirdly*, that the Priests in their Sacrifices only had their Heads covered. *Fourthly*, that when Sacrifice was offered to the Infernal Gods, the Priest, in reciting the Prayers prescribed by the Ritual, kissed his Hand, and turned it towards the Earth, whereas he had it lifted up when he addressed those Prayers to the Gods of Heaven, and with his Hand touched the Earth itself when he sacrificed to her. Hence, in the fifth Place, the Distinction of Gods, into superior Gods, *Superi*, and inferior Gods, so noted among the Antients to point out those of Heaven and those of Hell. It was even a received Axiom, that the living were above, *Superi*, with respect to the Dead; as those of Heaven are in Relation to Men, which *Macrobius* thus expresses (1): *Sicut Dii nobis, ita nos defunctis Superi habemur.*

A sixth Remark is, that *Pluto*, and all the other Infernal Gods, were generally hated, as we read in *Homer* (2); the Reason whereof was, that those Gods passed for inflexible.

(1) *Somn. Scip.* l. 1. c. 3. (2) *Il.* l. 9. v. 158.

inflexible, and were so little moved by the Prayers of Men, that they hardly deigned to lend an Ear to them. *Euripides* adds, that this was the very Reason why neither Temples nor Altars were erected to them, nor any Hymns composed to their Honour. The same Gods were accounted so ferocious and unsocial, that they always lived by themselves, and had but very little Commerce with others, as we are told by the same Poet (1). Not but that some Worship was paid them; but besides their being rarely address'd, it was not to ask Favours of them, as of the other Gods, but only with a View to appease them, and prevent their doing Mischief; tho', at the same Time, the Votary had no great Prospect of Success.

A last Remark is, that the Infernal Gods were so many Sovereigns in their gloomy Region, as those of Heaven were in theirs, and the latter, tho' more honoured, had not, however, any Jurisdiction over the former; the Division once made, the three Brothers became absolutely independent of one another. When *Juno* brought *Æolus* to raise that Storm which did so much Damage to *Æneas's* Fleet (2), *Neptune* gave him roundly to understand that he was Master.

## C H A P. XIX.

*The History of those whom the Poets have placed in Tartarus.*

*The GIANTS and the Titans.*

**W**E may easily judge in the first Place, that they would not fail to lodge there the *Giants* and *Titans*, for having declared War upon the Gods. The very History of the *Titans*, which we have given from *Eubemerus* and other Antients, sets forth, that *Jupiter*, after their Defeat, had imprisoned some of them under Mount *Etna*, which was reckoned one of the Vents of Hell, others in *Tartarus* itself. There accordingly was confined *Egeon*, *Porphyryon*, and the rest; but of them we have said enough in the History of the Gods.

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(1) *Hecuba.* (2) *Æn.* l. 1.

The same Poets represent in these doleful Mansions, several other Personages, famous in fabulous History.

### S I S Y P H U S.

Among the illustrious Wretches that were lodged in *Tartarus* was *Sisyphus*, condemned to roll up a huge Rock to the Top of a Mountain, whence it quickly came tumbling down again by its own Weight; and this sad and painful Task left him not a Moment's Repose. The Name of this Prince is very famous in the antient History of *Greece*. Illustrious by Birth, he derived his Origin from *Eolus*, being descended from him in a right Line. After the Retreat, or if you please, the Flight of *Medea*, who from the Return of the *Argonauts*, had reigned ten Years at *Corinth* (1), *Sisyphus* ascended the Throne, to whom she had destined it, and who had a Title to it by Birth-right; and if we reckon the two Years that intervened between *Jason's* Return to *Colchos*, whither he carried *Medea*, before they were obliged to retire to *Corinth*, it will be about twelve Years after the Conquest of the Golden Fleece, that *Sisyphus* began to reign. Now, as we know the Date of the Expedition of the *Argonauts* (2), we can consequently determine that of the Reign of this Prince; that is to say, he reigned twenty-four or twenty-five Years before the War of *Troy*; how many Years his Reign lasted we cannot say, but we know he lived to a very great Age.

*Eumelus* (3), an antient Poet, who had wrote the History of *Corinth*, after having said that *Sisyphus* mounted the Throne in room of *Medea*, gave the Series of that Prince's Descendants, down to the Conquest of *Corinth* by the *Heracidae*, and that Genealogy began with *Ornytion*, the youngest of *Sisyphus's* Children, and was carried down to *Doridas* and *Hyathincidas*, who were the two last, and who reign'd at *Corinth* at the Time of the Return of the *Heracidae* into the *Peloponnesus*, that is, 80 Years after the taking of *Troy*.

(1) Apoll. l. 1. (2) See that History in Vol. vi. (3) Pausan. in *Corinth*.

To *Pausanias* we are indebted for this Fragment of *Eumelus's* History : In the mean time, *Paul de Grant-Menil* is persuaded, that the Poet whose monument is delivered by *Pausanias*, is mistaken in making *Sisyphus* contemporary with *Jason*. *Sisyphus*, he, who reigned at *Corinth*, was the Son of *Eolus*, Brother of *Cretheus*, *Jason's* Grand-father, and consequently older than that Prince. This learned Poet relies upon *Euripides's Medea*, wherein it appears that *Sisyphus* was dead when *Jason* came to *Colchis* since *Creon* was then reigning there. But may we not say, in order to reconcile those two Opinions, there were two *Sisyphus's*, the one *Eolus's* Son, the other his Descendant ; that the former had no Accessor of his Family, and that *Medea*, when she seized the Throne of *Corinth*, had raised to it *Sisyphus*. I. to whom it belonged ? For in short the Geography of *Sisyphus* given by *Eumelus*, appears to be consistent ; and it is no rare Thing, especially in those ancient Times, for two Princes of the same Name to be confounded together ; and when the first of the first have not reigned, yet the Crown has afterwards returned to his Family. But what clearly supports my Assertion, *Pausanias*, who in his *Travels in Corinth* had spoke of *Sisyphus*, who was contemporary with *Jason* and *Medea*, makes mention of another who was Brother-german to *Atbamas*, who, after the fatal Death of his Children, adopted his Grand-sons, *Coronus* and *Haliartus*, the Sons of *Tberseus* and Grandsons to *Sisyphus*. Now *Atbamas*, the Father of *Pbryxus*, who had retired into *Colchis*, lived before the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, who took only to recover his Succession.

*Sisyphus*, I said, lived to great Age, and upon this he wrote the Antients broached two Fables. According to *Pherecides*, who published the first, this Prince was said to have chained up Death, whom he confined in Tartarus delivered him at the Request of *Pluto*, whose Kingdom was become desolate, by Reason of Men's sinning as usual. The second intimated, that *Sisyphus*

*Sisyphus* had actually died young, but had obtained Permission from the Gods of Hell to return to the World, to go and punish his Wife for having too well obeyed him (*a*) ; but that having once repassed the *Cocytus*, he had no Mind to return into the infernal Regions.

These two Fictions, no doubt, intimate to us obscurely, that *Sisyphus* recovered from some Sickness that was thought to be mortal, and that having recovered his Health after he was believed to be dead, he lived thereafter to an extreme old age. It was for that Reason, they tell us, that *Pluto* condemned him incessantly to roll that enormous Rock which I have mentioned at the Beginning of this Article ; as if they had a mind thereby to let us know, that no Efforts of Man can avail to stop the rapid Career of the Days that are allotted to him, nor retard the fatal Period prescribed to human Life : Or rather, to leave us the Emblem of an ambitious Prince, who had long revolved in his Mind Schemes that were never put in Execution.

*Pausanias*, however, assigns another Cause of this Prince's Punishment, and says, that he suffers in Hell for having let *Afopus* know the Place where *Jupiter* had hid *Egina*, of whom that God was enamoured.

*Sisyphus*, we are told, was a Man of great Cunning and

(*a*) *Sisyphus*, according to the Fable, returns from Hell. Thus the Story is related by *Noel le Comte*, after *Demetrius* upon *Pindar's Olympiads*. " Others maintain that *Sisyphus* was condemned to roll his Stone in Hell, for having perfidiously cheated the subterranean Demons, telling us that after Death he went down to the infernal Regions, and there played one of his Tricks upon *Pluto* : Being at the Point of Death, he commanded his Wife to throw out his Body into the publick Place without Burial ; which she having done, he ask'd Leave of *Pluto* to go and chastise his Wife, who had shewed so little Regard to him, promising to return soon. But having obtained his Request upon this Condition, so soon as he had breathed the Air of this World he was resolved to return no more to the other, till *Mercury* grasping him by the Throat, brought him back thither, putting in Execution the said Decree of the Gods against him. Others again will have it, that it was for offering Violence to his Niece *Tyrrho*." *Trad. de Jean de Mont-Lyard.*

and Policy. He married *Anticlea*, Daughter of *Autolycus*, by whom he had a Daughter of the same Name, who was married to *Laertes*, *Ulysses's* Father. *Autolycus*, who thought himself at least as crafty as *Sisyphus*, stole some of his Oxen, and having mixed them with his own, hoped thereby to conceal his Theft ; but *Sisyphus*, who had mark'd all his Oxen under the Foot, had no Difficulty to know them again. This Artifice struck *Autolycus*, who having conceived a high Opinion of *Sisyphus*, gave him his Daughter in Marriage.

*Pausanias* (1) relates another Passage of *Sisyphus's* Life, which I ought not to omit ; from it we learn his Piety to *Melicerta*. That Author, speaking of the Confines of *Cremion*, where *Theseus* had defeated a Robber surnamed *Pytocampes*, says there was hard by an Altar to *Melicerta* : For it was asserted that a Dolphin had taken him out of the Sea when he was drown'd, and had brought him to that Place. *Sisyphus* finding him exposed upon the Shore, had him interred, and instituted in his Honour the *Isthmian Games*. It was in the same Isthmus of *Corinth*, as we are told by the same Author, that *Sisyphus* himself was interred ; but his Monument was known but to few Persons.

T I T Y U S.

*Homer* in two Places of his *Odyssey* (2) makes mention of *Tityus* : The first is, where *Alcinous* tells *Ulysses* that *Rhadamanthus* had once gone to the Island of *Eubæa*, with a Design to see there *Tityus* : The second is, where speaking of the Ghosts which *Ulysses* found in Hell, he makes him say :

*There Tityus large and long, in Fetters bound,  
O'erspreads nine Acres of infernal Ground ;  
Two rav'nous Vultures, furious for their Food,  
Scream o'er the Fiend, and riot in his Blood,  
Incessant gore the Liver in his Breast,  
Th' immortal Liver grows, and gives th' immortal Feast.  
For as o'er Panope's enamel'd Plains  
Latona journey'd to the Pythian Fanes,*

With

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) L. 7. & l. 11.

*With baughty Love th'audacious Monster strove,  
To force the Goddeſs, and to rival Jove.*

POPE'S Odyſ. B. 11. v. 709.

*Strabo* accordingly alledges, that this *Tityus* was a Tyrant of *Panope*, a Town in *Phocis*, not far from *Delpbos*, who for his Oppreſſions drew upon himſelf the Indignation of the People, and was equally odious to Gods and Men.

The Fables which Antiquity published in relation to him are eaſy to be explained. The firſt, which makes him the Son of the *Earth*, has no other Foundation but the Name of this Tyrant, which imports *Earth* or *Clay*; or if you pleaſe, it derives its Origin from another Fiction, importing that *Jupiter* being enamoured of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenos*, ſhe had been obliged, in order to evade *Juno's* Jealouſy, to conceal herſelf in the Bowels of the Earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tityus*. The ſecond, importing that he was a Giant whoſe Body covered nine Acres of Ground, had no other Foundation, as we are told by *Pauſanias* (1), but that the Place of his Burial, which was near *Panope*, contained precisely a like Quantity of Ground, which *Homer*, who probably had that Tomb in his Eye, had expreſſed poetically.

The third is, that *Apollo*, by his Arrows, had rid the Earth of this Monster, becauſe he had probably died young, or by a violent Death, all violent or untimely Deaths being attributed to that God, as we have had Occaſion to notice oftner than once. The fourth and laſt, that he was inceſſantly prey'd upon in Hell by two Vultures, is explained by *Lucretius* (2), when he ſays that the true *Tityus* is he whoſe Heart is conſumed by Love, that Paſſion being commonly accompanied with the moſt cutting Anxieties and Cares.

We may however ſuppoſe, either that *Tityus's* Tyranny did not laſt through the whole Courſe of his Life, but that towards the End of his Reign he repaired the Evils which he had done at the Beginning, or that the Inhabitants of *Eubœa* had not the ſame Idea

(1) In *Phoc.* (2) De rer. nat. l. 3.



Idea of him with those of *Panope*, since *Strabo* (1) says, that in *Eubæa* was still to be seen in his Time, a Cave named *Elara*, from the Name of his Mother, and a Chapel where *Tityus* had a religious Worship paid to him. But does not *Strabo*, in saying he reigned at *Panope*, contradict *Homer*, who makes *Rhadamanthus* travel to *Eubæa*, there to see *Tityus*? Madam *Dacier* has endeavoured to reconcile this Contradiction, by saying, that *Elara* being delivered of *Tityus*, sent him to *Eubæa* to screen him from the Jealousy of her Rival; that he was there educated, and that during his Youth *Rhadamanthus* came to see him; that *Tityus* came afterwards to *Panope*, where he reigned; and that the *Eubæans*, who had taken Care of his Education, had consecrated to him the Chapel which we have now mentioned.

P H L E G Y A S.

We find also in *Tartarus* the unfortunate *Pblegyas*, who is there under the eternal Apprehension of the Fall of a Rock that hangs over his Head. His Crime was, that he burnt the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delpbos*, because he believed his Daughter had been debauched by that God (a); probably some Priest being in love with her, had assumed the Habit and Equipage of that God. *Pblegyas* is the Preacher in those sorrowful Mansions, as we are told by *Virgil* (b),

*There Phlegyas feels unutterable Woe,  
And roars incessant thro' the Shades below;  
Be just, ye Mortals! by these Torments aw'd,  
These dreadful Torments, not to scorn a God.*

PITT'S *Æn.* vi. 860.

An useless Sermon, since it is delivered to those who  
are

(1) In loc. cit.

(a) *Phlegyas autem, Ixionis pater, habuit Coronidem filiam, quam Apollo vitiavit, unde suscepit Æsculapium: quod pater dolens accendit Apollinis Templum, & ejus sagittis est ad inferos trusus.*

*Servius in l. vi. Æneid.*

(b) . . . . *Pblegyasque miserrimus omnes*

*Almonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras*

*Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.*

*Æn. l. vi.*

are no longer capable to practise such excellent Precepts of Morality.

*Statius* adds, that poor *Pblegyas* was pining away for Hunger under the insupportable Load of a hideous Rock. A very painful Situation for a Preacher, and doubtless it will not be easy to justify *Virgil* for making him cry so loud while he is fasting, and has so enormous a Weight upon his Breast.

As *Pausanias*, of all the Antients, has enlarged most upon the History of *Pblegyas*, I shall recite all that he says of him (1). *Eteocles* having died without Sons, the Descendants of *Halmus* took Possession of his Dominions, for he had only two Daughters, *Cbrysogenia* and *Cbryse*. The latter, by an Intrigue with *Mars*, had a Son called *Pblegyas*, who afterwards possessed the Throne of his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and changed the Name of the Country called *Andreis* into that of *Pblegyas*, which it has ever since retained. This Prince having built a Town after his own Name, peopled it with a Body of the bravest Men whom he could draw together from all Parts of *Greece*; and of this Medley was formed an audacious People who pretended to make a separate Community; and thus having made a Separation from the *Orchomenians*, had no other Aim but to aggrandize themselves upon the Ruin of their Neighbours. They carried their Audaciousness so far as to march against *Delpbos*, and attempt to pillage the Temple of *Apollo*. *Philamman* came to the Relief of the Inhabitants of this City with a select Band of *Argives*; but he and his Men were slain in a Battle which was fought under the Walls of *Delpbos*. This Victory encreased the Courage and Audaciousness of the *Pblegeans*; accordingly *Homer* represents them as a very warlike People. 'Tis in that Place of the *Iliad* where the Poet speaks of *Mars*, and *Terror*, which is the Offspring of that God; he puts the *Pblegeans* in the same Rank for Valour. The Fire of Heaven, says *Pausanias*, Pestilence and continual Earthquakes exterminated that Nation at last.

Those

(1) In *Corinth.* c. 26. in *Beot.* c. 36.

Those who saved themselves, passed into *Phœcis*, and were never more heard of.

*Pblegyas*, adds the same Author (1), made an Expedition to the *Peloponnesus*, apparently out of Curiosity, but in Effect to spy out the Country in Person, and to see if the Inhabitants were numerous and warlike. For this Prince was the greatest Warrior in his Time; wherever he came he laid waste the Country, and always carried off a great deal of Booty. He had but one Daughter, who having suffered herself to be debauched by a Priest of *Apollo*, became Mother to *Esculapius*, as we shall see in the following Book (2).

*Pblegyas* having died without Sons, *Chryses* his Nephew, by his Sister-in-Law, succeeded him. The two Fables blended with this History, the one that he was the Son of *Mars*, the other that he was punished in *Tartarus*, are easy to be explained. His singular Valour no Doubt made them give him *Mars* for his Father; and besides they never failed to palm upon some God the Intrigues of Ladies of the Rank of *Chryse* his Mother: His Enterprize against *Delpbos* is undoubtedly what made him be accounted an *Atheist*. The Kind of Punishment inflicted upon him, is nothing but a poetical Figure to which probably his ambitious and restless Spirit gave a Handle. However, if we may credit *S. Augustin* (3), who had picked up several of the antient Traditions of *Greece*, it was not *Pblegyas* but *Danaus* that burnt the Temple of *Delpbos*.

#### T A N T A L U S.

*Tantalus* was the Son of *Imolus*, King of *Lydia* in the *Lesser Asia*. *Tzetzes* informs us (4) from all the Antients that this was a Prince religious to Extremity, and that he carried Superstition so far as to offer to the Gods human Sacrifices; which made him be looked upon as impious, and induced the Poets to condemn him to the Punishment which we are going to speak of.

In

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) See the History of this God, B. 5.  
(3) *De Civ. Dei*, l. 18. c. 12. (4) *Hist.* 1c. c. 5.

In the mean Time *Ovid* and *Hyginus* (a) make him to have incurred this Punishment for revealing the Secrets of the Gods, whose High Priest he was, that is, for disclosing the Mysteries of their Worship; a Thing prohibited with the utmost Rigour.

*Pausanias*, in the Description of a Picture of *Polygotes* (1), speaks of a sacrilegious Theft committed by *Tantalus*, and of an Oath he made, adding, that his Accomplice on that Occasion was *Pandarus*. This Theft is a Point of Mythology not much known: And indeed the common Opinion is, that *Tantalus* suffers in Hell for having served up to the Gods the Members of his Son *Pelops*, as we have already said; but *Pindar*, and after him *Didymus*, informs us that this Prince, admitted to the Table of the Gods, stole the Nectar and Ambrosia to give away to Mortals. The Scholiast on *Pindar* has followed another Tradition, from what *Lucian* alledged, that *Tantalus* had stolen a Dog which *Jupiter* had committed to him to guard his Temple in *Crete*. *Jupiter* having asked him what was become of the Dog, he answered that he knew nothing of the Matter; and this they will have to be the Theft and the false Oath we mentioned.

*Pausanias*, I said, advanced, that *Pandarus* had been *Tantalus*'s Accomplice in that Crime, and in his Perjury: *Pandarus*, according to this Author, was of *Miletus*, and if we may credit *Homer*, the Gods took away his Life, perhaps as a Punishment for his Sacrilege. *Penelope*, in whose Mouth the Poet puts this Piece of History, adds, that the Daughters of *Pandarus* being Orphans, *Venus* herself took Care of their Education, and that the other Goddesses heaped Favours upon them; that *Juno* gave them Wisdom and Beauty, *Diana* added the Advantage of Shape and Stature; *Minerva*

(a) *Quærit aquas in aquis, &c.*

- - - - - *Hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

*Jupiter* concedere *Tantalo* sua consilia solitus erat, & ad epulum Deorum admittere, quæ *Tantalus* ad homines renunciavit, ob idque dicitur in inferis in aqua media parte corporis stare. *Hyginus* Fab. 82.

(1) In Phocæ.

taught them all Sorts of Works suitable to n ; that when they were marriageable, *Venus* re- d Heaven to supplicate *Jupiter* to grant them a Match, and that during this Absence of the , the *Harpies* carried off these Princesses, and d them to the *Furies*.

Sense of this Fable, which I never read but r, is, that these Virgins having lost their Fa- their Youth, their Tutors took great Care of ducation, and that they died when they were ie Point of being married. Thus it is that the imple Facts have always been transmitted to us the Mask of Fiction.

o *Tantalus*, *Ovid* tells us, that the Gods having o visit that Prince, he had a Mind to try if they idden Things, and thereby to judge of their y ; that for this Effect he served up to them dy of young *Pelops* his Son, mixed with other ; that *Ceres* finding it an excellent Dish, ate up alder, and that *Jupiter*, who discovered *Tantalus's* ous Curiosity, had restored the young Prince to giving him an Ivory Shoulder instead of that had been eaten, and flung *Tantalus* Headlong to where seated, according to *Homer*, in the Midst sumptuous Banquet, he no sooner puts forth his l to the Food than it flies from him, and in like er the Water when he offers to drink. How- in the Picture by *Polygnotus* which we have men- l, this Prince was represented in a dreadful Fright Account of a huge Rock that hangs over him, hreatens every Moment to fall.

usanius says the Painter had borrowed this Idea i *Archilochus's* Poems, but that he knows not who- *Archilochus* was the Inventor thereof, or if he had n it from some other Poet : In that Case, *Tanta-* and *Pblegyas* would have suffered the same Pu- ment.

Tis pretty probable that this Fable of *Tantalus's* ng set in the midst of Meat and Drink without ng able to taste thereof, is a Consequence of that  
Vol. III. I which

which makes him offer to the Gods human Sacrifices ; and that the Poets, to create a greater Abhorrence to that barbarous Custom, feigned that he had offered to them his own Son, and spoke of this Sacrifice under the Notion of a Feast ; unless we would choose rather to say with *Pindar* (1), that what had given Rise to this Fable, is, that *Neptune*, that is to say, some famous Privateer, having stole away young *Pelops*, some one or other, in order to make *Tantalus* odious, published the Fable of this barbarous Repast, and added that *Ceres* had ate a Shoulder of *Pelops*, *Tantalus* having offered human Sacrifices to that Goddess : But I should rather think that an Adventure related by *Panjanias* (2), had given Rise to the Fable.

As among the other Fatalities of *Troy*, the City could not be taken by the *Greeks*, unless they had the Bones of *Pelops*, they therefore sent to *Pisa* where he was interred. The Vessel was Shipwrecked in its Return, and some Time after a Peasant found upon the Shore the Shoulder of that Prince, and hid it under the Sand. The *Elcans* having gone to the Temple of *Delphos* to consult the Oracle, in order to be delivered from the Plague, the Priestess ordered them to go and dig up the Bones of *Pelops* : Perhaps in Memory of this Event they made an Ivory Shoulder, which they consecrated to *Ceres*, and the *Pelopidae* bore it afterwards upon their Ensigns.

Whatever be in that, to come to something more certain, *Tantalus* had a long War with *Tros* the King of *Troy*, upon Account of the Rape of *Ganymede* his Son. This War at last obliged *Pelops*, after the Death of his Father *Tantalus*, to leave *Phrygia* and repair to *Oenomaus* whose Daughter he married ; but of him we shall speak at more length in the History of the Heroes. *Tantalus* lived about a hundred and thirty Years before the taking of *Troy*, as will be easily seen when we come to speak of the Succession of Kings at that City, from *Tros* to *Priam*. We shall continue

(1) *Olymp.* (2) *In Eliac.*

and give a short Account of the *Danaids* unishment.

*The DANAIDS.*

They have given Occasion to the Punishment *ids*, according to *Diodorus*, was that Cuck the Priests of *Achas*, of pouring Water full of Holes, whence *Orpheus* took the fitting the same Punishment to the *Danaids* at their Husbands Throats. Every body

*Danaus*, upon his Departure from *Egypt*ughters (1), because the Oracle had foretold was to be killed by one of his Sons-in-law into *Greece*, where he was chosen King that the Sons of *Egyptus* his Brother went him, and married their Cousins; that *Danaus* his Daughters to put their Husbands to that *Hypermetra* alone saved her Husband. we are told by *Pausanias*, arraigned his *Hypermetra*, in order to be condemned for violence, but the People declared her innocent caused a Temple to be built in *Argos* Goddess *Pitbo*, i. e. *Of Persuasion*. The story says there was still to be seen in that Judgment-Hall where that Cause was tried, the Tomb of that Princess and her Husband. Occasion to take Notice afterwards in what manner succeeded his Brother-in-Law *Danaus*, put him to Death.

of Punishment of those Princesses, who shed their Hands in the Blood of their own they were supposed to suffer in the Manner mentioned; this is the received Opinion. In time *Eusebius* and some others (a), reckon given Rise to this Fiction, was, that they did in digging Wells in *Argos*, where some

I 2

of

*allod. Pauf. &c.*

*us*, Chron. l. i. says: *Danaus fecit abundare aquis: Greek* which is not translated by *St. Jerom*, adds, *um*. The *Egyptians* were skilled in the Art of conveying by Means of Pumps and Canals: this was the only saving their Lands.

of them had been continually employed in drawing Water by Pumps, which is a very painful Exercise which made those who were condemned to that labour take Occasion to say, that the Gods, to punish those Princesses, had condemned them in Hell to a Vessel full of Holes.

The Tomb of those Sons of *Egyptus* was at *A* according to *Pausanias* (1), upon the Highway led to the Citadel. And indeed, says he, thither their Heads carried and interred; but their Bodies remained at *Lerna*, where they had been slain.

*Wives of those young Men*, continues he, after he slain their Husbands, cut off their Heads and carried them to *Danaus* their Father, as a Proof of their Obedience and of their Obduracy. This author, who found in *Argolis* many Monuments of this History, says in the 25th Chapter, speaking of the City *Lynceæ*, there it was that *Lynceus* returned when he alone of all the fifty Brothers had escaped the Fate that threatened them all, and that from that time he had given *Hypermetra* a Signal with a lighted Torch; for he had agreed with her, that so soon as he found himself secure from the Ambuscades of the *Argives*, he would give her Notice of it from the top of the Citadel of *Larissa*, if he thought she would be quite out of Danger. In Memory of this Event the *Argives* celebrated every Year a Festival which called the Feast of Torches.

I have observed in the Beginning of this Article that *Diodorus* says, the Priests of *Achæa* had a Custom of drawing Water in a Vessel full of Holes: The Author assigns not the Reason of it; but I have seen somewhere that it was in order to refine and purify the Water of the *Nile*, to be employed afterwards in Sacrifice.

*The two A L O I D E S.*

In fine, that I may omit nothing that relates to the noted Offenders who were doomed to *Tartarus*, I first give the Fable of the *Aloides*, as we have

*Apollodorus*

(1) Loc. cit. c. 24.



*Poliodorus* (1), then shall subjoin their History. *Iphimedia*, the Daughter of *Triopas*, having married *Aleus*, all in Love with *Neptune* (this was some Sea Captain) and having had frequent Interviews with her Gallant upon the Shore, she at last proved with Child, and brought him two Sons *Epbialtes* and *Otus*. These young Princes growing every Year a Cubit in Breadth, and a Yard in Height, became so insolent from seeing themselves at the Age of nine Years as big and strong as the most famous Giants, that they thought none could be an Over-match for them : Thus they attempted to dethrone *Jupiter* himself, and in order to make an irresistible Assault upon him they piled Mount *Peleus* and *Ossa* above *Olympus*. Thence those presumptuous Giants menacing the Sovereign of the Gods, had the Insolence to demand of him *Juno* and *Diana*; and *Mars* offering to oppose their Enterprize, took him Prisoner and clapped him in Chains, from whence he was released by *Mercury*. At length, the Gods finding their Power useless against such terrible Enemies, were obliged to have Recourse to Artifice; *Diana* having perceived them in a Chariot, transformed herself into a Hind, and run in directly between them. As they were going to draw their Arrows they wounded each other, and by their Death delivered the Gods from the Terror they had been under : *Jupiter* threw them down into the Depth of *Tartarus*.

*Homer* and *Pindar* say they were slain by *Apollo* at *Naxos* above *Paros*, and *Pausanias* adds (2), that their Tomb was at *Antbedon* in *Beotia*, a City upon the Banks of the *Euripus*.

Some hold that *Epbialtes* and *Otus* were the first who sacrificed to the Muses upon Mount *Helicon*, and consecrated to them that Mountain. 'Tis likewise thought that *Asera* was built by them. This is what we learn from *Hegefinous* in his Poem upon *Attica*, when he says, that *Neptune* having won the good Graces of the beautiful *Asera*, had by her a Son named *Oceodorus*, who in Concert with the Sons of *Aleus* built the

(1) B. 1.

(2) In *Beot.*

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City *Alera* at the Foot of the humid heliconian Mount. Nothing remarkable of the City *Alera* remains but a single Tower.

The Sons of *Alocus* instituted the Worship of three Muses only, and the Names they gave them were *Melete*, *Mneme*, and *Aede*, that is, *Meditation*, *Memory*, and *Song*; whence 'tis easy to judge that these Sons of *Alocus*, by giving those Names to the Muses, did only personify the three Things which are subservient to the Composition of a Poem.

After the following Manner is the Adventure of those two Giants with *Mars* related by *Homer* (1).

*The mighty Mars in mortal Fetters bound,  
And lodg'd in brazen Dungeons under Ground,  
Full thirteen Moons imprison'd roar'd in vain;  
Otus and Ephialtes held the Chain:  
Perhaps had perish'd; had not Hermes' Care  
Restor'd the groaning God to upper Air.*

Pope's Iliad VI. 475.

*F. Hardouin* (2), after his usual Way, gives a very odd Explication of this Fable. Two Princes, says he, had made a Truce. They had put up their Arms on both Sides in a good Arsenal, for the Space of a Year or more. A Declaration of War which followed, stirred up *Mercury*, that is the Love of Spoil, and set *Mars* at Liberty, or War which had only been suspended for thirteen Months; but had it not been for *Eribeus* and *Mercury*, *Mars* had perhaps perished, that is, the War had been entirely extinguish'd. For my own Part without having Recourse to such Refinement, I would explain it that these two Princes having taken for famous Warrior Prisoner, kept him confined thirteen Months; at the End of which *Mercury*, that is, for a able Trader, at the Sollicitation of *Eribeus*, procure his Deliverance. This brazen Prison which *Homer* speaks of, or that Cask of the same Metal, which according to *Arnobius*, his Enemies kept him shut means no more but that he was close confined in  
stro

(1) Il. 5. (2) Apolog. d'Hiom. p. 198.

strong and 'inaccessible Prison. *Diodorus Siculus* adds to this History, that *Butes* the Son of *Boreas* King of *Thrace*, having become delirious for offering to carry off the *Bacchanals* who were celebrating the *Orgies*, threw himself into a Well where he was drowned. This Event which was construed as a Punishment inflicted upon him by *Bacchus* for that Impiety, did not hinder his Soldiers from seizing the other *Bacchanals*, of whom the most considerable were *Ipbimedia*, the Wife of *Aloeus*, and her Daughter *Pancratis*; and they returned into *Strongylos* with their Spoil. There they chose for their King in *Butes's* Stead, *Agassamenus*, whom they got to marry the fair *Pancratis*, *Aloeus's* Daughter. Before this Election two of the principal *Thracians*, named *Sicelus* and *Ecetor*, had already killed one another in contending for that Princess. As for *Ipbimedia*, *Agassamenus*, or *Agassamedus*, gave her in Marriage to one of his Friends whom he had named his Lieutenant. In the mean Time *Aloeus* had sent his two Sons, *Otus* and *Epbialtes*, in quest of his Wife and his Daughter. These Princes having made a Descent upon *Strongylos*, vanquished the *Thracians* and took their City. *Pancratis* died some Time after; *Otus* and *Epbialtes* endeavoured to settle in that Island, and even to make themselves Masters of it, which they accordingly brought about, and changed the Name of *Strongylos* into that of *Dia* (1). After this the two Brothers having made War upon one another, and lost many Men, perished in it themselves, and after their Death received the Name and Honours of Heroes. The *Thracians*, for the Space of more than two hundred Years, were in Possession of that Island, when a great Famine made them quit it (a).

(1) Sacred Island.

(a) I spoke before at considerable Length of the two *Abides* in the History of the *Giants*, Book I. But as I had omitted several Particulars pretty curious, I thought fit to resume that History, and I hope I shall be forgiven this Representation as well as some others which 'tis impossible to avoid in a Work of this Nature, however great Precaution be used.

We find also in *Tartarus*, *Oedipus*, *Etheocles*, *Polynices*, *Ixion*, *Theseus*, *Porphyryon*, and some others, whose Crimes are well enough known ; but we shall have a more natural Occasion to speak of them in the sixth Volume.



## BOOK V.

*Of some other Gods adored by the Greeks and Romans.*

BESIDES the Gods discoursed of in the preceding Books, the *Greeks* and *Romans* owned a great many others, whom they placed in none of the four Classes to which I have reduced the others (a). *Cicero* (1), after he has discoursed of the natural Gods, such as *Heaven*, the *Earth*, the *Stars*, &c. adds, “ Besides those there are many others who have been  
 “ deified by the Sages of *Greece* and by our An-  
 “ cestors, from a Persuasion that whatever is of great  
 “ Benefit to Mankind, is derived to them from divine  
 “ Goodness.——They also made a nominal God of  
 “ any Thing of singular Virtue ; for Example *Faith*,  
 “ *Intelligence*. These *Scaurus* placed not long ago in  
 “ the Capitol among the Divinities. *Faith* had been  
 “ put there before by *Calatinus*. You have before  
 “ your Eyes the Temple of *Virtue*, and that of *Honour*,  
 “ rebuilt by *Marcellus*, raised at first by *Fabius*. Shall  
 “ I mention the Temples dedicated to *Help*, to *Safety*,  
 “ *Liberty*, *Concord*, *Victory*, all which are deified, be-  
 “ cause their Natures can only be inherent in a Di-  
 “ vine

(a) The Mythologists call these Gods *Ænonoi*, out of the *Zones* that is, to speak more clearly, out of the Classes into which they ranged the others.

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

“vine Power? This in like Manner is what made  
“them consecrate the Names of *Cupid, Pleasure,*  
“*Venus, &c.*”

This learned Author is far from naming all the Gods of this Kind, as we shall see in the Sequel. After having fully examined their Natures, I think they may be reduced to five or six Heads. I mean to the Virtues, the Affections, and Passions of the Soul, to the Vices, the principal Actions of Life, as Marriage, Health, Diseases, Repasts, Joy; for they had Gods for eating, drinking, sleeping, &c. Let us begin with what was most rational in Paganism, I mean the Virtues which they deified,

## CHAP. I.

*Of some Beings, and particularly of the Virtues that were raised to Divinities.*

### FELICITY.

**S**AINTE *Augustine* (1) is justly surprized, that the Romans, who had introduced a great many Gods unknown to other Nations, should have been so late of taking *Felicity* into the Number: “For, in short,  
“says that learned Father of the Church, if the  
“Books and Ceremonies of the Pagans are true, and  
“*Felicity* be a Goddess, why did they not adore her  
“alone, since she was capable of bestowing all, and  
“making Men quickly happy? What is the Amount  
“of all our Desires but Prosperity? Why then were  
“they so long of building a Temple to her? Why  
“did not *Romulus* especially, who was desirous to  
“found a happy City, consecrate one to her, and  
“abandon for her alone the Worship of all the other  
“Gods, since with her nothing could fail him? Where-  
“as, without the Favour of that Goddess, he could  
“never have been first made King, and then a God.  
“Why then did *Romulus* give the Romans for Gods,  
“*Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Picus, Faunus, Tyberinus, Her-*  
“*cules?* Why did *T. Tatius* add *Saturn, Ops,* the  
“*Sun,*

(1) *De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 23.*

“ *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Vulcan*, the *Light*, and a World of  
 “ others, even the Goddess *Cloacina*, at the same Time  
 “ that he shewed no Regard to *Felicity*? Why did  
 “ *Numa* introduce so many Gods and Goddesses,  
 “ without taking her into the Number? What if the  
 “ Reason was that he could not single her out among  
 “ such a Multitude of Divinities? Had *Tullus Hostili-*  
 “ *us* known and adored her, he had never consecrated  
 “ *Fear* and *Paleness*, since both of them disappeared  
 “ at the Sight of *Felicity*.”

All the other Gods, continues he, would have yielded to *Felicity*, even *Jupiter* himself, since it was she who made him happy, by raising him to the Throne. But, adds that holy Doctor, civil Wars never happened till the *Romans* acknowledged that Goddess. Was it, says he, that she was offended at them, because, instead of giving her a Place among the great Gods, the Gods of Council, and of building to her the most magnificent Temple, such as might have eclipsed that of all the rest, they placed her by the Side of a *Priapus*, a *Cloacina*, &c. From this Passage it appears, that it was very late before the *Romans* raised *Felicity* to the Rank of their Divinities. It was actually above six hundred Years after the building of *Rome*, that *Lucullus*, upon his Return from the War with *Mitbridates* and *Tigranes*, built a Temple to her. *Pliny* adds (1), that this General enjoined the Statuary *Archefilaus* to make the Statue of that Goddess, but that they both died before the Work was finished. *Lepidus*, General of the Cavalry, had also, according to *Dion* (2), dedicated a Temple to that Goddess, and this is almost all that we know about her. The *Greeks* likewise honoured the same Goddess under the Name of *Eudaimonia* and *Macaria*. An Oracle having informed the *Athenians* that they should win the Victory, if one of *Hercules*'s Children would submit to a voluntary Death, *Macaria*, one of his Daughters, killed herself; the *Athenians* were victorious, and worshipped her who had so generously devoted herself for them.

them; under the Name of *Felicity*, as her Name imports. But it does not appear that this *Athenian* Divinity has any Relation to her whom the *Romans* adored under the same Name.

But, be that as it will, *Felicity* is often represented upon the *Roman* Medals, either under the Figure of a Woman holding in her Hand the *Cornucopia*, or under some other Symbol, with the Legend, *Felicitas Publica*, or, *Felicitas Aug. Felicitas Temporum*.

## H O P E.

Had *Hope* escaped when the imprudent *Epimetheus* opened *Pandora's* Box, no Resource had been left to Man against the Calamities he labours under. But as she alone remained in the Bottom of the fatal Box, I think it no Wonder that they made a Divinity of her. *Cicero* (1) defines *Hope* the Expectation of Good, *Bonorum Expectatio*; a Definition conformable to that of the Apostle, *Spes est futurorum bonorum*; Good Things to come, whether in this Life or the next, are its Object; and 'tis probable the Pagans themselves extended it thus far. It was in the Hope of Immortality, says *Cicero*, that the Heroes so chearfully resigned themselves to Death. The wisest among the Heathens have shewed us what Influence *Hope* and *Fear* are capable of producing upon the Minds of those who take a near View of the future Life. What *Plato* says to this Purpose is admirably good (2): Know, Socrates, that when any one is at the Point of Death, anxious Doubts and Fears arise in his Mind from a Reflection on the Errors of his Life. Then 'tis that the Pains and Torments reserved for the Guilty in the other World, which he had hitherto accounted only so many ridiculous Fables, and made them the Objects of his Raillery, begin to affect, and make an Impression upon him, apprehending all these Things may be real. Thus, whether it be that his Mind is enfeebled by Age, or that having Death nearer at hand, he examines Things with greater Attention, his Soul is seized with Fear and Dread, and if he has injured any one, he sinks into Despair; while he, who has nothing to

reproach

(1) *Tusc. Quæst. l. 1.*(2) *De Rep. l. 5.*

*reproach himself with, feels that sweet Hope springing up in his Mind which Pindar calls the Nurse of Old-age.*

This is one of those refined Sentiments which right Reason dictated to the Philosophers, who were so wise as to consult and hearken to this sacred Guide. It was Virtue, according to *Cicero*, that inspired the Hope of Immortality, and that same Immortality animated Hope. There is nothing melancholy, says he, in Death, which leads to Immortality (a). So thought the wiser Heathens, and nothing could be objected to their Morality as to this Article, had they gone no farther than to consider *Hope* as a Virtue; but they actually made a Divinity of it. *Cicero* speaks of one of the Temples of this Goddess (1). *Titus Livius* makes Mention of that which stood in the Market for Herbs, and of another which *Publius Vistor* erected to her in the seventh Region. *M. Fullius* the Censor consecrated another to her near the *Tiber*.

As to what remains, whether the *Romans* borrowed from the *Greeks* the Worship of this Goddess is what I cannot determine; but this much is certain, that the latter worshipped her under the Name of *Elpis*. *Hope* is represented upon some antient Monuments, but oftner upon the Medals of the Emperors, sometimes with these Words, *Spes publica, spes populi Rom.* &c. Sometimes with a *Cornucopia*, or with Flowers and Fruits, or a Bee-hive, &c. insomuch that one would take her for *Ceres*. All these figured the Goods that were looked for from her, and there is nothing in them that needs to surprize us. In fine, we find her often with one Hand resting upon the Altar, which *M. Aurelius Pacorus* had dedicated to her. As this Goddess had her Temples and Altars, 'tis not to be doubted but she had her Sacrifices too; but Antiquity gives us no Account of the Victims that were offered to her.

#### ETERNITY.

(a) Non est lugenda mors, quam immortalitas consequitur. De Senect. c. 1.

(1) De Leg.



## E T E R N I T Y.

As the most solid Hope is that which terminates in *Eternity*, the *Romans* made *Eternity* itself one of their Divinities; but we find neither Temples nor Altars to this Goddess. She is only to be seen upon some Medals under the Figure of a Woman, with the Words, *Æternitas*, or *Æternitas Aug.* &c. holding in her Hand the Head of a radiant Sun; and that of the Moon, or a Phenix, a Globe, or an Elephant, and some other Symbols that were thought proper to represent her. The Sun and Moon, because it was reckoned their Course would never have an End; the Elephant, because of his long Life; and the Phenix, because this fabulous Fowl was believed to spring out of its own Ashes, and so was in a Manner immortal. *Lastly*, the Globe, because 'tis a Figure without any Extremities.

## T I M E.

I may add they deified likewise *Time* and its Parts. 'Tis true History does not inform us what Kind of Worship was paid to all the Parts of *Time*, as it does of some, for Example, the Hours and Seasons; but since all those Parts had been personified, 'tis very probable that they were accounted so many Divinities. The Thing is out of doubt as to *Time*, who was represented by *Saturn* himself; and ordinarily he was painted with Wings, to express the Rapidity with which he passes away, and a Scythe, to signify the Havock and Waste he makes. In like Manner *Pausanias* informs us that the *Athenians* adored the *Seasons*, and paid the same Worship to them as to *Pandrosos* the Daughter of *Cecrops*.

*Time* was divided into several Parts; the Age, the Generation or Period of thirty Years, the Lustrum, or Space of five Years, the Year, the Seasons; of these they reckoned at first but three, *Summer*, *Autumn*, and *Winter*, *Spring* being added afterwards; the *Morning*, *Twilight*, *Aurora*, *Noon*, the *Evening*, the *Evening-twilight*, and the *Night*.

Each of these Parts had its particular Figure, and they were represented either like Men or Women, according

cording as their Name was masculine or feminine; their Images were even carried about in the Ceremonies of Religion. Thus, at the famous Procession of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, appeared *Penteteris*, or the *Lustrum*, under the Figure of a tall Woman; and the *Year* under that of a Man of the same Stature; that is, six Foot high. I have no Design to dwell longer upon this Subject, but shall only direct the Reader to consult the first Volume of the Supplement of *Montfaucon's* Antiquity, where that Father has given very fine Prints of all those Parts of *Time*.

## T H O U G H T.

The Antients made also a Divinity of *Mens*, that, as we are told by *Varro*, *Lactantius*, and *St. Augustine* after him, it might suggest to us none but what are good, and turn away those which have a Tendency to seduce and lead us into Error. *Titus Livius* informs us (1), that *T. Ottacilius*, when Prætor, had vowed to that Goddess a Temple which he built upon the Capitol, when he was created *Duumvir*.

## P I E T Y.

As *Piety*, whether it have for its Object the Supreme Being, or the Poor, or one's Country, has always been respected in all human Societies, we need not wonder that the *Romans* made this Virtue a Divinity, and the Object of Worship. *M. Attilius Glabrio* built a Temple to her in the Herb-market, a second in the Place where the Woman dwelt who had nursed her Father in Prison, which is expressed to us by that of natural Affection: *Pietas erga Parentes*.

## M E R C Y.

We learn from *Pausanias* (2) the Name of that Goddess, which we may render by these synonymous Terms, *Indulgence*, *Compassion*, *Pity*. The Life of Man, says he, is obnoxious to so many Hardships and Sufferings, that this Goddess deserves to be in the highest Esteem. All Nations of the World should offer Sacrifices to her, because they all stand mutually in need of her. All that we farther know about her,

is,

(1) L. 22. & 23. (2) In Attic.

, that she had an Altar at *Athens*, which the Author now quoted calls *ἑλίας βωμὸν*. The *Romans* gave the Name of *Afylum* to the Temple which they had erected to this Goddess, as also the *Greeks*, as we learn from *Servius* and *Statius* (a).

*VIR TUE and HONOUR.*

The Philosophers, the Orators, and the Poets, had made so many, and so eloquent Encomiums upon *Virtue*, the only Thing that made them happy, that it would have been difficult to hinder the Admiration which they inspired for so glorious an Object from passing very soon into Adoration. Accordingly she was deified, and Antiquity has left us several Traces of the religious Worship that was paid to her, as may be seen in the fourth Book of *St. Augustine de Civ. Dei.* *Plutarch* (1) and others inform us, that *Scipio*, he who razed *Numantia*, was the first who consecrated a Temple to this Divinity. *Marcellus*, as we are told by the same Author (2), being designed to build a Temple of the Spoils of the *Sicilians* to the same Goddess, and to *Honour*, consulted the Pontiffs, who hindered him from it, under Pretext that one and the same Temple could not contain those two Divinities; thus he built two adjoining to one another, in such a Manner, as *Cicero* remarks (3), that there was no arriving at that of *Honour*, but by passing through that of *Virtue*, to teach Men that true *Honour* was only to be acquired by the Practice of *Virtue*. It was even to support this wise Maxim, that *Virtue* was sometimes painted with Wings, because she procured Honour and Victory to those who studied her. *Plutarch* furnishes us with another Remark to this Purpose; namely, that they sacrificed to *Honour* with the Head uncovered, it being usual to uncover at meeting those who by their Virtues have

(a) *Postquam Hercules migravit e terris, nepotes ejus timentes infidias eam quam avus affixerat, Athenis sibi primum asylum, hoc est templum misericordiae collocarunt, unde nullus posset abduci. Serv. in 8 Æn.*

————— *Herculeos fama est fundisse nepotes,*  
————— *Et Komulus acer asylum*  
————— *restituit.*

(1) *De For. Rom.* (2) *Life of Marcell.* (3) *L. 1. In Verrem.*

have acquired Honour in the World; and we learn from *Pliny* that *Fab. Rutilianus* was the first who made a Law, that on the Ides of *July* the Roman Knights should march on Horseback from the Temple of *Honour* to the *Capitol*.

*Virtue* was usually represented under the Figure of a venerable Matron, leaning against a Pillar. We find her, however, upon some Medals of *Gordian* and *Numerian*, under the Figure of a Man with a Beard.

*Marius*, after the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, also consecrated one to these two Goddesses. *Plautus*, in the Prologue to his *Amphitryo*, names *Virtue* among the other Gods whom *Mercury* speaks of in that Place; and *Lucian* says *Fortune* used her so very ill, that she durst no longer appear before *Jupiter's* Throne. An ingenious Allegory, applicable to virtuous People, who are too often persecuted.

*TRUTH*, called by the Greeks *Aletheia*.

The Pagans, deprived of the Lights of Revelation, were ignorant that he, who was to come one Day for the Salvation of the World, was the *Truth*, and that this *Truth* was eternal; thus we are not to be surprized at their having believed, as *Plutarch* and several other Antients relate, that *Truth* was the Daughter of *Time*, or of *Saturn* taken for *Time*. Whether is it, says that judicious Author, because *Saturn* is *Time*, or because he was the justest of Men, that he has been accounted the Father of *Truth*? This is what he does not determine, tho' he inclines to believe that it was for his having strictly practised the Rules of Justice, that he had this *Virtue* given him for his Daughter. *Pindar* however makes *Jupiter* to have been her Father (1).

As *Truth* was reckoned the Daughter of the just *Saturn*, so she was the Mother of *Virtue*; which Genealogy shews, that Men, tho' sunk in the grossest Idolatry, followed sometimes the Lights of refined Reason. *Philostratus*, in the Image of *Amphiaras*, represents *Truth* as a young Virgin, clad in a Robe, whose white-

ness

(1) In *O'lym*.

ness resembled that of the Snow. *Hippocrates* in one of his Letters, gives likewise her Portrait. Represent to yourself, says he, a fine Woman of a proper Stature, modestly dressed, with a thousand attractive Charms, the Lustre of her Eyes, especially, resembling that of the Stars, and you will have the just Idea of this Divinity. *Lactantius* has left us a Saying of *Democritus*, that Truth lay hid in the Bottom of a Well, so difficult it is to come at the Discovery of it.

### CONCORD, PEACE, and TRANQUILLITY.

Though *Concord*, *Peace* and *Tranquillity* seem to present but one and the same Idea, 'tis however certain, that the *Romans* made three distinct Goddesses of them: The first had several Temples at *Rome*; one in the Capitol, which the Dictator *M. Furius Camillus* had built (1), where the Senators, as *Pliny* tells us (2), frequently assembled to deliberate about the Affairs of the Republick. The same Author informs us, that *Flavius* had built a Chapel of Brass in honour of the same Goddess, of the Money raised by a Tax upon the Farmers of the Revenues. *Cicero* (3), *Titus Livius*, and some others of the Ancients, speak often of the Chapels and Altars of this Goddess, as also, of the Statue which was consecrated to her by the Censor *Quintus Marcius*, and of the Temple which was erected to her, or at least repaired by *Livia*, *Augustus's* Wife. *Concord* was addressed to promote a good Agreement in Families, between Spouses, Citizens, &c.

As the Power of *Concord* was confined, as I may say, within the City and Houses, so that of *Peace* was extended to all the Empire, and then she had magnificent Temples; and that which *Claudius* had begun, and *Vespasian* finished, was little short of any in *Rome*. If we may believe *Suetonius*, *Josephus*, and *St. Jerom*, the Emperor deposited there the precious and rich Spoils of the Temple of *Jerusalem*. In this Temple assembled those who professed the fine Arts, to dispute about their Prerogatives, that in the Presence of the Goddess of *Peace*, all Heats might be banished from their Debates. Would to Heaven, says

an ingenious *English* Mythologist (1), that our Divines would follow their Example! Truth, perhaps, would then reveal herself to their Minds; or if they did not always go away from their Disputes more enlightened and convinced, they would at least quit them with less Heat and fewer Prejudices. What that Author says of Religious Disputes, may be extended to all others that happen between Men of Letters, where often the foulest Language, at least ill-natured Reflexions, supply the Place of Arguments, and where Truth is less consulted than the Pleasure of exposing an Adversary to Ridicule.

This Goddess had also in the same City an Altar, which was very much frequented. Monuments represent to us *Peace* under the Figure of a Woman crowned with Laurel, Olive, or Chaplets of Roses, holding in one Hand the *Caduceus*, and in the other Ears of Corn, the Symbol of *Plenty*, which she procures. *Aristophanes* gives her *Venus* and the *Graces* for her Companions.

*Tranquillity*, *Quies*, the happy Effect of *Concord* and *Peace*, had also her Temple at *Rome*, without the *Porta Collina*, as we learn from St. *Augustin* (2). “ I am surprized, says that holy Father, that when they attributed Divinity to every Thing, almost to every Movement, and built Temples within the City to the Goddesses *Agerona*, who incites us to Action, to the Goddesses *Stimula*, who makes us over-act, to *Murcia*, who renders us soft and indolent, as we are told by *Pomponius*, to the Goddesses *Strenua*, who inspires us with Courage; they should not have received among them the Goddesses of *Repose*, but left her without the *Colline Gate*.” However, as they gave *Orcus*, the God of the Dead, the Epithet of *Quietalis*, to denote the Rest and peaceful State of the Shades, learned Authors will have it, that the Worship of this Goddess was the same with that of the Dead.

F A I T H.

(1) Eduardus Herbeus de Cherburi, *De Rel. Gent.* p. 225.  
 (2) *De Civ. Dei* l. 4. c. 16.

## F A I T H.

*Faith*, that is, *Fidelity*, (for thus we are to understand the Word *Fides*, the Pagans not having the same Idea of it with us) was also a Divinity among the *Romans*; consequently it is obvious that she presided over Sincerity in Commerce, and Truth in Promises. It was by her, in short, that Security was given against Deceit and Falshood, since she was taken to witness their Engagements, and the Oath made in her Name, or that of *Jupiter Fidius*, who was the same, was of all Oaths the most inviolable. Nothing in Nature was more sacred than this Fidelity, as having for its Foundation Religion itself; take away, says *Cicero*, the Reverence that is due to the Gods, and Faith is at an End (1). *Pietate adversus Deos sublatâ fidem tolli*. The Temple of *Faith* erected by *Calatius* was in the Capitol, near that of *Jupiter* (2). *Festus*, upon the Authority of *Agathocles*, says that *Æneas*, upon his Arrival in *Italy*, also consecrated one to the same Goddess; but I am of Opinion that we ought to adhere to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Plutarch*, who make the first of all to have been built by *Numa Pompilius* (3). That same Prince had likewise ordered the Priests, whom he set over the Worship of this Goddess, to wear white Vestments when they offered Sacrifices to her. The Antiquaries are of Opinion, that a Figure, where two Women are joining Hands, represents this Goddess, which is not improbable, since in this Manner mutual Faith is usually plighted. What induced *Numa Pompilius* to make *Faith* one of the venerable *Roman* Divinities, is thus related by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (4).

“ In order, says he, to engage his People to mutual Fidelity and Truth in their Contracts with one another, he had Recourse to a Method which the most celebrated Legislators had not as yet contrived. He remarked, that the publick Contracts, and those made before Witnesses, were pretty regularly

K 2

“ ob-

(1) Cic. de Off. l. 3. (2) Pro Marc. (3) In Numa. (4) L. 2. c. 75.

“ observed, and that few who contracted in that  
 “ Manner were found to violate their Promises, be-  
 “ cause Men naturally have a Regard to those in  
 “ whose Presence they have come under Engage-  
 “ ments. He observed on the other Side, that those  
 “ Sorts of Compacts and Treaties that were made  
 “ without Witnesses, and depended merely upon the  
 “ Honesty of the Parties contracting, were still more  
 “ inviolable than the former ; whence he concluded,  
 “ that by deifying *Faith*, he would make these Sorts  
 “ of Contracts still more binding. Besides, it ap-  
 “ peared to him unreasonable, that while Divine  
 “ Honours were paid to *Justice*, to *Themis*, *Nemesis*,  
 “ and such like Divinities, *Faith* alone, the most sa-  
 “ cred Thing in the World, and at the same Time  
 “ the most worthy of Veneration among Men, should  
 “ be honoured neither in publick nor private. Big  
 “ with so laudable a Design, he was the first who  
 “ built a Temple to public *Faith*, and instituted Sa-  
 “ crifices, whereof he would have the Charges to be  
 “ defrayed by the Publick, as was done with respect  
 “ to several other Gods, in Hope that the Veneration  
 “ for so fundamental a Virtue, which he propagated  
 “ through the City in general, would insensibly com-  
 “ municate itself to each Individual.”

“ He was not mistaken in his Conjectures : *Faith*  
 “ came to be so revered, and held in such religious  
 “ Awe by the *Romans*, that she alone had more Force  
 “ than Witnesses and Oaths ; insomuch, that if  
 “ there arose any Difference among those who had  
 “ contracted together without Witnesses, the Matter  
 “ was referred to the Faith of the Defender, and the  
 “ Controversy went no farther. It was the common  
 “ Method too for Magistrates, in Cases of Intricacy,  
 “ to refer the Determination to the Faith of the con-  
 “ tending Parties.”

To conclude, it was *Hercules* who presided over  
 Faith given in Contracts ; and the Oath taken on  
 those Occasions was thus conceived, *Medius Fidius*, as  
 much as to say, *ita me Deus Fidius adjuvet*, *So help me*  
*Medius*



*Medius Fidius*, or *Hercules*. Swear to me, says *Plautus* in one of his Comedies (1), by *Medius Fidius* (a).

The same Prince appointed a God to be the Guardian of the Land-marks, and the Avenger of Encroachments which one Neighbour made upon another. In fine, he made several other Regulations in Religion, as shall be said afterwards, all by the Direction of the Nymph *Egeria*, whom he said he went to consult in a Grove not far from *Rome*.

L I B E R T Y.

A People that idolized *Liberty* so much as the *Romans* did, could not choose but make a Divinity of her, and consecrate to her Temples and Altars. Accordingly this Goddess, who was invoked in order to preserve that same Liberty, which was owing to the Extinction of the Regal Power, had several of them in the City (2). *Cicero* makes mention of one of those Temples: *Publius Vistor* built one upon the  *Aventine Mount*, with a Vestible, which was called the Vestible of *Liberty*. The Ancients, who frequently speak of this Vestible, have not informed us to what Use it was destined. But we may suppose that the public Sales were made there as in the others. *Titus Livius*, speaking of the Temple which *Tiberius Gracchus* had consecrated to the same Goddess, says the Columns thereof were of Bronze, and that it contained several very fine Statues. When *Cicero* set out in his Exile, *P. Clodius* his Persecutor consecrated the House of that great Man to *Liberty*. In short, *Dion* informs us, that the *Romans* by a public Decree raised a Temple to the same Goddess in favour of *Julius Cæsar*: An Action very worthy of those degenerate *Romans*, to raise a Temple in honour of him who made them lose the Remains of that valuable

K 3

Pre-

(1) *Afin.*

(a) Those who are persuaded, that instead of *Fidius* we ought to read *Filius*, as if the Words signify'd the Son of *Jupiter*, don't consider, that *Ovid* makes the first Syllable of this Word short, and not long, as it is in *Filius*.

*Quærebam nonas sancto Fidivæ referrem.*

(2) *Cic. l. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

Prerogative which *Marius* and *Sylla* had still left them, and whereof, till then, they had been always jealous.

### M O D E S T Y.

*Modesty* is a Virtue too essential to the Fair Sex, not to have been erected into a Divinity. History therefore informs, that the *Romans* worshipped her under the Name of *Pudicitia*, and this Goddess had Temples in their City, and Altars whereon Sacrifices were offered to her. But, as if the Great were to have other Gods than the Populace, there was a Distinction at *Rome* between the Chastity of the Patrician Ladies, and that of the Plebeians. The Origin of this Distinction is pretty singular. Thus we have it related by *Titus Livius* (1). *Virginia*, of a Patrician Family, having married a Plebeian named *Volumnius*, who was however afterwards Consul, her Sister looking upon this Match to be unworthy her Name, having joined with the other Matrons, would no longer suffer her to partake in the Mysteries of the Goddess of *Chastity*, but drove her out of the Temple. *Virginia*, stung with this Affront, got a Chapel raised in the long Street, the same where was the Goddess's Temple from which she was excluded, and she dedicated it to the *Chastity* of the Plebeian Ladies; where the Wives who were not of the Senatorian Order, convened from that Time to offer Sacrifice to that Goddess. *Chastity* was represented under the Figure of a Woman veil'd, or seeming to point her Right-hand or her Fore-finger to her Face, to signify that she has no Reason to blush.

### O C C A S I O N.

The *Greeks* made also a God of *Occasion*, whom they named *Kairos*, who was said by the Poet *Ion* of *Chios*, to be the youngest of *Jupiter's* Sons. As his Name is Feminine in *Latin*, the *Romans* made a Goddess of him. *Possidonius*, and after him *Ausonius*, have given a charming Description, the one of the God, and the other

(1) L. 10. c. 25.

other of the Goddess of *Occasion*, which the Curious may consult.

*F R A U D.*

*Boccace*, in his Genealogy of the Gods, takes *Fraud* also into the Number of the Pagan Divinities. She had, says he, the Looks of an honest Man, the Body of a Serpent, whose Body exhibited different Colours, while the lower Part terminated in the Tail of a Scorpion. This Author adds, that she swam in the Waters of *Cocytus*, and that nothing of her was to be seen but the Head. An allegorical Description of this mischievous and deceitful Divinity!

*AGERONIA, or ANGERONIA and PLEASURE.*

*Silence*, or the Art of governing the Tongue, is a Virtue perhaps greater, and more rare than is commonly thought, of which the Antients were so sensible as to make a Divinity of it. This is what the Orientals worshipped under the Name of *Harpocrates*, as has been said in the first Volume; and the Romans, who made her a Goddess, called her *Ageronia* or *Angeromia*. The Feast instituted in honour of her, was celebrated every Year on the 21st of *December*, in the Temple of the Goddess *Volupia* or *Pleasure*, where this Goddess had her Statue (1). For, to mention it here by the Way, *Pleasure* was also promoted to a Divinity. But what could be the Meaning of that Association of *Silence* with *Pleasure*? Was it to set forth that he who knows how to conceal his Grievs, and far more to subdue them, arrived at last at that calm and sedate State wherein the Soul seems possessed of its highest Wishes, a State wherein the wisest Philosophers made true Pleasure to consist? This is what I am not able to determine. We learn from *Julius Modestus*, that the Romans, afflicted with the Squinsey, had Recourse to this Goddess of *Silence*, and soon found Relief from her; which gave Rise to the Sacrifices that were regularly offered to her from that Time.

Monuments represent her under the Figure of a Woman, who, *Harpocrates*-like, holds a Finger to

K 4

her

(1) *Macrobi. Sat. l. 1. c. 10.*

her Mouth. Sometimes her Statues are charged with Symbols, as those of that God, which Figures we call *Panthées*. Thus in that published by M. *Maffei*, she carries upon her Head the *Calatrus* of *Serapis*, and holds in her Hand *Hercules's* Club, while at her two Sides she has the Caps of *Castor* and *Pollux*, surmounted with the two Stars of those Gods. *Numa Pompilius* regulated the Worship of this Goddess under the Name of *Tacita*.

### A I U S L O Q U U T I U S.

But as it is not practicable, nor indeed is it incumbent on us always to keep Silence, but is no less a Point of Wisdom to speak than to be silent in Season, so there was also the God of Speech, whom the *Romans* called *Aius Loquutus*.

After the following Manner was this God known at *Rome*. Not long before the Arrival of the *Gauls* in *Italy*, says *Cicero* (1), a Voice was heard which proceeded from *Vesta's* Grove, declaring, that if they did not rebuild the Walls of the City, it would be taken by the Enemy. The Voice was then disregarded; but when the *Gauls* had made themselves Masters of the City, they began to reflect upon it, and erected an Altar to the God of Speech under the Name of *Aius Loquutus*.

*Titus Livius* and *Plutarch*, who relate the same Story, alledge, that the Person who said he had heard the Voice, was *M. Ceditius*, and that no Regard was paid to it by reason of the small Authority of him who reported the Fact, but that afterwards the City, to make amends to the God who had given so seasonable Warning to the *Romans*, built him a Temple in the new Street. *Aulus Gellius* (2) speaks of the Statue of the same God.

### P R O V I D E N C E.

Tho' the Antients believed Providence to be an Attribute of the Gods, as may be proved by several Medals, upon which we read *Providentia Deorum*, it appears, however, that they had made a particular  
Divi-

(1) *De Div.* l. 1. (2) *L.* 16.

Divinity thereof, whom they commonly represented under the Figure of a Woman leaning upon a Pillar, holding in her Left-hand the *Cornucopia*, and in the Right a Batton which she points to a Globe, at once to shew, that all Goods are derived from her, and that she extends her Care over the whole Universe. Sometimes she has other Symbols, but this Manner of representing her was the most common.

S E C U R I T Y.

*Securitas* was also deified, and worshipped by the Greeks under the Name of *Aspbaleia*, which is of the same Import. The Inscription of *Securi Dei*, which we find upon an antique Monument, signifies not the Gods who are in Security, but who bestow it. The common Legends of *Securitas orbis*, *Securitas Aug. Securitatis perpetuae*, expressed the Security which the Emperor, by whose Orders they were struck, enjoyed himself, and at the same time procured to the World. *Security* was represented as a Woman holding her Hand over her Head.

If *Security* itself was not a Deity, there were at least Gods who procured it. But we know no more of them than what we learn from an Inscription, which is still to be seen at *Rome* in the *Ursini* Palace, and is conceived in these Terms: *Deis Securis*.

O P S.

The Goddess *Ops* had also a Temple at *Rome*: This was the Divinity of *Help*, as her Name intimates. To her they used to sacrifice in the Month of *April* a Cow with Calf, and a Hog. *Macrobius* (1) informs us, that those who invoked this Goddess, were wont to sit, and touch the Ground with their Hand. *Phibeborus* was the first who dedicated in *Afric* an Altar to *Saturn* and *Ops*. But as this Goddess was the same with *Terra*, I shall say no more of her at present.

J U S T I C E and E Q U I T Y.

Tho' in general the Greeks and Romans look'd upon *Themis* as the Goddess of *Justice*, as we have said in speaking of that Goddess, yet the latter had their

Justice

(1) Sat. 1. 10.

*Justice* and *Equity* besides, whom they represented upon their Medals, and on the Monuments that were consecrated to them, the one under the Figure of a Woman sitting with a Cup in one Hand, and her Scepter in the other, as may be seen on the Medals of *Hadrian* and *Alexander Mammæus*: *Equity* again, with a Sword in one Hand, and a Pair of Scales in the other. Farther, this Goddess was confounded with *Astræa*, and with *Dice*, Δίκη, to whom we have an Hymn under the Name of *Orpheus*, wherein the Author, whoever he was, destines Incense to her.

*PITHO, or Persuasion and Consolation.*

If the Pagans did not make a Divinity of *Eloquence*, they at least deified *Persuasion*, which is the End of it. This Goddess was called by the *Greeks* *Pitbo*, Περσώ, and by the *Latins*, *Suadela* or *Suada*. *Pausanias* informs us, that this Goddess had a Temple at *Sicyon*, but that there was no Statue there nor Representation, and a Chapel at *Egiale*, which was built upon the following Occasion (1), *Apollo* and *Diana* having slain *Pytho*, came to *Egiale* to be expiated from this Bloodshed: as the Pestilence then ravaged that City, it was judged necessary to consult the Oracle, who answered, that in order to be delivered from that Calamity, *Diana* and *Apollo* must be appeased, which accordingly they executed, by sending to them seven young Men, and as many Virgins, who appeased them; and in Gratitude they built a Chapel to *Persuasion*. The same Author also informs, that with *Persuasion* they joined another Goddess named *Consolation*, of whom a Statue was to be seen at *Athens* by the Hand of *Praxiteles*.

O G E N U S.

All that we know about *Ogenus*, is, that he was the God of old Men, who were therefore called *ἄγεvidæ*, for which you may consult *Erasmus's Adagia*.

F R U I T F U L N E S S.

*Fruitfulness*, which the *Romans* deify'd, is no other but *Juno*, whom the Women invoked to obtain Children, and for that End submitted to a Practice equally  
rich—

(1) In Corinth.

ridiculous and obscene. When they were come with this View into the Temple of the Goddess, the Priests made them strip themselves, and lashed them with a Whip made of Thongs of Goat Skin. The Medals of *Lucilla* represent *Juno* sitting upon her Throne, with her Scepter in one Hand, and one of those Whips in the other, with the Inscription *Junoni Lucinae*.

C L E M E N C Y.

*Clemency* was also ranked among the Gods, and she had a Temple, as appears from a Medal of *Julius Caesar*. Upon other Medals she has also her Symbols, which were a Bough, the Patera, and the Spear, but none of her Temples are now to be seen.

To conclude, I know not whether *Plenty*, *Uberty*, *Gayety*, *Hilarity*, *Joy*, *Nobility*, *Security*, *Tranquillity*, and some other Beings of that Nature, which we often find personified upon Medals and Intaglios, were also ranked among the Gods. But as the Antients let us know nothing concerning their Worship, make no Mention of any Temple or Altar erected to them, I shall say nothing of them here: What relates to them being the Antiquary's Province.

C H A P. II.

*Of Evil Beings, of Passions, and Vices that were advanced to Divinities.*

AS the Fear of Evil is stronger than the Hope of Good, it is easy to imagine that the Pagans having adored the Gods from whom they expected Blessings, would not fail to pay the same Respect to those who were capable of doing them Harm. *Men*, says *Cicero*, were so sunk in Error, that not only did they give the Name of Gods even to things pernicious, but they likewise paid religious Worship to them. Thus we see a Temple to the Fever on Mount Palatin, another to Orbona near that of the Lares, and an Altar to Ill Fortune on Mount Esquiline.

The F E V E R.

The Fever therefore was a Divinity, and we have a Monument

Monument where she is called *The Holy Fever*. Besides the Temple now mentioned by *Cicero*, *Valerius Maximus* (1) says, that she had others, into which they carried the Remedies used in Diseases.

## O R B O N A.

*Orbona* again was a Goddess invoked by the Father and Mothers for the Preservation of their Children and those who had lost them were under the particular Protection of this Goddess, as we learn from *Strabo* (2).

## T E M P E S T.

All that we know of *Tempest*, which was deified by the Romans, is, that *Marcellus*, as an Acknowledgment for having escaped a Storm with which he was overtaken at Sea, between the Islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, built a Temple to her without the *Portus Capena*.

*Impudence* and *Calumny*, *Murcia*, *Necessity*, and *Violence*.

If some antient Authors did not inform us that the Greeks raised Altars to *Impudence* and *Calumny*, we should never have believed it possible for them to worship those two Vices so pernicious to Society. The Goddess of *Indolence*, called *Murcia*, had no doubt her Worship, for this is the favourite Divinity of the fair Sex; but of her, Antiquity gives us no particular Account; St. *Augustin* telling us only that this Goddess who hindered from Action, had her Temple in *Rome*.

## S T R E N U A.

To the Goddess of *Sloth* I shall join another who was quite opposite to her, namely *Strenua*, who, according to the same Father, made Men to over-act. She had also a Temple in the same City. But we know nothing more about her.

We are better acquainted with *Necessity* and *Violence*, since *Pausanias* (3) speaks of the Temple which they had in the Citadel of *Corinth*, whose Entrance was prohibited to all, except to those who served the Goddesses.

## F A M E.

(1) L. 11. c. 5.

(2) L. 4.

(3) In *Corinth*.



## F A M E.

ing the Divinities who are the Subject of this ; *Fame* had also her Place : *Hesiod*, who gives description of her, has however omitted her Gen-  
 But 'tis certain that she was reckoned a Di- and that she had an established Worship, espe-  
 at *Athens*, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1), and a  
 ; as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Camillus*.  
 ures nor Statues can have a stronger Expression  
 her Likeness to this Goddess than is exhibited in  
 the Picture of her drawn by *Virgil* (2). I give  
 the Translation of it for the Benefit of some  
 3.

o *Fame, tremendous Fiend! without Delay*  
 o *Libyan Cities took her rapid Way.*  
 e, *the swift Plague, that every Moment grows,*  
*gains new Strength and Vigour as she goes.*  
*small with Fear, she swells to wondrous Size,*  
*stalks on Earth, and towers above the Skies.*  
*me, in her Wrath to Heav'n, the teeming Earth*  
*luc'd the last of her Gigantic Birth,*  
*monster huge, and dreadful to the Eye,*  
*o rapid Feet to run, or Wings to fly.*  
*earth her Plumes the various Fury bears*  
*ousand piercing Eyes and list'ning Ears,*  
*l with a thousand Mouths and babbling Tongues*  
*appears.*  
*nd'ring by Night thro' Heav'n and Earth she flies,*  
*golden Slumbers seal her watchful Eyes :*  
*Tow'rs or Battlements she sits by Day,*  
*l shakes whole Towns with Terror and Dismay,*  
*rms the World around, and perch'd on high*  
*ports a Truth, or publishes a Lie, &c.*

Pit's *Æneid* IV. 259.

id gives also a very fine Picture of the same God-  
 and some other Poets have likewise exercised  
 poetical Genius upon the same Subject.

What

In Attic.

Extemplo Libyæ magnas it Fama per urbes, &c. *Æn.* l. 4.

What we may infer from all these is, that *Fame*, like all the *Giants*, was the Daughter of the *Earth*, who, to be avenged of the Gods, and of *Jupiter* in particular, who had thunderstruck her Children, brought forth this Monster to blaze abroad their Crimes, and make them known to all the World: For *Fame* spares neither Gods nor Men.

## E N V Y.

Among the Passions deified by the Antients, none perhaps deserved that Honour less than *Envy*. But yet the *Greeks* had made a God of him, his Name being masculine in their Language, and the *Romans* a Goddess. *Plutarch*, who has composed a small Treatise upon this Passion, says curious enough Things upon the Subject, and the Poets have given themselves free Scope in drawing the Picture thereof. Here *Ovid* especially has excelled in those Verses which begin thus,

*Pallor in ore sedet, maciesque in corpore toto* \*, &c.

*Livid and meagre were her Looks, her Eye  
In foul distorted Glances turn'd awry;  
A Hoard of Gall her inward Parts possess'd,  
And spread a Greenness o'er her canker'd Breast;  
Her Teeth were brown with Rust, and from her Tongue,  
In dangling Drops, the stringy Poison hung.  
She never smiles but when the Wretched weep,  
Nor lulls her Malice with a Moment's Sleep,  
Restless in Spite: While watchful to destroy,  
She pines and sickens at another's Joy;  
Foe to herself, distressing and distressed,  
She bears her own Tormentor in her Breast.*

Garth's *Ovid*. Met.

The Antients compared her to the *Eel*, from a Notion that this Fish bore Envy to all others.

## F E A R and P A L E N E S S.

If a prudent and moderate *Fear* is not Wisdom itself, it is at least the Beginning and Principle thereof; but when it is only a blind Passion which disturbs the Tranquility of the Soul, without furnishing it with the Means to be cured of the Uneasiness it labours under,

\* *Ovid*. Met. lib. 2. 775.

under, then 'tis only a vain and unavailing Terror. Such was the *Fear* or *Dread* which the *Greeks* had deified, and which the *Romans* afterwards adored like him, as also *Paleness*, its inseparable Companion. Men being struck with the View of Events whose Causes were unknown to them, and which infused a Terror into them against which nothing could fortify their Minds, made a Divinity of the disturbing Passion itself, from which they sought to be delivered by addressing to it Vows and Prayers. 'Tis not possible to determine the precise Time when they began to pay Adoration to those two Divinities. They are perhaps of as old a Date as the Disturbance which they create; at least they were known to the earliest Poets of *Greece*. *Hesiod*, after having told us in his *Theogony* that *Fear* was the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, adds in the Description of *Hercules's* Buckler, that this God was thereon represented in his Chariot, accompanied with *Fear* and *Terror*. *Homer* (1) gives those Goddesses the same Original. Accordingly, every Time he makes the God of War appear in Fight, he gives him *Fear*, *Terror*, and *Flight* for his Retinue: He also places the same Divinities sometimes upon the tremendous *Egis* of *Minerva*, sometimes upon the Buckler of *Agamemnon* (2). Here *Mars* orders these two Goddesses to yoke his Chariot, to fly to avenge his Son *Ascalaphus* (3); there these two Goddesses (4) in the midst of Tumult and Consternation occasioned by the Combat between *Hector* and *Ajax*, come forth from the *Grecian* Ships to put the *Trojans* to flight.

*With that he gives Command to Fear and Flight  
To join his rapid Coursers for the Fight: &c.*

Pope's *Iliad*, B. XV. 134.

A Divinity so well marked in those two Poets, and so formidable in herself, could not fail to command religious Worship. Accordingly they had Recourse to Gifts and Sacrifices, in order to appease and be delivered from her. The two Sons of *Medea* having been

(1) L. 4. (2) Il. l. 11. (3) Il. l. 15. (4) Il. l. 16.

been inhumanly murdered by the *Corinthians*, Mortality carried off many of her Children, and upon consulting the Oracle, they learned that they were to offer Sacrifices to the offended *Manes* of those innocent Victims to their Cruelty, and at the same Time to consecrate a Statue to *Fear*. In a Battle fought by *Tullus Hostilius*, the *Albans*, who had declared for him, turned their Backs and went over to the Enemy. At first the Hearts of his Men were dismayed, and all seemed to be lost, when that Prince vowed a Temple to *Fear* and *Paleness* : This Vow produced its Effect ; the Soldiers resumed their Courage, and *Tullus* gained a compleat Victory. This Event, which is the *Æra* of introducing the Worship of those two Goddesses into *Rome*, is marked upon two Medals of the Family of *Hostilia* (1). Upon the one is a Head with the Hair standing on end, the Countenance raised towards Heaven, the Mouth open, and a troubled Aspect, which are lively Figures of the Divinity whom the Medal represented. The other exhibits a meager Face greatly lengthened, the Hair laid flat, and a staring Aspect ; this is the true Portrait of *Paleness* which is the Effect of *Fear*.

The *Lacedemonians* made greater Advantage of the Goddess we are now speaking of, since, according to *Plutarch*, they had placed her Temple by the Tribunal of the *Ephori*, from a Persuasion that nothing is so necessary as to inspire the Wicked with Fear of severe Chastisement.

Lastly, that *Fear* might want no Proof of Divinity, she was joined in Oaths with the other Gods. *Eschilus* informs us (1), that in the solemn Oath taken by the seven Chiefs of the *Theban* Expedition, in the midst of Sacrifices, all of them holding their Hands in the Blood of the Victims, swore by *Fear*, by the God *Mars* and *Bellona*.

Such were the Virtues, Vices, and Passions that the *Greeks* and *Romans* had raised into Divinities. We might join here some others, whose Representations we find

(1) *Ful. Urs. Patin*, und *Vaillant*. (2) Trag. of the Seven before *Thebes*.

find upon Medals, and their Descriptions in the Poets: But as we learn nothing from the Antients concerning their Worship, and have no Mention made of any Temple or Altar erected to them, we leave the Antiquaries to explain the Symbols with which they were represented. It suffices to observe in general, that as the Pagan Theology was not founded upon any certain Principle, so it easily adopted all the Gods whom different Occasions introduced.

*A T E or D I S C O R D.*

Among the malignant Divinities, we must not forget *Ate*, or *Discord*, that cruel Goddess, who having sought to set the Gods by the Ears, was at length banished from *Olympus*, and came down to this Earth, there to exert all her Fury. *Homer* (1) makes *Agamemnon* thus speak of her in excusing himself for having forced away *Briseis* from *Achilles*, in that fine Speech he makes to the Grecian Captains assembled by his Order.

*What then could I, against the Will of Heav'n ?  
Not by myself but vengeful Ate driv'n ;  
She, Jove's dread Daughter, fated to infect  
The Race of Mortals, enter'd in my Breast.  
Not in the Ground that baughtry Fury treads,  
But prints her lofty Footsteps on the Heads  
Of mighty Men ; inflicting as she goes  
Long fest'ring Wounds, inextricable Woes !  
Of old, she stalk'd amid the bright Abodes ;  
And Jove himself the Sire of Men and Gods,  
The World's great Ruler, felt her venom'd Dart ;  
Deceiv'd by Juno's Wiles, and Female Art, &c.*

Pope's *Iliad*, XIX. 91.

Then *Agamemnon* relates how *Juno*, by making *Stelenus's* Wife bring forth *Euristheus* before her Time, and thereby acquire a Right to command *Hercules*, had provoked *Jupiter*, that the Sovereign of the Gods falling foul of *Ate*, whom he believed to have inspired *Juno* with that Design, seized her by the Head, and

flung her down from the Top of *Olympus*, after making an Oath that she should never again appear in the Mansions of the Gods.

*From his ambrosial Head, where perch'd she sat,  
He snatch'd the Fury-Goddes of Debate,  
The dread, th' irrevocable Oath he swore,  
Th' immortal Seats should ne'er behold her more ;  
And whirl'd her headlong down, for ever driv'n  
From bright Olympus and the starry Heav'n :  
Thence on the nether World the Fury fell ;  
Ordain'd with Man's contentious Race to dwell.*

Ib. 125.

From this Passage it appears to have been their Opinion that *Ate* was the Daughter of *Jupiter*, that she had once been an Inhabitant of *Olympus*, and that for offending her Father, she had been banished from thence, and come down to dwell amongst Men.

Some Fathers of the Church, I know, believed from this Story that the Pagans had some Knowledge of the Fall of the Angels ; S. *Justin* even asserts that *Homer* had got the Substance of this Story from *Egypt*, and that he had read that Passage where the Prophet *Isaiab* speaks of the Fall of those Spirits of Disobedience ; but how could that Poet read the Writings of a Prophet who came not into the World till an hundred Years after him ?

After *Homer*, their great Original, have the succeeding Poets painted this Goddess in the blackest Colours. *Virgil* represents her followed by *Bellona*, having her Head entwined with Serpents :

*Et scissâ gaudens vadit Discordia pallâ,  
Quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.*

Æn. 1. 8.

- - - - - *Et Discordia demens  
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.*

L. 6.

But none have given such a finished Description of her

her as *Petronius* (a) in those fine Verses of his Epic Poem upon the Civil War. To this Goddess were ascribed not only Wars, but also Quarrels among private Persons, Broils and Dissentions in Houses and Families; and we all know it was she who threw into the Assembly of the Gods, the fatal Apple which occasioned that famous Contest among the Goddesses, whereof the Gods declined to be Judges for Fear of involving themselves, through partial Views, in Debates and Wranglings, which seldom fail to be the inseparable Consequences of *Discord*.

'Tis proper to add what Mythology teaches us concerning *Good Fortune*, to what we have said of the Gods good and bad, since she was either a good or bad Divinity, according to the Use that was made of her.

### C H A P. III. *Of Good and Bad Fortune.*

**A**S Men have always highly valued Earthly Goods, 'tis no Wonder that they adored *Fortune*; Fools! who thus instead of acknowledging an intelligent Providence that distributes Riches and other Goods, from Views always wise, though dark and placed beyond the Reach of human Discovery, addressed their Vows to an imaginary Being, that acted without Design, and from the Impulse of unavoidable Necessity: For 'tis beyond Question that in the Pagan System, *Fortune* was nothing else but *Destiny*. Accordingly she was confounded, as we shall see afterwards, with the *Parce*, who were themselves that fatal Necessity which the Poets have reasoned so much about.

L 2

'Tis

(a) *Infremuere tubæ, ac scisso Discordia crine  
Extulit ad superos Stygium caput: hujus in ore  
Concretus sanguis, contusaque lumina flebant.  
Stabant irati scabra rubigine dentes,  
Tabo lingua fluens, obsessa draconibus ora,  
Atque inser toto laceratam pectore vestem,  
Sanguinea tremulam quaticbant lampada dextra.*

Petr. Sat.

'Tis true, Christians sometimes speak of *Fortune*, after the Manner of the Pagans themselves; to sacrifice to Fortune, to expect all from Fortune, to be devoted to Fortune, &c. But when they reflect and consider the Meaning of these vulgar Expressions, they refer all to divine Providence.

But to proceed, I know not whether the several Nations that acknowledged this blind and capricious Divinity, had all the same Idea of her; but 'tis certain that she was invoked from the earliest Times, since the first Time that Scripture mentions the Gods of the Pagans, it speaks of *Gad*, invoked by *Leah*; and this *Gad* St. *Augustin* takes to have been *Fortune* (a). But as the present Question is only about the Idea which the *Greeks* and *Romans* had of her, 'tis their Mythology on this Head I am to explain. First, it does not appear that this Goddess was antiently known to those two Nations, since *Hesiod* and *Homer* say nothing of her, and we have remarked that the latter, who uses the Word *Τύχη*, the Name given to this Divinity, meant thereby not *Fortune*, but one of the Daughters of the Ocean, the Companion of *Melobosis*, and of the beautiful *Janthe*. That great Poet, as *Pausanias* observes (1), has expressly said that *Pallas* and *Erys* presided over Battles, *Venus* over Marriage, and *Diana* over Child-bearing; but far from making an almighty Goddess of *Fortune*, as has been since done, a Divinity who exercises her Dominion over all human Things, and who brings them about as she pleases, he does not give her so much as the smallest Function.

The most antient Circumstance we know concerning this Goddess, is, that *Bupalus*, a great Statuary and Architect, was the first who made a Statue of her for the City *Smyrna*, and that this ingenious Artist thought fit to represent her with the Polar Star upon her Head, holding in her left Hand the Horn of *Amalthea*, commonly called the *Cornucopia*. 'Tis beyond Doubt that by the first of these Symbols he designed to express

(a) See what is said above, Vol. I. Book 3.

(1) In *Mess.* c. 30.



press the Power of this Goddess over the World ; and by the second that she was the Dispenser of all Goods. After him came *Pindar*, continues *Pausanias*, who celebrated this Divinity in his Verses, and gave her the Name of *Pherepolis*, as you would say, the Protectress of Cities. This is nearly the Origin of the Worship of *Fortune* in *Greece*, a modern Divinity not known before *Pindar*.

The *Greeks* erected to her in Aftertimes several Temples, and those of *Corinth* gave her the Sirname of *Acreea*, because she had one in their Citadel. This Goddess had also a Chapel at *Egira*, with a Statue having beside it a winged *Cupid*, probably to signify that in *Love Fortune* has a greater Influence than *Beauty*. In that of *Elis* she had in her Hand the Cornucopia ; but the most suitable Symbol was that which the *Beotians* had given her, having represented her in a Temple of theirs holding *Plutus* in her Arms under the Form of an Infant ; and this, says *Pausanias* (1), is an ingenious enough Notion, to put the God of Riches into the Hands of *Fortune*, as if she had been his Nurse and his Mother. The City *Smyrna* in short was not the only one in *Asia*, where *Fortune* was worshipped ; the Inhabitants of *Antioch* held her in extreme Veneration (2), and 'tis not improbable that several other People imitated their Example ; for in general almost all Men are Votaries of *Fortune* ; and tho' they don't always offer Victims to her, yet they but too often sacrifice to her their Honour and Probity.

Among the Encomiums given to this Goddess by *Pindar*, he made her one of the *Parcæ*, and to have the greatest Power of them all ; whence we may conclude, that she was confounded with those inexorable Goddesses, or, to speak more accurately, with *Destiny* itself, that blind Divinity, who distributed Good and Evil at random : and such was the Idea the *Greeks* had of her.

The *Romans* had much the same Sentiments of her, since their most antient *Fortune* being that which was

L 3

worshipped

(1) In *Beot*.

(2) *Pausanias* in *Corinth*.

worshipped at *Antium*, and which was confounded with the *Lots*, the Use whereof was so famous in that City (*a*), 'tis evident that they did not distinguish her from *Destiny*, or that Fate which the *Greeks* called *Eimarmene*.

The *Romans*, content at first with consulting the *Lots* and *Fortune* at *Antium*, adopted at last this Divinity, and established her Worship in their City, where she had afterwards a great Number of Temples. *Servius Tullius* was the first who built one to her, and thence we nearly see the Date of the Introduction of her Worship into *Rome*. This Edifice was consecrated to her under different Names; for the *Romans* gave her several (*b*): Such as those of *Good Fortune*, *Manly*, *Bearded*, of *good Hope*, *Sweet*, *Peaceful*, *Virgin*, *Fortune of the People*, &c. And she had Temples under almost all these different Names, according to *Titus Livius* and *Plutarch*; for *Dionysius Halicarnassens* mentions only one which was built to her by *Servius Tullius*: *Ancus Martius* was the second who built her one under the Title of *Fortuna Virilis*, she had likewise another under the Name of *Female Fortune*, and none but the new married Persons were permitted to worship her. 'Tis probable that the *Roman Ladies* themselves were at the Charge of building that Edifice; accordingly it was reported that upon the finishing of it the Goddess had uttered these Words, *Recte me matronæ vidistis, riteque dedicastis*.

*Fulvius Flaccus* raised the most magnificent Temple of all to this Goddess, under the Name of the *Equestrian Fortune*. That which was erected to her by *Q. Catulus*, was dedicated to the *Fortune of the Day*, *Fortuna hujusce diei*. If that which *Nero* consecrated to her was not the most magnificent, it was at least the most singular and splendid, in regard to the Materials whereof it was built. It was entirely of one Sort of Stone found in *Cappadocia*, called by *Pliny*, *Phingias*, the

(*a*) See what is said above, Vol. I. in the Article of Divination.

(*b*) *Fortunæ Primigeniæ, Obsequenti, Privatæ, Viscosæ, Mafculæ, Barbataæ, Bonæ Spei, Averruncæ, Blandæ, Plebeis, Bene Speranti, Virgini, &c.*

the Marble whereof, besides its remarkable Hardness, was so white and glaring, that 'tis said when the gates were shut one saw in it clearly. This Temple was afterwards inclosed within that Emperor's golden House. The same Goddess had another in the new Street, under the Title of *Fortune with Breasts*, who was represented much the same Way as *Diana of Ephesus*, and *Isis*, whose Head-dress she wears upon some Figures which are still preserved. *Domitian* built another to *Fortune of happy Arrival*, *Fortune reduci*, an Expression which often occurs upon Medals, and that of *Fortuna Redux*.

*Herbert of Chisbury*, the Author of a learned Treatise upon the Religion of the *Gentiles*, which I have already sometimes quoted, alledges that neither the *Orientals* nor *Greeks* ever paid any Worship to *Fortune*, and that the *Romans* were her sole Votaries. But was he ignorant that the Inhabitants of *Antioch* had in their City a magnificent Temple to that Divinity; that those of *Smyrna* had consecrated to her the fine Statue which *Bupalus* had made; and lastly, that as *Pausanias* tells us, *Greece* was full of Temples, Chapels, Statues, Bas-Reliefs, and Medals of this same Goddess? What clearer Proof can we have of religious Worship?

As to what remains, all the Monuments of *Fortune* now extant (1) represent her almost always under the Figure of a Woman with the Cornucopia, or a Helm, or a Wheel, or Globe; Characters either of her Power or Inconstancy. We find her also pretty often with the Symbols of *Isis*, especially with that odd Head-dress, which we have described in the first Volume, and these Figures are Panthees; sometimes crowned by Victory, to figure some happy Event to the Emperor who represented her so upon Medals: In fine, *Spon* (2) has given us a Statue consecrated by *L. Aurelius Marcellinus*, *Augustus's* Freed-man, which represents *Fortune* under the Figure of a Man in Years, with a Beard, holding in one Hand a Vase, and in the other an Helm, with this Inscription *Fortuna Bar-*

L. 4

*batae,*

(1) See them in *Montfaucon Ant.* v. 1, (2) *Miscel. Erud. Ant.*

*batae*, To bearded Fortune. Which in short has nothing strange in it, the Pagans having often given both Sexes to their Divinities, as has been said elsewhere.

Tho' Wings were also one of the Symbols of *Fortune*, nothing being more expressive of the Celerity with which she heap'd good Things upon her Favourites, or takes them from those who possessed them; we see not, however, any *Roman* Figure of this Goddess with Wings; which probably has some Reference to what *Plutarch* tells us (1), that *Fortune* having quitted the *Persians* and *Achyrians*, first flew swiftly over *Macedonia*, saw *Alexander* perish; passed from thence into *Syria* and *Egypt*; at last, arriving on Mount *Palatine*, put off her Wings, and having thrown away her Wheel, entered into *Rome*, there to fix her Residence for ever.

We are intirely ignorant of the Nature of that Worship which the *Romans* paid to *Bad Fortune*; only, that they did pay Homage to her is certain, since, according to *Cicero* (2), she had an Altar on the *Esquilin Mount*. As the Inhabitants of *Antium*, now *Nettuno*, adored at the same Time two *Fortunes*, called *Fortune Geminae*, the *Twin-Fortunes*, 'tis probable that these were *Good* and *Bad Fortune*. *Martial*, who also says they were Sisters, adds, that they gave Oracles upon the Sea-shore (a). *Suetonius* calls the two *Fortunes*, *The Lots of Antium*; because it was by the Lots they were consulted.

#### C H A P. IV.

Of the Gods of Feasts and Revels, Momus and Comus.

#### C O M U S.

AS Paganism had Gods who presided over all the Actions of Life, so they could not choose but have some for Feasting and good Cheer, which many People

(1) De Fort. Rom. (2) De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

(a) Hear how that Poet speaks the Emperor *Domitian*, l. 5. Ep. 1.

Seu tua fatidicæ d'stunt responsa sorores,  
Plena suburbani qua cubat uicula fidei.

to make their most serious Employments. *Comus*, however, whose Office was to preside there, hardly be known to us but in Name, had not *Varro* mentioned him in one of his Pictures (1). The Author paints this God as at the Chamber of young Spouses, which communicates with a Hall, where are held an Entertainment and Ball, youthful, full of Wine, his Face flushed, he sleeps upon his back and reaches forward his Head, which is crowned with Roses, while his Neck is hid. He seems to lean his left-hand upon a Stake, but Sleep makes him let it slip; and as he staggers, the lighted Torch, which he holds in his Right, seems to drop out of his hand. The young God, for fear of burning himself, does not draw in the Left Leg to the Right, turns the back towards the Left, and endeavours to shun the light of it, by putting away his Hand from his face. His Head being down, you see but little of his face, but the Light that falls upon the Rest of his body, makes him discernible. A Picture of Fancy, and not all the Rest of this Author's; but 'tis easy to put by it the God of Banqueting and Jollity.

Some Mythologists derive the Name of *Comus* from the Word *κωμαζεῖν*, *Comessari*, to revel, or make merry; others, and possibly with more Reason, derive it from a Kind of Song, which the Antients called *Comos*.

For as there is eating and drinking at jovial feasts, so is there usually singing; and as they had different Stations of Life (a), so there were different Feasts and Repasts, which were called from the names now mentioned. *Vigenere*, the learned Commentator on *Philostratus*, has been at the Pains to explain all the Attitudes of the God now in question;

besides that they are only the Product of *Philosophy's* Imagination, they are easy to be understood.

#### M O M U S.

*Comus* was the God of good Cheer among the Greeks and Romans, so *Momus*, whom *Hesiod* makes the Son of *Zeus*.

Picture of *Comus*.

(1) See the Diss. of M. de la Nauze upon the Songs of the Antients. *Mém. of the Acad.* v. 9.

Son of *Night* and *Sleep*, was taken by both for the God of Buffoonery and Jests. Satyrical to Excess, he let nothing escape him, but made even the Gods, and *Jupiter* himself, the Objects of his most pungent Raillery. No Body has drawn him in more true and lively Colours than *Lucian*; and we may see, in his Counsel of the Gods, where the Question was about expelling all Strangers, and such as had been improperly introduced into Heaven; there, I say, we may see in what Manner, and with how little Ceremony *Momus* speaks of them. 'Tis, in short, from this Manner of censuring the Vices and Defects of others that *Momus* has his Name (1). It was he who found Fault with the Gods, because, in the Formation of Man, they had not made a little Hole or Window in his Breast, that one might have seen into his Heart what were his Thoughts; tho', to say Truth, *Vitruvius* (2) attributes this Thought to *Socrates*.

## C H A P. V.

*Of the Gods of Medicine and Health, Esculapius, Hygieia, Thelesphorus, Jaso, Panacæa, &c.*

THE Name of *Esculapius*, whom the *Greeks* called *Asclepius*, appears to be a foreign Name, and seems derived from the oriental Languages, as shall be said afterwards; and what confirms this Conjecture, is, that *Esculapius* was actually known in those Countries before he was in *Greece*. *Cicero* (3) says, there were several Persons who bore that Name. "The first *Esculapius*, says he, the God of *Arcadia*, who passes for the Inventer of the Probe and Manner of binding up Wounds, is the Son of *Apollo*. The second, who was slain by a Thunderbolt, and interred at *Cynofura*, is Brother to the second *Mercury*. The third, who found out the Use of Purgatives, and the Art of drawing Teeth, is the Son of *Asippus* and *Arfæus*. His Tomb is to be seen in *Arcadia*,

(1) *Mōmos* in *Greek* implies *Censure*. (2) *Præf.* l. 3. (3) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3.

## hap. V. *explained by HISTORY.*

*Arcadia*, and the Grove that is consecrated to pretty near the River *Lufus*." But however acquainted *Cicero* is with the Religion of the old *Romans*, he appears to have been ignorant of the People from whom they learned it. *Sancton*, whose Work was not translated in that Age, names an *Esculapius* yet more antient, as the Son of *Sydik*, or, *the Just*, and of one *itanide* (1). He was the eighth of his Sons, and next to the *Cabiri*. There had been, as *Macrobius* says, an *Esculapius* King of *Memphis*, Son of *Esculapides*, Brother to *Mercury* the first, who lived about a hundred Years after the Deluge, upwards of a thousand Years before the *Grecian Esculapius*. In *Strabo* (2) speaks of an *Asclepius*, or *Esculapius*, whose surnames *Tosortibus*, an *Egyptian*, and famous *Grecian*, to whom other Authors ascribe the *inventing Architecture*, and of contributing not a little to propagate in *Egypt* the Use of Letters which *Mercury* had invented.

'Tis not therefore in *Greece*, but in *Phœnicia* or *Egypt*, that we are to seek for the true *Esculapius* being honoured as a God in those two Countries. His Worship passed into *Greece*, and was established at *Epidaurus*, a City of the *Peloponnesus*, bordering on the Sea, where probably some Colonies sent from *Phœnicia* first. This was a good enough Handle for the *Greeks* to give out that this God was a Native of *Greece*; as their Mythology was founded upon very ancient Traditions, they related his History differently. It appears too this Confusion was owing to the Plurality of Persons who had bore this Name. In short, I recite here all that we are told of his Parentage, and adhere to the Opinion most generally received in *Greece*, which gave him *Apollo* for his Father, and some Priest of that God, and for his Mother *Coronis*, the Daughter of *Phlegyas*; for as the Tradition of his having been born of *Asclepius* the Daughter of *Leucippus*, this, according to

(1) See the Fragment of that Author, v. 1. l. 2. (2) Dyn. 3. of the Kings of *Memphis*.

*nias*, is the least probable, and worst supported of any. And indeed *Apollophanes*, to oblige the *Messenians*, of whose Country *Leucippus* was, having gone to consult the Oracle at *Delphos* to know the Place of *Esculapius's* Nativity, and that of his Parents, the Oracle, or more properly *Apollo* himself, answered, that he was his Father, that *Coronis* was his Mother, and that he was born at *Epidaurus*.

*Phlegyas*, the most warlike Man of his Age, having gone, according to *Pausanias* (1), into the *Peloponnesus*, under Pretence of travelling, but in Truth to spy out the Country, had brought his Daughter with him, who, to conceal her being with Child from her Father, went to *Epidaurus*, where she was delivered of a Son, whom she exposed upon a Mountain, called to this Day, the Mount *Tithyon*, or, *of the Breast*; whereas, before this Adventure, the Name it went by was *Myrtion*, from the Myrtles that grew there; and the Reason of this Change is, that the Child having been thus abandoned, was suckled by one of the Goats that fed in a neighbouring Wood (a), guarded by the Dog of the Flock. *Aristhenes*, this was the Goat-herd's Name, coming to review his Flock, found a She-goat and his Dog wanting, and, as he was seeking for them, found the Child, and was going to carry him off; but no sooner did he come up to take him, than he perceived him all resplendent with Light, which made him believe there was something divine about the Child, upon which he went home. The Voice of Fame soon published that there was a miraculous Infant born. *Pausanias* adds to the Story now related, that it was also reported that *Coronis*, at the very Time of her being with Child, suffered herself to be debauched by *Ischyus* the Son of *Eletus*. It was also given out that she died in Child-bed; and on these two Circumstances has *Ovid* (2) founded his Fable, which imports, that *Apollo* having learned from a Raven the Unfaithfulness of his Mistress, had ripped up her Womb with an Arrow.

(1) In Corinth.

(a) Lactantius, Div. I. 1. says that he was suckled by a Bitch.

(2) Met. l. 2.



Arrow, taken out the Child with whom she was pregnant, and sent him to the *Centaur Chiron*, who took upon him the Care of his Education. The Foundation of this double Fiction is, that an Informer was reckoned a Creature of bad Omen, as was the Bird whose Name *Ovid* gives him, and *Coronis* having died in Child-bed, was therefore said to be slain by the Darts of *Apollo*. But it being a rare Thing to attribute to this God the untimely Deaths of Women, as has been said in his History, another Tradition set forth (1) that it was *Diana* herself, who, to revenge the Infidelity of his Brother's Mistress (2), took away her Life, which is very conformable to the Opinion they had of those Kinds of Death.

As the Name of *Coronis* in the *Greek* Language is the same with that of the Crow, hence another Fable arose upon this Occasion, importing, as we see in *Lucian* (3), that *Esculapius* had sprung from that Bird's Egg under the Figure of a Serpent; but the only Thing that gave Rise to this Fiction, whose Foundation is easy to be traced in the Conformity of the Name, is, 1. That the Serpent was the Symbol of *Esculapius*. 2. From the Story propagated by the false *Alexander*, whom we shall speak of in the Sequel of this Chapter.

*Esculapius* being removed from the Place where he had been exposed, was nursed by *Trigone*, who was perhaps the very Wife of the Goat-herd who had discovered him; and when he was capable of improving by the Lessons given at that Time by the famous *Chiron*, *Pblegyas*, to whom he had doubtless been returned, sent him to his School. Being, as we are told, by *Diodorus Siculus*, of a very quick and lively Genius, he made such Advances there, especially in the Knowledge of Simples, and in the Composition of Remedies, whereof he invented a great Number of very salutary ones, having joined, according to the Custom of those Times, Surgery with the Study of Physick, that he became at length not only a great Physician, but was

(1) *Pauf. loc. cit.* (2) *P. ibid.* (3) *Dial. of the false Alex.*

was even reckoned the God and Inventer of Medicine.

'Tis true, the *Greeks*, who are not very consistent with themselves in the History of those early Ages, gave *Apis*, the Son of *Phoroneus*, the Glory of having invented that Art; but perhaps, he having left it very imperfect, *Esculapius* carried it to such a Degree of Perfection, as to give Occasion to say that he was the Inventer of it.

*Esculapius*, being contemporary with *Jason* and *Hercules*, may have had the same Master with them; and *Chiron* being reputed the most sufficient Man of his Time for the Education of Youth, may have very probably educated all the three. This ingenious *Centaur* was Master both of Astronomy, Musick, the Art of War and Physick. Thus, while *Hercules* applied himself to wrestling and other bodily Exercises, and *Jason* to the Art of War, *Esculapius* gave himself wholly to Physick, and therein made great Proficiency. As the Intimacies contracted between School-fellows are usually the most lasting, so *Jason* and *Hercules*, when they set out in their Expedition to *Colchis*, engaged *Esculapius* to be of the Party (*a*), and he did great Service to them in the Capacity of Physician. In fine, he acquired so great Reputation in his Art, that, like *Hercules*, and some others of his Contemporaries, he was deified after his Death, and was accounted the God of *Physick*. And if we may believe *Pausanias*, it was but a short Time after his Death that he received divine Honours. They add farther, that he formed the celestial Sign called *Serpentarius*. His Posterity, according to *Pausanias* (1), reigned in a Part of *Messenia*, and it was from thence that his two Sons, *Macbaon* and *Podalirius*, set out for the War of *Troy*.

The *Messenians* even cited the Verses in *Homer* that represent *Nestor* comforting King *Macbaon* wounded with an Arrow, as being his Neighbour; for both of them

1) Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 5. See my Diff. upon the *Argonauts*.  
 of the Acad. of Bell. Lett.  
 ) in Mess.

them reigned in *Messenia*. The same Author tells us, that at *Gerania* was to be seen *Macbaon's* Tomb, and at *Pheres* a Temple that was also dedicated to him : For he was advanced to divine Honours, and his Worship was established in *Messenia* by *Epitbes* the King of *Andamia*. As for *Podalirius*, we are ignorant of the History of the last Years of his Life. *Tzetzes* however informs us, upon the Authority of the Physician *Soranus* of *Ephesus*, that he had passed over to *Rhodes*, where probably he died.

*Esculapius* married *Epione* (1), by whom he had two Sons now mentioned, and four Daughters, *Hygieia*, *Egle*, *Panacea*, and *Jaso*.

I am not ignorant, that some learned Men of the last Age, and of the present, will have it that there never was another *Esculapius* but the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* whom we have spoke of at the Beginning of this Chapter : But this is to advance an Opinion that will not hold : The History now related is consistent in the Main, and few Accounts of that Time are so coherent, however they may be true. We actually find *Esculapius* in the List of the *Argonauts*, and 'tis very obvious that his Son might be at a War which so soon followed their Expedition. For, in short, tho' we should adopt the ingenious Conjecture of *Bochart* (2), followed by *F. Thomassin*, and other learned Men, that the Name of *Esculapius*, or, to speak more accurately, *Asclepius*, is derived from that of *Kaleb*, which the *Hebrews* gave to a Dog, and that it is composed of these two Words in the same Language, *Isch-Kalibi*, *Vir Caninus*, what will follow from it, but that there had been an *Esculapius* in the oriental Countries long before he was known in *Greece* ? A Thing not denied. Let us grant what that celebrated Author alledges, that it was in Allusion to this Name of *Esculapius* Dogs were kept in his Temple, as we learn from *Pausanias* ; this Circumstance only proves that it was a Remain of the *Egyptian* or *Phœnician* Tradition brought into *Greece* by the Colonies of *Danaus* and *Cadmus*.

We

(1) Others call his Wife *Lamprotia*. (2) Hierof. Pons. t. 1. z. c. 55.

We are willing to add with M. *Fourmont* (1), that the Particle *es* or *ex*, which begins the Name of this God, signifies a Goat in the Language of the *Phœnicians*, and with a little Variation, the same Thing in *Greek*, and that this had given Rise to the Fable of *Esculapius's* being nursed by that Animal. We can also admit what is alledged by the same Author, that this God was Brother to *Eliezer*, who, according to him, is the same with *Hermes*, and that both of them were from *Caleb*, or of the City of the *Dog*, upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*; and that this is the true Origin of the Name of this God, whereof *Bochart* had only a Glimpse, without seeing farther; provided however, we take this along with us; that this is one of those Conjectures which one has Liberty to receive or reject, according to the Weight of Argument wherewith it is supported, and which I advise the Reader to consult in that Academic's own Work: They are still of more Force than those which *Huetius* has drawn together (2), to prove *Esculapius* to have been the same with *Moses*. But neither the one nor the other destroy the Existence of the *Greek Esculapius*.

Let us therefore conclude, in order to reconcile so many different Opinions, that it is unquestionable there was one *Esculapius* in *Phœnicia*, and another in *Egypt*; that the Worship of the former was brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus's* Colony, and of the latter by that of *Danaus*, some Ages before the *Trojan War* (a); that this Worship was adopted by the *Greeks*; but that afterwards a celebrated Physician, who lived in the Time of *Hercules* and *Jason*, having obtained divine Honours, his Worship came to be confounded with that which was paid to the antient *Esculapius*; so that, in Process of Time, the Worship of the latter came to be quite forgot, and the new God substituted altogether in his Room.

As the *Greeks* always carried the Encomiums of their

(1) *Refl. Crit.* v. 1. p. 189. (2) *Dem. Evan.* p. 4.

(a) We shall give the precise Dates of the Arrival of these Colonies in the Beginning of the 4th Vol.

their great Men beyond the Truth, so in a high Hyperbole they said, that *Esculapius* was so expert in Medicine, that not content with Curing the Sick, he even raised the Dead (a); that *Pluto* cited him before the Tribunal of *Jupiter* (1), and complained to him that his Empire was considerably diminished, and was in danger at length of being entirely desolate: So that *Jupiter* in Wrath slew *Esculapius* with a Thunder-bolt. To which they added, that *Apollo* enraged for the Death of his Son, slew the *Cyclops* who forged *Jupiter's* Thunder, with the rest of that Fable, which I have related in the History of *Apollo*: A Fiction which obviously signifies only that *Esculapius* had carried his Art very far, and that he had cured Diseases believed to be desperate. The Worship of the *Grecian Esculapius* was first established at *Epidaurus*, the Place of his Birth, and soon after propagated through all Greece. "That this Worship began in that Town, says *Pausanias* (2), can be evinced from more Proofs than "one. For first, his Feast is celebrated with more "Pomp and Magnificence at *Epidaurus* than any "where else. In the second Place, the *Athenians* "grant that this Feast was derived to them from *Epidaurus*, accordingly they call it *Epidauria*, as well "as the Anniversary of the Day in which the *Epidaurians* began to worship *Esculapius* as a God." He was worshipped at *Epidaurus* under the Figure of a Serpent, which did not hinder him however from having the Figure of a Man in his Statues. That which was of Gold and Ivory, the Work of *Thrasmedes* of *Paros*, represented this God seated on a Throne, having a Battoon in one Hand, and resting the other upon a Serpent's Head, with a Dog lying by him. Though *Esculapius* was generally represented bearded, there was however one of his

Vol. III. M Statues

(a) *Ovid*, as shall be said in the History of *Theseus*, says he raised *Hippolitus*, and *Julian* says the same of *Syndarus*.

(1) *Diod.* l. 4. and other Mythol. (2) In *Corinth*.

*Antonine.* There you see the *Tyber* under the usual Figure of Rivers, sitting upon the Water, holding a Bough in his left Hand. By him appears the Island of the *Tyber*, which *Plutarch* calls *Mesopotamia*, because it is in the Middle of that River. It has the Form of a Ship, as it actually had, and some Remains of it still appear, which have escaped the Injuries of Time and the Inundations of the River. Upon the Top of the Ship's Prow, which represents the Island, is in the Medal a wreathed Serpent, which makes Head against the Current of the River (a).

To conclude, the Reason why the Serpent is so often represented upon the Monuments of *Esculapius* is, that this Insect, whence he drew excellent Remedies, is of great Use in Medicine, or because it is the Symbol of Prudence, a Virtue so necessary in Physicians. Such another Adventure as that which we have now related, happened, according to *Pausanias* (1), to those who built the City *Limera* in *Laconia*, who sent also to seek for *Esculapius*. The prevailing Opinion, that this God appeared under the Figure of a Serpent, gave Rise to the Trick of one *Alexander*, which *Lucian* pleasantly relates (2).

This Adventurer having found a Way to convey one of these Insects into a Crow's Egg, and having placed it in the Foundations of a Temple which was beginning to be built in honour of *Esculapius*, gave out that he had there found that Egg; and having opened it in Presence of several Persons, averred to them that it was *Esculapius*; then having hid himself for some Time, he appeared again with a large Snake, which he had tamed; and the credulous People imagining it was the God of Physick, were zealous to consult this Impostor, who by this Trade gained great Deal of Money.

The Sick came in Crowds into the Temples of the God to be cured of their Infirmities; there they usually spent the Night; and whenever they received the

(a) This Island is called at this Day *St. Bartolomew*.

(1) In *Lacon.* c. 23. (2) *Dial.* of the false Proph.

here any Ease, they left Representations of the Parts of their Bodies that had been cured.

'Tis highly probable that the Priests who minister'd in those Temples, and who commonly were able Physicians, made the Patients take Remedies, though in a secret Manner, or mix'd up some of them with such Things as the Patients were obliged to take for Sustainance, and then ascrib'd to the God the Cures which were only owing to those Medicines. What I have here alledged is not without Foundation: We know that *Apollonius Tyaneus*, having passed some Years in the Temple which *Esculapius* had at *Æge*, a Town in *Cilicia*, which was one of the most celebrated, drew from thence several Pieces of Knowledge, and learned the Use of a great Number of Medicines, which he afterwards made Use of in curing the Sick, to whom he gave them for nothing; which drew Crowds after him, and gained him a great deal of Reputation.

How much soever *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus* rallies *Esculapius* and the other Gods, yet he shews us in what Manner the Patients used to pass the Night in his Temple in order to be cured; and there are perhaps few Pieces in Antiquity whence greater Light may be drawn as to this Article, than from that same Comedy (a).

The other Gods of Physick, and of Health which it procures, were among the Greeks, *Hygieia*, *Thelesphorus*, *Jaso*, and *Panacea*, who were said to be the Children of *Esculapius*, and *Meditrina*. The *Pergamenians*, as we are told by *Pausanias*, upon the Faith of an Oracle worshipped *Thelesphorus* as a God, whom the *Epidaurians*, who also ascribed divine Honours to him, called *Acefos*, *Health-giving*, and the *Sicyonians*, *Evemerion*. Accordingly this God, properly speaking, was the God of those who were on the mending Hand. *Hygieia* also participated in the same Honours, as well as her Sisters (b) *Panacea* and *Jaso*.

M 3

The

(a) See the Medal of the *Epidaurians* quoted in *Spanheim*, and the 6th Page of the third Vol. of the *Theatrum Græcum*.

(b) These two Names have a visible Relation to Physick, the first signifying *universal Remedy*, the second *Medela*, Cure.

The Author now quoted says, that in the Temp of *Eſculapius* at *Siryon*, was a Statue of the first of the three Goddesses, almost wholly covered with a Veil to which the Ladies of that Town dedicated the Locks; and we find her often represented upon ancient Monuments and Medals, sometimes with her Father, and frequently by herself. The *Romans* especially bore a high Respect to that Goddess, look upon her as the Saviour of the Empire, and gave her that Title upon their Medals.

I have no Design to consider all the Monuments upon which *Eſculapius* is represented, and the other Gods of Physick, who make the Subject of this Chapter. The Reader may consult the Antiquaries: it suffices to take Notice, that *Eſculapius* always appears under the Figure of a grave Man wrapp'd up in a Cloak, having sometimes upon his Head *Scrapis Calathus*, with a Battoon in his Hand, which is commonly wreathed about with a Serpent; sometimes again with a *Patera* in one Hand, and the Serpent in the other; sometimes leaning upon a Pillar, round which a Serpent also twines. The Cock, an Animal consecrated to this God, whose Vigilance figures the Quality which Physicians ought to have, is sometimes at the Feet of his Statues, and he is once represented holding one of them in his Hand. *Socrates*, we know when dying, says to those who stood around him in his last Moments, *We owe a Cock to Eſculapius, give without Delay.* *Hygieia*, who often accompanies her Father in the Monuments of him now remaining, appears like a young Woman, commonly holding a Serpent in one Hand, and a *Patera* in the other; sometimes the Serpent drinks out of the *Patera*; sometimes he twines about the whole Body of the Goddess. *Thelephorus* is always drawn like a young Man, and with a singular Habit. 'Tis a long Robe that covers his whole Body, insomuch that the Arms are not to be seen: He has upon his Head a Kind of Cowl, that nothing but his Face is left uncovered, The Habit is almost in every Thing like that of the

*Cana*



*Camaldoli*. This Attire contains, no Doubt, some Mystery : But whether it signified that Patients ought to be well covered, or some other Thing, is what we cannot determine. *Lastly*, *Meditrina*, whose Name comes from *mederi*, or *medela*, Cure, or, to cure, was another Goddess of Physick, whom *Varro* and *Festus* informs us to have been worshipped at *Rome* : The principal Ceremony of her Feast, called *Meditrinalia*, consisted in tasting new Wine, as a Beginning of Health ; the Pontiff of the God *Mars*, called *Flamen Martialis*, recited with a loud Voice this Form, *New Wine is to be drunk, and the old as a Remedy*.

*SALUS*, or the Goddess of HEALTH.

As *Health* itself is undeniably the principal Blessing of Life, after having spoke of the Gods who were worshipped in order to obtain it, I shall say a Word or two of her. The *Romans*, who had made a Divinity of her under the Name of *Salus*, conferred upon her a particular Worship. *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and others, make frequent Mention of Temples consecrated to this Goddess, and *Titus Livius* speaks of one which was erected to her by *Junius Babulo* the Censor, near one of the Gates of the City ; which, for that Reason, was called the Gate of *Health*, *Salutaris*. As the Antients speak frequently of the Augury of *Health*, and *Cicero* thus expresses himself to that Purpose, *Salutem populi sacerdotes augurantur* ; 'tis proper to take Notice that the Priests of that College had arrogated to themselves the sole Privilege of supplicating the Gods for the Health of every Particular, and of the whole State, as if every one could not ask it for himself. *Dion* (1) informs us, that the Day set apart for that Ceremony of the *Augurs* was very solemn ; and as it was one of the necessary Conditions, that no Army had set out from *Rome* during the Year, and that they were in the Enjoyment of a profound Peace, it often happened that they were a long Time before they could take the Auguries of *Health*.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of certain Gods peculiar to the Greeks, and some People in Asia Minor and the Isles.*

**A**MONG the Gods whom I am to speak of in this Chapter, there were some topical, or such as were peculiar to certain Places; and others common, who were adored in several Places. Those were commonly called the *Tutelar Gods*, who were believed to take Care either of a Person, or House or City, and sometimes of a whole People, and who were honoured with a particular Worship. *Servius* upon that Verse where *Virgil* calls *Apollo* the Guardian of *Soracte*, *Custos Soractis Apollo* (1), observes that those topical Gods were appropriated to a particular Country. Each Country had one or two of them. Thus *Astarté* was the topical Divinity of the *Syrians*; *Disares* and *Dionysius* of the *Arabians*; *Maraci* of the Inhabitants of *Minturæ* in *Italy*; *Tibulinus* of the People of *Noricum*; *Delventinus* of the *Crustumenians*; *Ancharita* of the *Asculans*. Such again was *Minerva* at *Athens*; *Juno* at *Samos* and *Carthage*; *Mars* in *Thrace*; *Venus* at *Cythera*; *Papbos* and *Amatbus*, &c. *Faunus* to the *Latins*; *Sancus* to the *Sabines*; *Fenelles* to the People of *Aquileia*; *Laphisti* to the *Arcbomenians*; *Tenes* to the Inhabitants of *Tenedos*; *Vulcan* at *Lemnos*; *Bacchus* at *Naxos*; *Apollo* at *Delpbos*; among the *Carians*, *Lagdonia*; *Tuiston* and *Velheda* to the *Germans*; *Efus* to the *Gauls*. The *Romans*, as we are told by *Macrobius* (2), had also their tutelar Gods; and whenever they besieged a City, they were sure, according to *Pliny*, to call forth the Patron God of that City, by a Priest whom they brought along with them for that End, who, with some Forms, exhorted him to quit his Residence, and come into their Camp, and then into their City, where he should be honoured in another Manner than he was in that where he had chosen to reside (a).

As

(1) *Æn.* l. 11. (2) *Satur.* c. 9.

(a) See what has been said of *Evocations* in the first Volume.

As all these Gods are known, and as I have already spoke of them, I go on to others who are less noted.

S O S I P O L I S.

I begin with *Sosipolis* the God of the *Eleans*, whom *Pausanias* speaks of (1); and as he is the only one of the Antients who informs us of him, I shall copy his Account of him. This Author, after he has told us that *Lucina* had a Temple at *Olympia*, and a Priestess who ministred to her, adds, "*Sosipolis* had also his, who is bound to strict Chastity. 'Tis she that makes all the necessary Purifications, and offers to the God, according to the Manner of the *Eleans*, a Kind of Cake knead with Honey. In the Forepart of the Temple, for the Temple is double, there is an Altar dedicated to *Lucina*, and thither the Men have free Access; farther in, is the Place where *Sosipolis* is adored; no Body enters thither but the Priestess, and she too, before she exercises her Ministry, covers her Head and her Face with a white Veil. The Virgins and Matrons remain in the Temple of *Lucina*, where they sing a Hymn, and burn Perfumes in Honour of *Sosipolis*; but they use no Wine in their Libations. To swear by *Sosipolis*, is to the *Eleans* an inviolable Oath.

"As for this God, continues the Author, the *Eleans* give the following Account of him. The *Arcadians* having invaded *Elis*, the *Eleans* marched against them; and when they were upon the Point of giving Battle, a Woman presented herself to them, having a Child upon the Breast, and told them, that Child would fight for them. He was set naked upon the Head of the Army, and presently was seen to transform himself into a Serpent, a Prodigy which terrified the Enemy, and obliged them to fly. As by this Adventure *Elis* was saved, so they gave the Name of *Sosipolis* to the Child (2), and built him the Temple we have now mentioned, in that very Spot where, after transforming himself into a Serpent, he had disappeared. As *Lucina*, no  
" Doubt,

(1) In *Eli*. (2) Saviour of the City.

“Doubt, had presided over the Birth of this wonderful Child, so they set apart for her a Part of the Edifice, and of the Sacrifices that were therein offered.”

We may reasonably believe that this pretended God owes his Original to some Stratagem of the *Eleans*, who having exposed a Child upon the Head of their Army, and afterwards substituted in his Place a Serpent, reported the Miracle, which put the *Arcadians* into Consternation, and obliged them to fly, in which there is nothing at all surprizing: But what is not a little so, is, that *Pausanias*, the Compiler of it, who did not mind much what he had wrote before, speaks once more, and in the same Book of this God; and without reflecting, or referring to the Account he had given of him just before, says; “At *Elis* is to be seen a Temple of *Fortune*, and by it a little Chapel, where divine Honours are paid to *Sosipolis*: He is represented from an Apparition in a Dream, under the Form of a Child with a Habit of divers Colours, and sprinkled with Stars, holding in one Hand a *Cornucopia*.”

#### E M I T H E A.

Here again is another Divinity who was only known at *Castabe*, a City in *Caria*; namely *Emithea*, whose History I shall here relate as we have it from *Diodorus Siculus*, the more willingly that I know no other Demi-Goddes in Paganism but herself. All Greece was full of Demi-gods and Heroes, and of Temples erected to them; but as for Demi-Goddes, they had none but the three Sisters I am going to speak of. “There is, says the Author now named (1), in the City of *Castabe* (a), a Temple of *Emithea*, whose History is variously related: But the Manner most followed by the Inhabitants of the City is as follows. *Staphilus* and *Chrysothemis* had three Daughters, *Malpadia*, *Rhoio*, and *Parthenia*. *Rhoio*, with whom *Apollo* fell in Love, proved with Child, and her Father perceiving it, shut her up in a Coffin, and threw her into the Sea. “ In

(1) L. 5. c. 33.

(a) 'Tis probably *Castabala*. See *la Martiniere*.

“ In the Interim, as the other two Sisters were one Day  
 “ keeping their Father’s Wine, a Gift lately conferred  
 “ upon Men, they fell asleep, and some Swine having  
 “ broke the Vessel wherein it was contained, it was  
 “ spilt to the last Drop. These two Daughters fearing  
 “ their Father’s Wrath, went to the Sea Shore, and  
 “ there threw themselves down headlong. *Apollo*,  
 “ who interested himself in them for their Sister’s Sake,  
 “ supported them in their Fall, and transported them  
 “ into two several Cities: *Parthenia* to *Bubastis*, where  
 “ she has her Temple and her Worship, and *Malpa-*  
 “ *dia* to *Castabé*, where this Protection of the God  
 “ procured her the Name of *Emithea*, *Demi-Goddes*,  
 “ and the Veneration of all the Inhabitants of the  
 “ Country. In Commemoration of the Wine spilt,  
 “ Offerings are made to her of that Liquor mixed  
 “ with Honey, and no Man who has ate Pork, or  
 “ who has touched it, is permitted to enter into the  
 “ Temple of *Emithea*. The Honours of this Tem-  
 “ ple grew in Process of Time to such a Degree, that  
 “ not only is it in singular Veneration in the Country,  
 “ but People even come from a great Distance to of-  
 “ fer there certain Sacrifices, and to make rich Dona-  
 “ tions. Nay more, the *Persians*, who are Masters  
 “ of *Asia*, and who pillaged all the Temples of the  
 “ *Greeks*, had a Respect for this. The very Free-  
 “ booters, who account nothing sacred, have always  
 “ abstained from touching its Treasures, though this  
 “ Temple being without Walls might be rifled with  
 “ all Security. This Distinction is founded upon the  
 “ common Interest of Mankind; for ’tis alledged  
 “ that all the Sick who sleep there, are cured upon  
 “ their awaking, and that several have been delivered  
 “ there from strange and incurable Maladies. We are  
 “ especially told that the Goddess is propitious to  
 “ Women who have hard and dangerous Labour in  
 “ Child-bearing. Accordingly her Temple is full of  
 “ Marks of Gratitude that have been brought thither  
 “ at all Times: A Depositum better secured by Re-  
 “ ligion

“ligion common to all, than it would be by Walls  
“and Guards.”

## P S A P H O.

Follows a topical God adored in a Part of *Libya*, who owes his Divinity to a Stratagem, namely *Psapho*, who having taught some Birds these Words ; *Psapho is a great God*, let them loose into the Woods, where they repeated these Words so often, that People were induced thereby to deify him after his Death. The famous *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* General, tried the same Artifice, as we are told by *Eliau*, but the Birds ill-trained were no sooner let fly into the Woods than they resumed their usual Chattering (1), and thus he was balked of his Hopes.

## C A R M E L U S.

The *Syrians* who dwelt in the Confines of Mount *Carmel*, had a God named *Carmelus*, whom *Tacitus* (a) plainly distinguishes from the Mountain. This God, 'tis true, had no Temple, but there was an Altar consecrated to him. It was one of his Priests, named *Basilius*, foretold *Vespasian* that he was to be Emperor.

## O G O A.

*Ogoa* was another God adored by the *Carians*, especially in the City *Mylæssus* : But all we know about him is this single Circumstance which we have in *Pausanias* (2), that the Sea, which was thought to pass under the Temple of this God, overflowed it sometimes ; but that Author says the same of the Temple of *Neptune Hippius*, which was near *Mantineæ*, and of that which the same God had in the Citadel of *Athens*. 'Tis probable that *Ogoa* was the Name which the *Mylæssians* gave to the God of the Sea. As for those pretended Inundations whereof one was so fatal to *Epythus*, the Son of *Hippotous*, that he lost his Sight by it, and within a few Days after his Life too (3), it was the playing of some Piece of Water-work which the Priests had

(1) Var. Hist.

(a) Est inter Judæam Syriamque Carmelus, ita vocant montem  
unquam ; nec simulachrum Deo, aut Templum, sic tradidere ma-  
jores : Aram tantum & reverentiam. Tac. l. 17.

| In Arc. (3) Id. ib.

had invented to procure greater Respect to the God whom they served.

A P H E A.

*Aphea* was a Divinity adored by the *Eginete*, and at the same Time by the *Cretans*, as we learn from the same *Pausanias* (1) who thus gives the History of her. In the same Island, says he, we find a Temple consecrated to the Goddess *Aphea*, in Honour of whom *Pindar* has composed an Ode for the *Eginete*. The *Cretans* have an antient Tradition concerning this Goddess, and pretend that *Carmanor* had a Son named *Eubatus*, and that of *Jupiter* and *Carmis* the Daughter of this *Eubatus* was born *Britomartis*, who delighting in nothing but rambling and hunting, was beloved by *Diana*, but to shun the Pursuits of *Minos*, who was desperately in Love with her, she threw herself into the Sea, and fell into Fishers Nets. Her Protectress at last put her into the Number of the Gods. The *Eginete* to whom she appeared, worshipped her from that Time under the Name of *Aphea*, while in *Crete* she goes under the Name of *Dictynna*, a Name derived from the Nets into which she fell. This Goddess, in short, is the same with *Diana*, worshipped under different Names.

Z A M O L X I S.

The *Thracians* and the *Getes*, as we learn from *Herodotus* (2), had also a God who was peculiar to themselves, and served them instead of all others. This was *Zamolxis* their great Legislator, whose History deserves a Place here. Those who inhabit along the Coasts of the *Hellepont* informed *Herodotus* that *Zamolxis* had been Slave to *Pythagoras* Son of *Mnesarchus*; and that after having obtained his Liberty, he acquired great Riches, and returned into his own Country. His principal View was to polish a rude People, and make them live after the Manner of the *Ionians*. In order to bring this about, he built a stately Palace, where he regaled all the Inhabitants of the City by Turns, insinuating to them, during the Repast,

(1) In Corinth. (2) L. 4. c. 94, & 95.

Repast, that they who lived as he did were to be immortal, and that after having payed the Tribute which all Men owe to Nature, they were to be received into a Region of Delight, where they should eternally enjoy a happy Life: All the while he had People employed in building a Chamber under Ground, and having suddenly disappeared, he shut himself up there, and lived concealed for three Years. His People mourned for him as dead, but in the Beginning of the fourth Year he shewed himself again, and this pretended Miracle struck his Countrymen so, that they were disposed to believe all that he had said to them. He was at last deified, and every one was persuaded that after Death he was going to dwell with this God. They laid before him their Exigencies, and sent to consult him every five Years. The Manner, in short, how they did it, no less cruel than odd, proves that *Zamolxis* at his Death had not civilized them a great deal. When they had singled out the Man who was to go and lay their Wants before the God, one was employed in holding three Javelins upright, while others held the Deputy by the Feet, and threw him up in the Air, that he might fall down upon the Points of those Weapons. If he was pierced by them, the God was thought propitious to them; and if he did not die, he was cruelly reproached, and treated as a Miscreant. Then choosing out another Deputy, they dispatched him to *Zamolxis*, without subjecting him to the same Trial. When the Weather was rough and boisterous, the same People let fly their Arrows against Heaven, as it were to brave him who was the Author thereof, declaring they did not believe in any other Gods but *Zamolxis*. *Herodotus*, from whom I have this Narrative, after having told us that he did not believe all the Circumstances of it, though he could not but assent to the Truth of the Story in general, adds that he was at least persuaded that *Zamolxis* lived long before *Pythagoras*.



ADRAMUS.

If we may give Credit to *Plutarch* (1), *Adramus* was also a God peculiar to *Sicily*; and the City *Adrama*, which bore his Name, was in a special Manner consecrated to him, though this God was likewise in high Veneration through the whole Island.

CONISALUS, ORTHONA, and TYCHON.

All that we know of *Conisalus*, *Orthona*, and *Tychon*, is, that they were three Divinities peculiar to the *Albanians*, whose Worship, as we are told by *Strabo*, resembled that of *Priapus*.

TANAIS.

The same Author informs us that *Tanais* was also a Divinity peculiar to the *Armenians*; that the Slaves of both Sexes were consecrated to him; that even the People of better Rank offered to him their Daughters, who, so soon as they were consecrated to this God, were authorised by the Law to prostitute themselves to the first Comer, until the Time of their Marriage, and that this Conduct by no Means prevented the Addresses of Suitors.

BESSAS.

Of all the Antients I know none but *Ammianus Marcellinus* (2), that makes Mention of the God *Bessas*, or *Befas*, worshipped at *Abida*, a City situated in the Extremity of *Thebais*. This God, adds the Author, delivered Oracles, and had a peculiar Worship paid him in that City, of which he was the tutelar Deity.

AUXESIA and DAMIA.

As it is the same *Herodotus* (3) informs us of *Auxesia* and *Damia*, whom *Pausanias* (4) names *Lamia*, possibly through an Error of the Copier, I shall set down the Account of them as we have it in that Author. The *Epidaurians*, whose Territory was grown barren, went to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*, which informed them that the Barrenness would never cease till they had consecrated two Statues to *Auxesia* and *Damia*, that those Statues were to be of Olive-Wood. As no Country in *Greece* but *Attica* cultivated those Trees, the *Epidaurians*

(1) Parall. (2) L. 19. (3) L. 5. (4) Loc. cit.

*rians* treated with the *Atbenians*, who granted them what they demanded, on Condition that they would come every Year and offer Sacrifice to *Minerva* and to *Erechiheus*. The Statues were made, Barrenness ceased, and the *Epidaurians* fulfilled the Paction. But some Time after the *Eginete* having carried off those Statues, they would no longer submit to the Necessity of going to *Atbens* to offer the wonted Sacrifices, alledging they had fulfilled the Treaty long as they had the Statues in their Possession, that now they were to have Recourse to the *Eginete*. The *Atbenians* sent to enquire at these what they would fulfil the Condition prescribed to the *Epidaurians*, and upon their Refusal they prepared to carry off by Force the Statues of the two Goddesses, who being pleased with their Situation, resisted all the efforts of the Ravishers, changed their Attitude, upon their Knees, and from that Time have always remained in that Posture. *Herodotus* adds, that he is much ado to believe this last Article, and I suppose he will find many People of his Mind.

As this Historian says nothing of the Origin of these two Goddesses, we must apply for that to the *Trezenians*, who paid them religious Worship. According to them (1) they were two young Virgins, who came from *Crete* to *Trezene* at a Time when that City was divided into two contrary Factions. They were the Victims of Sedition, and the People, who had no Respect for any thing, stoned them to Death. To make some Sort of Reparation for this Crime, they celebrated ever since an annual Festival called the *epidation*.

## Z O G O N O I.

The *Greeks* had also a kind of Gods they called *gonoi*, as much as to say *Animal-born*. *Proclus* is who makes Mention of them. They were believed to have Power to prolong Life : The Rivers and the running Waters were especially consecrated to them. I know not whether *Jupiter* was of the Number of them.

G

(1) *Pauf. in Corinth.*

Chap. VI. explained by HISTORY. 177  
these Gods, since *Hesychius* gives him the Epithet of  
*Λαογύβου*.

### PRODOMEI.

We find also in the Mythology of the same People the Gods *Prodomei*, who presided over the Construction of Edifices, and were invoked before laying the Foundations. *Pausanias* (1) is he who informs us of them. This learned Writer speaking of the *Megarians* says, "There you will see the sacred Hearth of the Gods called *Prodomei*, to whom *Megareus* sacrificed before he laid the Foundations of the new Walls with which he encompassed his City."

### The Pure Gods.

The *Arcadians* bestowed a peculiar Worship upon the Gods named *Καθαροί*, the pure Gods. *Pausanias*, who makes Mention of them, and says it was by them the most solemn Oaths were taken among that People, adds at the same Time that he did not know them.

### ANTITHEI.

*Arnobius*, I believe, is the only one who speaks of the Gods called *Antithei*; these were evil Genii whom the Magicians invoked, and who were only dexterous at doing Mischief. The same Magicians also invoked the Gods called *Devi*, but these, according to *Hesychius*, were not bad Genii.

### The Goddesses POTNIADES.

The *Greeks* had also in Veneration a kind of Goddesses *Potniades*, so called from the City *Potnia*, who were capable only to inspire Madness (2); and we are told to this Purpose that there was a Well in that City of *Beotia*, whose Water made the Horses of the Country mad, if they drank of it (a). The Inhabitants of that City offered at a certain Season of the Year an annual Sacrifice to those Goddesses (3); and let go some sucking Pigs, which were said to be found again the following Year near *Dodona*. But since *Pausanias*, who

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N

relates

(1) In Attic. (2) Μανίασπον.

(a) *Hesychius* thinks the Name of those Goddesses was that of the *Bacchantes* and *Menades*,

(3) *Pauf.* in *Beot.*

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relates it, disbelieves this last Circumstance himself, I reckon every Reader will be of his Mind.

T A R A X I P P U S.

*Taraxippus* was a mischievous Genius, whose Statue served for no other Purpose in the Stadia of *Olympia*, but to affright the Horses that passed by, and this God was peculiar to the *Eleans* (1); but of him we have spoke elsewhere.

C A B R U S.

The City *Phaselis* in *Pamphilia* had also a peculiar Deity, called *Cabrus*, to whom they offered little salted Fishes as a Sacrifice. *Suidas*, who makes an Island of this City, names this God *Calabrus*, and *Erasmus*, in the Proverb of the Sacrifices of the *Phaseliens*, *Caprus*.

A L A B A N D U S.

The Inhabitants of *Alabanda*, a City in *Caria*, paid a peculiar Worship to *Alabandus* their Founder, and he was the first of their Divinities. His Mother was called *Callirhoe*; and when he had won the Prize of the Race, they gave him the Name of *Alabandus*; for as *Stephanus* says (2), the *Carians* call a Horse *Ala*, and Victory *Bafida*. *Cicero* (3), who lets us know what Veneration the *Alabandines* had for this God, adds that *Stratonicus* tired of the Praises which the *Carians* were incessantly bestowing on their Founder, to the Neglect of *Hercules*, whom they would not own, answered them: Well! let *Alabandus* be my Enemy, but may *Hercules* be yours.

T E N E S.

*Tenes*, the Son of that *Cygnus* of whom we have spoke in the History of *Phaeton*, for having built the City *Tenes* in the Island which from him got the Name of *Tenedos*, became the great Divinity of the Inhabitants of that Island, as we learn from *Cicero* (4) in that Passage where he is reproaching *Verres* for having paid so little Respect to the most sacred Things, that he had even stole away the Statue of that God. *Strabo* (5), I know, treats the Account of *Tenes* as fabulous; but

(1) Paus. in Eliac. (2) In Alab. (3) De Nat. Deor. l. 2.  
(4) In Verrem. (5) L. 14.

'tis not the less true that the People of *Tenedos* adored him as a God, as appears by their Medals. As to which the Reader may consult a Proverb of *Erasmus* (1), *Servius* (2), and *Lyllo Gyraldi*.

## C O R O N I S.

The *Sicyonians*, as we are told by *Pausanias* (3), had a Goddess whom they named *Coronis*. *Lyllo Gyraldi* alledges this Author does not let us know whether this was the Mother of *Esculapius*, mentioned by *Ovid*, or some other; that he only says she had no Temple; and when the Season of offering Sacrifices to her was come, she was carried into that of *Pallas*. But this learned Mythologist doubtless had forgot that *Pausanias* having spoke in the same Book of *Coronis Esculapius's* Mother, whom *Diana* put to Death, as has been said in the History of that God; and then making mention of the Temple which *Alexander* built in *Sicyon* in Honour of his Grandfather *Esculapius*, as also of the Statue of *Hygieia*, and that of *Coronis*, there is no Doubt but that he meant it of the Mother of that God.

## E V E M E R I O N.

The *Sicyonians* had two other Goddesses; at least a God and a Demi-God, who were peculiar to themselves, namely *Evemerion* and *Alexanor*. *Pausanias* (4) speaking of them lets us know, that every Day after Sun-setting, the first was worshipped as a God, and the other as a Demi-God.

## A D E P H A G I A.

The *Sicilians* acknowledged *Adephagia*, the Goddess of Gluttony; and if we may believe *Eliau* (5), she had a Temple wherein was lodged the Statue of *Ceres*. *Cicero* tells us, that they also worshipped as a Goddess the City *Himera* (6). We know nothing of *Automatia*, or *Chance*, but that *Timoleon* built her a Temple; nor of *Ergone*, adored as a Divinity by the Descendants of *Phidias*, as we learn from *Pausanias*; nor of the *Gemetyllides*,

N 2

(1) *Tenedos* Ἀρδεονός. (2) In *Æn.* 2. (3) In *Corinth.*  
 (4) In *Corinth.* (5) Var. *Hist.* l. 1. c. 27. (6) In Var.

des, who, according to the same Author (1), had their Statues at Athens by that of *Venus Colias*.

*The Good God, or the Good Genius.*

They paid Adoration to another God, or rather to a Genius called Ἀγαθος θεός, *the Good God, or the Good Genius*. His Temple, as *Pausanias* tells us (2), was on the left of the Highway that led to Mount *Menalus*. This God was invoked by the Drunkards, which has made him be sometimes confounded with *Bacchus*.

NECESSITY and VIOLENCE.

What we know of *Necessity* and *Violence*, is, that their Temple, according to *Pausanias* (3), was in the Citadel of *Corinth*.

DEUS RISUS.

*Plutarch* informs us (4), that *Lycurgus* put *Laughter, Risus*, into the Number of the Gods. *Pausanias* too makes mention of him (5), and says that some People in *Thessaly* celebrated his Festival with Gayety perfectly suitable to this God.

FRIENDSHIP.

*Friendship* whom the *Greeks* name Φιλία, was a Goddess of whom the Antients take little Notice, and we know not whether she had Temples and Altars. Nor has Time preserved any Monument of her. However *Lylio Gyraldi* (6) quotes a Fragment of some Hebrew Sentences translated with the Scholia, where we find these Words: “ The Romans represented *Friendship* as  
“ a young Woman, with the Head bare, clad in a  
“ coarse Attire, and below these Words written, *Death*  
“ and *Life*, while upon her Fore-head was this Inscription, *Summer and Winter*: She had her Breast naked, as far as the Seat of the Heart, where her Hand  
“ pointed, and these Words were inscribed, *Far and*  
“ *Near* ;” Symbols which figured that true *Friendship* never decays, that she is equally the same in all Seasons, in Presence or Absence, in Life or Death; that she exposes herself to every Danger to serve her Friend, and keeps nothing secret from him.

All

(1) In Attic. (2) In Attic. (3) In Corinth. (4) In Lycurgo.  
(5) This Author calls him Γελωτός θεός. (6) : ynt. 1.

F A V O U R.

All that we know of the Goddess *Favour*, is that *Apelles* had drawn an excellent Picture of her.

P R A Y E R S, Αἰταί.

*Prayers*, according to *Hesiod* (1), were *Jupiter's* Daughters, moaning Sisters who were repulser oftner than they were heard. *Homer*, in the Speech of *Phoenix* to *Achilles* (2), gives a charming Description of them :

*Pray'rs are Jove's Daughters, of celestial Race;  
Lame are their Feet, and wrinkled is their Face;  
With humble Mien and with dejected Eyes,  
Constant they follow where Injustice flies:  
Injustice swift, erect, and unconfin'd,  
Sweeps the wide Earth, and tramples o'er Mankind, }  
While Pray'rs, to heal her Wrongs, move slow behind. }  
Who bears these Daughters of almighty Jove,  
For him they mediate to the Throne above:  
When Man rejects the humble Suit they make,  
The Sire revenges for the Daughter's Sake;  
From Jove commission'd, fierce Injustice then  
Descends, to punish unrelenting Men.*

Pope's *Iliad* IX. 624.

The Mythologists give several Explications of this Allegory : But it requires no great Penetration to find out that *Homer* calls *Prayers* lame, because they come not always just after the Injury that occasions them ; that they are wrinkled and have downcast Eyes, to denote how apt Men are to defer Repentance, and how humble at last when they want to make their Peace with the offended Party.

P O V E R T Y and the A R T S.

*Arrian* (3) informs us that the *Gadarians* adored *Poverty* together with the *Arts*, which they joined in the same Worship, because *Poverty* is indeed the Mother of Invention. *Plautus*, in the Prologue to one of his Comedies (4), makes this Goddess one of the Persons in

the Play, and says that she was the Daughter of Debauchery. *Plato*, as has been said elsewhere, makes *Love* to be her Son.

## C H A P. VII.

### *Of some Gods peculiar to the Romans.*

**B**EFORE we come to those Gods who were little known out of *Rome*, 'tis necessary to give a compendious View of the *Roman* Religion, and of the several Changes it underwent from *Romulus* to the last Pagan Emperors. I said at the Beginning of this Volume, that the *Romans*, after having adopted almost all the Gods of the *Greeks*, and of most of the Nations which they had conquered, had also filled up their Kalendar with Numbers of others that were peculiar to themselves ; and that thus the Theology of this People was of all others in the Pagan World the most encumber'd with Ceremonies and Superstition. But at the same Time, we are to remark, that all those Additions were made at different Times, and that if we consider this Religion in its Rise, it was much more simple, and more free from Superstitions than it was in latter Ages.

I begin with considering it in the Time of *Romulus* ; for though that Prince seems to have been taken up in little else but War, and in settling the new City, he did not, however, wholly neglect the Affairs of Religion : My Authority is *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (1), who says, he rejected all the Poetical System of the *Greek* Theology. He found that their Fables contained Things mean, childish, and injurious to the Divinity ; that had a Tendency, in a Word, to corrupt weak and vulgar Minds. Mere Mortals, added *Romulus*, would even blush to be taxed with the Follies they have not scrupled to impute to their Gods ; or were they to be honour'd in such a licentious and dissolute Manner as these Gods of theirs are. Thus that Prince, much more in the Character of a Philosopher

(1) *Ant. Rom.* l. 1.



sopher than might have been expected from his Education, did accustom his new Subjects to form magnificent Ideas of the supreme Being, and to scorn all those Fictions that nurse up Ignorance, and Credulity its inseparable Companion. Hence, probably sprung that Contempt which the *Romans* had for the *Greeks*, a Contempt which suited both with the Roughness of their Manners, and their inbred Aversion to all Kind of Servitude.

But I shall quote this ingenious Historian's own Words, were it for no more but to give a quite other Notion of *Romulus* than we are apt to conceive of that first King of *Rome*. " I cannot sufficiently admire, " says *Diomysius*, that the Characters of so extensive " Wisdom should dwell in one Man. *Romulus* was " persuaded, that the Prosperity of States depended " upon those great Principles, whereof most Politicians take Advantage, but few know how to carry them " into Execution. Above all Things, he said it was " necessary to be in Friendship with the Gods, because Prosperity was the usual Result of their Favour and Protection. Thus *Romulus* bent all his " Care towards the Execution of this great Scheme, " and began with the Worship of the Gods. He " built them Temples and Altars, set up their Statues, exposed their Images, which he adorned with " Marks of their Power, and Symbols proper to keep " up the Memory of their Benefits. He instituted " Feasts in honour of each God, Sacrifices and various " Ceremonies proportioned to the Manner in which " they would be worshipped. He appointed public Solemnities, where all the People, laying aside " their Work, were obliged to give Attendance ; " But that he might do nothing but in Conformity " to the antient Usages, he consulted what was most " sacred, and most universally received in the Religion of the *Greeks*. As for the Fables that are full " of infamous Detractions, making the Gods the Authors of the most foul and enormous Crimes, he " rejected them all with Abhorrence ; not only as fri-

“ volous and impertinent, but also as so many Impi-  
 “ eties, which subjected the Gods to Passions where-  
 “ of Men ought to be ashamed. By this Means he  
 “ accustomed the *Romans* never to think or speak of  
 “ the Divinity but with Reverence, instead of believ-  
 “ ing the Gods capable of shameful Actions, with  
 “ which some Fables have charged them.”

“ We don’t find in the Books of those Times, that  
 “ the Sons of *Cælus* made their Father impotent ; that  
 “ *Saturn* devoured his Children for fear that they  
 “ should ravish his Crown from him ; that *Jupiter* de-  
 “ throned *Saturn*, and kept him confined in the Pri-  
 “ sons of *Tartarus* : No Mention there of the Battles  
 “ of the Gods, nor of their Wounds, their Chains,  
 “ and Exile : No mournful Feasts are there to be  
 “ seen, nor doleful Ceremonies, where is nothing but  
 “ Lamentation, shedding Tears, and disconsolate  
 “ Mothers, complaining of the Cruelty of the Gods.  
 “ As degenerate as the *Romans* are at present, we  
 “ find not among them a Representation of the *Co-*  
 “ *rybantes* : Those secret Assemblies, those nocturnal  
 “ Ramblings of the Bacchanals, those shocking Free-  
 “ doms of both Sexes, in Places of the greatest Sancti-  
 “ ty and Veneration, are absolutely banished from  
 “ their Manners.”

The same Historian owns, however, that in his  
 Time they gave greater Indulgence to those *Grecian*  
 Fables ; they alledge, says he ironically, that under  
 enigmatical Figures they conceal the most surprising  
 Wonders, and comprehend Things of a very profound  
 Meaning. I shall not examine, continues he, whe-  
 ther this Opinion is founded upon good Grounds, or  
 if they who propagate it, don’t endeavour to blind-  
 fold themselves. All I shall say here is, that every  
 one is not able to find out that mysterious and hidden  
 Meaning. Is it to be thought, that the Populace have  
 a Talent of divining ? When the History of the  
 Gods worshipped in *Greece* is delineated before them,  
 they either despise them, when they see the Miseries  
 Weaknesses with which they are encompassed, or

raged by their Example, they give Way to the most Irregularities. St. *Augustine* (1) names among gods adopted by *Romulus*, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Faunus*, *Tyberinus* and *Hercules*. Further, that he was assisted in what he did in favour of Religion by the *Tuscan* Priests, whom he had brought to and consulted, undertaking nothing in that Affair by their Decisions.

The peaceful *Numa*, in the long Quiet he enjoyed during his Reign, turned all his Views towards Religion and added to it a great Number of Ceremonies which he had learned from the *Sabines*, among whom he was born. As the Principles upon which he founded his Religion were much the same with those of *Pythagoras*, reckoned by some to have been a Disciple of that Philosopher. But this is a Mistake. *Pythagoras* came into *Italy* till about the End of the Reign of *Tarquin*, the Proud, and consequently, 'tis more reasonable to think, that both the King and the Philosopher had derived several of their Notions from the People that inhabited *Latium*, which will account for the Resemblance we have now mentioned. But whatever be in this, *Numa* had juster Sentiments about the Divinity than those who came after him, and being himself convinced of the Existence and Necessity of an infinite unchangeable Being, he easily brought his Subjects to the same Conviction. He even persuaded them that this Being had no corporeal Form, and nothing was more absurd than to attempt a Representation of him by Statues or by Paintings, there being no Proportion between Things Spiritual and Material. He also prohibited them from profaning the Altars by bloody Sacrifices, adding, that nothing more unseemly than to approach him with Hands stained in the Blood they had been shedding. Perceiving, as we have it in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (2), that the State subsists and flourishes only by Industry and Frugation, what he did in this last Article was as fol-

First, he made no Alteration in the Ceremonies which *Romulus* had wisely instituted, adding to them

them only what he thought his Predecessor had omitted. He consecrated several Places to Divinities who had not till then been the Objects of Worship, erected Altars to them, built Temples, appointed Festival Days, and established Priests to take Care of their Worship. He made Laws to point out the Duties of those Ministers, and the sacredness of their Profession, to regulate the Usage of the Ceremonies, the Practice of Expiations, and the different Sorts of Worship that were to be paid to the Gods. As *Romulus* appeared to him to have had something in him superior to Man, he raised a Temple to him, and ordered the Founder of *Rome* to be worshipped, under the Name of *Quirinus*, by solemn Sacrifices. The Priests named *Curii*, because they were to be fixed in each *Curia*, had the Charge of the Sacrifices of the first Order that were offered publicly in behalf of those *Curia*. Those of the second Order were committed to the Priests whom the *Greeks* called *Stephanophori*, or *Crown-Bearers*, and the *Romans*, *Flamines*, so called from a Kind of Bonnet and fire-coloured Veil with which they covered their Heads. The Care of the Sacrifices of the third Order was given to the *Celeres*, created to serve the King as Life-guards; and at the same Time commissioned to offer Sacrifices on certain Days. Those of the fourth Order were committed to such of the Priests as by their Stations were Interpreters of the Signs of the Heavens, and who applied them to Purposes for which they believed them to be sent by the Gods. Those Priests were by the *Romans* called *Augurs*, from one Part of their Profession, relating to the Flight of Birds. The Vestal Virgins destined for the Preservation of the sacred Fire, composed the fifth Order in this Hierarchy. The sixth was filled up by the *Salii*, or the Priests of *Mars*, whom I have spoke of elsewhere (1). The seventh was for the Heralds at Arms, or the *Peace-makers*. These Ministers were chosen from the best Families, and their Priesthood was during Life. As they were sent in Time of War to bear the Words of Peace, *Numa* did not institute them,

(1) Vol. 1. B. 3. and V. 3. B. 1.

1 till he was obliged to take up Arms against the  
*nates*, who had often insulted the *Romans*, and  
 le vast Devastation of their Lands.

The Power of these Priests was very great, if we  
 give Credit to the Historian from whom I have  
 Particulars, since neither Peace nor War could be  
 e but by their Determination. In fine, the last  
 of *Numa's* Regulations concerning Religion, com-  
 ended the Sacrifices and Ceremonies that belonged  
 eir Province who had the High-priesthood united  
 the sovereign Power, that is the Pontiff's. Mi-  
 rs and Umpires of the most important Affairs,  
 gave a final Decree in all Differences that arose on  
 its of Religion among private Persons, Magistrates,  
 the Officers, who by their Priesthood took Care  
 he Worship of the Gods. In like Manner in all  
 concerned divine Service, when there was nothing  
 ten in the public Registers, nor received by pub-  
 lishage, they had Power to pass new Laws, to ex-  
 e into the Conduct of all those who meddled with  
 sacred Ministration, and especially to watch over  
 subaltern Ministers, that they might do nothing in  
 r respective Functions contrary to Rule. Such  
 e the Laws which *Numa* made for regulating di-  
 e Service ; not to mention a vast many more,  
 nce he found great Assistance in inspiring the *Ra-*  
*us* with the Love of Religion and Piety.

The other Kings, *Numa's* Successors, being wholly  
 aged in War, made but few Alterations in Reli-  
 n, and new Divinities were only introduced upon  
 ticular Occasions, as shall be said afterwards.

This primitive Simplicity was but of short Dura-  
 l; and *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans* were only  
 nty Years without having either Statues or Images  
 their Gods ; *Varro* however reckons near two hun-  
 d Years (a). The other Changes happened suc-  
 cessively,

a) *St. Augustine*, in his Thirty first Chapter of his fourth Book  
*Dei*, says, that *Varro* computed the Space of upwards of  
 hundred and seventy Years, and adds these remarkable Words  
 that learned Roman : And if the same Thing were observed at  
 Day, the Worship which we pay to the Gods would be more pure  
 being.

cessively, and at last led those Conquerors of the World to adore so many Gods, that *Varro* makes them amount to thirty thousand, and *Bruxilus* the Philosopher (1), to two hundred and eighty thousand, which makes *Petronius* say (2) *Italy is now so boly, that 'tis easier to find there a God than a Man.*

Not but there were now and then High Priests, or other Persons of Discernment, who made vigorous Opposition to the Introduction of new Worship; but the invincible Bias of the People towards all Novelties in Religion prevailed over the wise Vigilance of the Magistrate.

At the Beginning of Christianity (3), the *Romans*, in order to preserve themselves in Peace, which was the dear Purchase of so many Conquests, took it into their Heads at last to explode all Sorts of new Superstitions and foreign Divinities. They considered the Works of Art and Industry as unworthy to do Honour to Religion. They even prohibited the Oracles from being consulted, especially those of a dubious Original, and which were capable of being corrupted by Money. But at length *Rome* relapsed into the same Vices which she endeavoured to guard against, and with such Violence, that *Titus Livius* owns (4), there was no longer a Spot in the City, but was consecrated to some Divinity, nor any Day that was not distinguished by some religious Ceremony.

*Seneca*, in *St. Augustine* (5), enters into a Detail very proper to make us acquainted with the Religion of his Time, when after having spoke of the strange Gods adopted by the *Romans*, and the Absurdities to which they obliged those who served them, as to mangle their Flesh, to mutilate themselves, &c. “ However, “ adds he, that Madness has a limited Time; People “ may play the Fool once a Year; but go up to the “ Capitol, you shall be ashamed of the Extravagancies there daily committed, and to see Folly grown “ so public and universal. There the same Offices “ are

(1) Sat. (2) In his last Har. to the Senate. (3) Tertull. in Apol. (4) Dec. 1. l. 5. (5) De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 2.

are performed to a Statue of Stone, that would be done to a living Man. One tells *Jupiter* the Names of the Gods who are coming to make their Court to him; another informs him what 'tis a'clock; one serves him for an Usher; another for his Perfumer. There you see Women putting on *Juno's* and *Minerva's* Head-dress; and tho' they are far from their Statues, and even from the Temple, they move their Fingers as a Milliner would do, or hold to them the Looking-glass. Some are praying the Gods to be present at the pleading of their Causes, laying their Petitions before them, and intrusting them with their Affairs. In the same Capitol a Buffoon performed daily, as if the Gods had taken Delight in seeing him whom Men could no longer endure. In fine, there you might meet with Artists of all Kinds, each of them in his own Trade at work for the Gods; but what is worse than all these, there are Women who never stir from thence, because they believe *Jupiter* is enamoured of them, without being in the least over-awed by *Juno*, who, according to the Poets, was a jealous, choleric, and revengeful Goddess."

We marry the Gods, says he, in another Place, and observe therein less Decency than in the Marriages of Men, joining together Brothers and Sisters.

But let us pursue the History of this Religion. The Worship of *Mithras*, which was propagated to *Rome* in the Time of *Pompey*, or which had been there pretty much neglected, acquired then new Vigour, and the infamous Ceremonies with which it was loaded, were there practised with all possible Apparatus. The *Egyptian* Divinities, those Monsters which the *Romans* had so long detested, began to spread every where among them. There *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Harpocrates*, *Anubis*, *Serapis*, &c. had Temples, Altars, and Priests. 'Tis true they were introduced into *Rome* not without some Shew of Decency, since the Priests ushered in the Ceremonies peculiar to the Worship of those Gods, by asking Permission of the antient Divinities of the Commonwealth;

monwealth; but this same Usage, which at Bottom was meer Farce, was soon abolished, and every Place became infected with this strange Worship, Worship the most indecent that Man, abandoned to his own Frailty, was capable of founding! Some Efforts were once more used to suppress it. *Agrippa*, Son-in-law to *Augustus* and Governor of *Rome*, permitted those Ceremonies to be practised only without the City, at the Distance of 500 Paces from the Walls. *Tiberius* did more: He banished (1) from *Rome* all who would not renounce the superstitious Ceremonies that were used towards those strange Gods. But whether it was that he changed his Mind afterwards; or that he did not continue to put his Decree in Execution, all the Ceremonies were renewed in the following Reigns. There were even Emperors who intruded themselves among the Priests of *Isis*, and partook in the Mysteries that were celebrated in Honour of her; others got themselves initiated into all the *Egyptian* Rites, and Magic especially suited with the Taste of *Adrian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and others.

Last of all, the *Roman* Religion put on a new Face, at least among the Platonic Philosophers, who, to make it more rational and supportable, invented those intermediate *Genii* between the Supreme Being and Man, by whose Means their Vows and Prayers were presented to him, for which I refer to what has been said in the fourth and fifth Books of the second Volume.

Long before the wiser *Romans* had declaimed against that Multitude of Gods adopted among them, and against the Excesses which arose from thence; *Varro*, as we learn from St. *Augustine* (2), had observed, with respect to those Gods, so many Things, ridiculous, mean, even shocking, that he plainly shewed he had not a very favourable Idea of them. That learned *Roman* distinguished civil from fabulous Theology, and commonly rejected the last, tho' it was the most general, being the Religion of the People. We know what

Senti-

(1) Tac. Annal. l. 5. Suet. in Tib. (2) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 31. & l. 6. c. 2.



Sentiments *Cicero* had of all those Gods, whom vain Superstition had made the Objects of Worship; and for this we need but read his three Books upon the Nature of the Gods. *Seneca* in St. *Augustine* (1) censures that civil Theology yet more severely than *Varro* had blamed the fabulous. We confine the Gods, said he, to vile and senseless Matter; we represent them under the Figure of Beasts and Fishes, and we give the Name of Gods to Things that would be Monsters if they were animated. This much as to the popular Theology; then speaking of the civil, Why then, said he, do we take the Dreams of *Titus Tatius*, or *Romulus*, or *Tullus Hostilius*, to be more rational? One of them has consecrated the Goddess *Cloacina*, the other *Picus* and *Tyberinus*, and the last, *Fear* and *Pale-ness*, two pitiful human Passions; one of them a Motion of the Soul when aghast, the other of the animal Spirits, and rather a Colour than an Indisposition.

After this Preliminary, which I thought necessary, I shall come to a particular Detail of those Gods, who I said were peculiar to the *Romans*. We have already spoke of some of them; such as those of Marriage, under the Head of *Juno*; those for the Fruits and Fields, in the History of the terrestrial Gods. But, that we may omit nothing of Moment upon this Subject, I shall also make Mention of several others, who were hardly known but by the *Romans*, and mostly relate to the different States of Life. First, they acknowledged a great Number for Big-bellied Women and for Children. The Goddess *Partunda* presided over their lying in; and *Egeria*, whom they invoked with great Devotion, employed all her Endeavour to procure them a happy Delivery; while the Gods called *Nixii*, eased the Pains of Child-bearing: *Prosa* averted the Danger of bringing forth, and *Post-verta* stood by them in hard Labour. The Child was hardly conceived, when the Gods *Viturnus* and *Senti-us* gave the one Life, and the other Sensation (2). The Goddess *Nascio*, or *Natio*, presided over the Birth,

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 10. (2) August. de Civ. Dei, l. 7.

Birth, and *Nondina* over the Ninth Day, when Parents gave it a Name. *Vagitanus* (1) was invoked for the Cries and Wailings of the Child, and the Goddess *Cunina* (2) to take Care of the Cradle. As it was the Practice to lay down the new-born Child naked upon the Ground, as we learn from *Pliny* (a), *Mucius*, and *Seneca* (b), so they implored Favour from the Goddess *Levana*, as it were to lift it again: When it began to suck, the Goddess *Rumia* or *Rumia* (3), as St *Augustine* tells us (4), presided over this Operation. When it became capable to eat and drink, the Goddesses then employed were *Edusa*, *Eduia*, and *Potina*, whose Names express their Functions. When it began to speak, or rather to stammer, *Fabulinus*, the God of Speech, was invoked; and the Goddess *Parentia*, to avert from them frightful objects. In fine, when the Child was grown up to an Age fit for Education, the Gods, *Statilius* and *Statunus*, were addressed to. *Offilago* strengthened the Bones, as we learn from *Arnobius* (c). There were also other Divinities for Marriage and its Concomitants such as the Goddesses *Virginicuris*, *Præma*, &c. whose Functions I must be excused from explaining.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Continuation of the same Subject.*

FOLLOW three Divinities whom I find nowhere but in one Passage of *Seneca*, quoted by St. *Augustine* (5). These were the three Goddesses, *Pap*

(1) So called from the Latin *Vagitus*, which signifies the Cry of an Infant. (2) From *Cunæ* the Cradle.

(a) Omnes infantes terra nudos excipit. *Plin.*

(b) Natura hominem tantum nudum, & in nuda humo in die objicit. *Senec.*

*Tellure cadentem*

*Excepi, foveque sinu, &c.* Stat. in *Sylv.*

(3) *Ruma* in old Latin signified the Breast. (4) De Civ.

(c) Namque curare & solidare infantibus parvis ossa *Offilago* memoratur.

(5) De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 2.

*Fulgura*, and *Rumina*. We leave some of our  
 essies, says that Philosopher, in Celibacy, as if  
 had not been able to get a Match; tho' we have  
 Widows of others, as *Populonia*, *Fulgura*, and *Ru-*  
 and I am not at all surprized at their not having  
 ured a second Time. I know as little about  
 Goddesses whom the *Romans* called *Fetivæ Deæ*,  
 whom *Macrobius* names *Semonia*, nor the Gods  
*Plautus* terms *Patellarii Dii*, and whom he seems  
 e in the lowest Class: *Dei me omnes magni minu-*  
*Et Patellarii; As I hope for Favour from the*  
*whether great or small, not forgetting even the*  
*arii.* *Horace* has the same Notion of them with  
 us, calling them the little Gods. It will give but  
 more Light to this Subject, to inform the Reader  
 e Learned derive this Name from the *Patera*, an  
 I made use of in the Sacrifices: For the Que-  
 ill remains, Whether they had made a God of  
 ensil itself, or what else he was?

all do little more than name a Multitude of other  
 ies, whose Worship was established at *Rome*;  
 s *Juturna*, as much as to say, Goddess of *Aid*,  
 said by *Varro* and *Servius* to have been invoked  
 Enterprize of Danger. The Gods *Novensiles*,  
 imports Gods newly arrived. Of this Number  
 reckoned *Hercules*, *Vesta*, *Salus*, *Fortune*, and

As the *Romans* received those Gods from the  
 , they therefore called them the new Gods, for  
 you may consult *Varro* (1) and *Titus Livius*,  
 make Mention of them. The Gods called *Divi*,  
 who were spoke of according to the same *Var-*  
 the Books of the *Augurs*, and are confounded  
 Learned with the Gods of *Samothrace*.

*antius* informs us, that the *Romans* had taken  
 e Number of their Goddesses *Caca* the Sister of  
 ebrated *Cacus*, because she had given *Hercules*  
 of the Theft he had committed upon his Ox-  
 id (2) *Servius* tells us, that she had a Chapel  
 by the *Vestals* themselves, who offered up Sa-

. III. O crifices

e Lin. Lat. (2) Upon the eighth Book of the *Æneid*.

crifices to her. *Virgil*, who in the eighth Book of his *Æneid* has so finely described the Adventure of *Cacus*, instead of speaking of his Sister, says only, that the Theft of that famous Robber was detected by Means of one of the Oxen in the Cave that fell a lowing at the Approach of those which *Hercules* was leading along.

### QUIES.

*Rest*, *Quies*, a Goddess, as her Name denotes, was invoked for obtaining Repose and Tranquillity. She had a Temple without the *Colline-gate*, and another, according to *Titus Livius* (1), in the *Labican-street*.

### MURCIA, STRENUA, and AGERONIA.

*Murcia* was the Goddess of Sloth, and disposed her Votaries to Indolence: Her Temple, according to *Festus*, was upon the *Aventine Mount*. We must distinguish this Goddess from *Murtia*, the Sirname of *Venus*, as has been said. As *Murcia* disposed to Indolence, so *Strenua* and *Ageronia*, other Roman Divinities, inspired with Vigilance and Courage. The Chapel of the former, as we are told by *Varro* (2), was near the *Via Sacra*. We know the God *Minutius* only from *Festus*, who says he had a Chapel near the Gate, which from thence had its Name (a).

### PELLONIA and FESSORIA.

Just so *Arnobius* is the only one who gives us the Knowledge of *Pellonia*, to whom they had Recourse to be delivered from their Enemies, and *Fessoria*, to preside over the Repose which was the Effect of that Deliverance after the Toils they had suffered.

### NEMESTRINUS.

To the same Author solely are we indebted for preserving to us the Name of another God called *Nemestrinus*, who presided over Forests called *Nemora*. He was probably the Sovereign of the *Dryads*, *Hamadryads*, *Fauns*, *Satyrs*, and other Gods Inhabitants of the Woods; as *Lactantius* is the only one who has taken Notice of the Goddess *Faula*, *Hercules's* Mistress.

### CATIUS.

(1) L. 4. (2) De L. Lat. L. 4.

(a) Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. Minutia porta Romæ appellatur eo quod proxima esset sacello Minutii. *Festus*.

C A T I U S.

*Catius* was a God who bestowed Wit (1); or, if we read with others, *Cautus*, he made Men cautious and prudent.

*Adeona* and *Abeona*, *Vacana* and *Numeria*.

*Adeona* and *Abeona*, according to St. *Augustine* (2), were the Gods invoked for going and coming; *Vacana*, the Goddess of Vacation, or rather of Cessation from Business, from *Vacare*; and *Numeria* assisted in acquiring the Art of Numbers; she was the Goddess of Arithmetick.

P O P U L O N I A and F U L G O R A.

*Populonia* and *Fulgura*, mentioned by *Seneca* in St. *Augustine*, were invoked to hinder the Devastations of Thunder and Lightning: But we are not to distinguish them from *Jupiter* and *Juno* taken for the Air, the first of whom had the Sirname of *Fulgur*; and *Juno* that of *Populonia*, from the Havock made by Winds and Storms.

L A T E R A N U S.

The God *Lateranus* presided over the Hearths; and his Name, according to *Arnobius*, came from the Brick, *Latercula*, whereof they were made.

P A N D A.

The Goddess *Panda*, according to the same *Arnobius*, was so called, because she opened the Way to the Capitol to *T. Tatius*.

*Arculus*, *Forculus*, *Limentina*, and *Cardea*.

The God *Arculus* was set over Citadels and Fortifications, as *Forculus* and *Limentina* were over the Gates of Houses, and *Cardea* over the Hinges of the same Gates. *Ovid* informs us (3) that this last Goddess was called *Crana*, and that *Janus* having offered Violence to her, would needs have her afterwards to take Care of the Gates.

V I R I P L A C A, the *Appicides*.

When there happened any Scuffle between Husband and Wife, they addressed *Viriplaca* to reconcile them. For that Purpose *Valerius Maximus* tells us (4), it was

O 2

usual

(1) Aug. l. 4. (2) Ib. & l. 7. (3) Fast. l. 6. (4) L. 2.

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usual to repair to her Temple, which was on the *Palatine Mount*. The Mythologists reckon this Goddess one of those whom the *Romans* called *Appiades*, of whom *Ovid* makes Mention in his *Art of Love*, and in his *Cure of Love*. Most of the Learned name among those Goddesses *Venus*, *Pallas*, *Peace*, *Concord*, and *Vesta*; but *Cicero* plainly distinguishes them from *Pallas* at least, when he says, *Non solum Pallada, sed etiam Appiadas nominabo*; I shall name not only *Pallas*, but also the *Appiades* (1). However that be, those Goddesses had a Temple at *Rome*, and they were represented on Horseback like *Amazons*.

### C L O A C I N A.

A Statue found accidentally in a common Sewer at *Rome*, gave *Titus Tatius* a Handle to consecrate it under the Name of *Cloacina*. *Lactantius* (2), *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Augustine*, make Mention of this Goddess, upon whose Account they have not failed to ridicule the *Romans*.

### C R E P I T U S.

They had full as good a Handle for Ridicule from their God *Crepitus*, as to whom you may read a Dissertation in the Continuation of the Miscellanies of Literature by *F. Desmolets*. Time has preserved to us a Figure of this ridiculous Divinity, which represents a young Child in the Posture of that indecent Action, whence this God has his Name.

### M E P H I T I S.

The Goddess *Mephitis*, or of ill Savour, naturally comes in here. *Servius* upon that Passage in *Virgil* (3), *Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim*, says that this Goddess may possibly be *Juno* taken for the Air, because it is by Means of the Air that bad Smells are communicated.

### S A L A C E R.

The most ingenious Mythologists know not what to make of the God *Salacer*. *Varro*, who gives him the Epithet of *Divus Pater*, informs us only (4), that

(1) L. 3. Epist. ad Famil. (2) De Jus, l. 1. (3) Æn. 7. (4) De Lin. Lat. l. 4.

that this God had a Priest called *Flamen Salacris*.  
H E R E S.

We know little more about the Goddess *Heres*, who received the Thanks of those who entered upon any Inheritance. Accordingly her Name imports that she was the Divinity of Heirs.

STATAMATER.

*Mother*, or Goddess *Stata*, was worshipped at *Rome* in the public Market-place ; but as this obliged them to kindle great Fires in the Night-time, which might have occasioned some burning, every private Person contented himself with paying his Devotion to her in his own House.

RIDICULUS.

The God *Ridiculus* derived his Original from a panic Fear with which *Hannibal* was struck when he was advancing to besiege *Rome*, a Terror, with which, said they, the Gods Protectors of *Rome* had smote him ; and to eternize the Memory of this Event, which obliged the *Carthaginian* General to return back, they erected a Temple to the God *Ridiculus*, without the *Porta Capena*.

FERONIA.

*Feronia*, whose Name comes from the Verb *Fero*, to bring Relief, or from the Town *Feronia*, near Mount *Soraſte*, was, according to *Servius*, the Patroness of the enfranchised Slaves, who had a great many Offerings presented to her ; this Goddess being in high Veneration thro' all *Italy*. The Grammarian now quoted, will have her to be the same with Virgin *Juno*, which indeed is countenanced by an antient Inscription quoted by *Fabretti*, and conceived in these Terms, *Junoni Feron*.

The *Romans* appropriated to this Goddess the Care of the Woods and Orchards. She had a Temple at the Foot of Mount *Soraſte* now mentioned, where an annual Sacrifice was offered to her ; and they tell us, it was such as were filled with the Spirit of this Goddess, that walked bare-footed upon Coals without being burnt, or suffering any Harm. *Horace*, in one of

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his Satyrs (1), mentions the Homages that were paid to this Divinity, in washing the Face and Hands, according to Custom, in the sacred Fountain which flowed near her Temple.

*Ora manusque tuâ lavimus, Feronia, lymphâ.*

FURINA

We are altogether Strangers to the Functions of the Goddess *Furina*, tho', if we may rely upon *Cicero*, she was the same with the *Furies*.

CAMÆNA.

St. *Augustine* places also among the *Roman* Divinities *Camena*, the Goddess who presided over Songs; but as this is an Epithet given to the *Muses*, it is probable that she was not distinct from them.

CARNA.

*Carna* was thought to preside over the vital Parts, and therefore they invoked her to preserve the Entrails sound. She had a Temple upon Mount *Celius*, where a Sacrifice was offered to her, consisting of boiled Beans and Lard.

CÆLESTIS BONA DEA.

The good celestial Goddess of *Africa* occurs upon an Inscription; and *Fabretti*, who quotes it, justly reckons that it was *Juno* herself, worshipped particularly at *Carthage*.

We know nothing of the God *Favor*, *Favour*, but that *Apelles* had made a fine Picture of him.

COLLATINA and VALLONIA, &c.

*Collatina*, according to St. *Augustine* (2), was the Guardian of the Mountains, and *Vallonia* of the Valleys. For nothing was left upon the Earth without some tutelar Divinity. Thus *Educa* and *Edulia* took Care of the Meat and Drink; *Frustrica* of the Fruits; *Intercidena* of those who wrought with the Hatchet, that they might not be wounded thereby; *Peta* (3) over Demands; *Puta* (4) over those who pruned the Trees;

1) L. 1. Sat. 4. (2) De Civ. Dei, l. 1. (3) From the Word *peto*, to demand. (4) From *puto*, to lop.



Trees; *Rutina* (1) and *Rutor* over the Fields; *Sentia* over good Thoughts and lawful Desires.

*MANA or MANIA.*

We must not forget another Goddess peculiar to the *Romans*, whom they called *Mana* or *Mania*: She presided over the Maladies of Women, and young Whelps were offered to her in Sacrifice, as we learn from *Pliny*; *Genitæ Manæ catulo res divina fit* (2). *Plutarch* (3) asks the Reason why these young Dogs were offered to this Goddess; but *Pliny* would seem to have answered this Question beforehand, when he said in the Place now quoted, that the Flesh of those Animals was reputed so pure, that it was offered to the Gods in Sacrifice (a); and that Dogs-flesh was made use of in the Repasts prepared for the Gods (b).

*St. Augustine* (4) calls this Goddess *Mana*, and the most known Mythologists confound her with that *Mania* the Mother of the Gods *Lares*, to whom *Macrobius* (5) says young Children were sacrificed, to make her propitious to the Family of those who offered that barbarous Sacrifice.

But if it be asked now why the Epithet of *Genita* was joined to this Goddess, the Answer is, that she likewise presided over the Nativity of young Children, and was among the *Romans* one of those Gods called *Genitales*, as *Lucina* was among the *Greeks*. We have in the first Volume of *Tristan* a Medal of the Empress *Crispina*, with this Legend; *Genitalibus Diis*.

*A NC U L U S and A NC U L A.*

The *Romans* had also among their Gods *Anculus* and *Ancula*, whom *Festus* makes to have been the tutelar Deities of the Servant-maids, whence no doubt their Name *Ancilla* is derived. For as there were Gods for every Station in Life, the Men-servants and Maid-servants must needs have had theirs.

O 4

The

(1) From *Rus*, the *Fields*. (2) L. 29. (3) Q. Q. Rom.

(a) Catulos lactentes adeo puros exilimabant ad cibum, ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice uterentur, Plin. loc. cit.

(b) Et in cœnis Deum etiamnum ponitur Catulina. Ibid.

(4) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 11. (5) Sat. l. 1. c. 7.

*The Gods of Money.*

Men have always had too great an Attachment to Gold and Silver, not to have imagined Divinities who presided over the Coinage of Money. We have seen in the Article of *Juno*, that Authors antient and modern believed the Epithet *Moneta*, which was given her, denoted that she was the Goddess of Money, though this is what all are not agreed in. But besides *Juno*, the *Romans* had several other Divinities, whose Province was to watch over the Coinage of Specie. As the most antient Symbol which has been found upon Money, was some Animal, *Pecus*, whence it had the Name among the *Latins* of *Pecunia*; so they made a Goddess, according to St. *Augustine* (1), of that same Word, which they invoked in order to procure it in Abundance.

But as the Specie was coined of different Metals, especially of Gold, Silver, and Brass, and as one Divinity would have had too much ado to take Care of the different Coinages, hence a particular one was appointed for each.

Three Goddesses represented upon some Medals of the Emperor *Commodus* and his Successors, with a Pair of Scales, the Cornucopia, and a Heap of Money by them (a), prove that there was at least that Number, and the Antiquaries agree that they presided over the Coinage of three Metals. Besides these three Divinities, there was also *Æs*, or *Æsculanus*, for the Brass Coin.

These three Goddesses, as has been now said, had each of them for their Symbol a Pair of Scales, and and some Antiquaries even think they observe these Scales to be of an unequal Bigness, as the three Metals employed in coining are of different Weights; But can one be sure of such an Observation from the small Field of a Medal?

'Tis even alledged that there was for the last Metal the Goddess *Æres*. The curious M. *de Peyresc* having examined

(1) De Civ. Dei.

(a) The ordinary Legends of these Medals are, *Moneta Aug.* *Moneta nostræ urbis Romanæ*, *Moneta Jovi & Herculi Augg.* *Moneta sacra Augg.* & C. C. &c.

examined a Medal of *Petavius's* Study, whereon was represented a Goddess who may be presumed to be this *Æres*, in regard that the Name was a little defaced, chose rather to conclude it to be *Ceres*; but the Balances which she holds in her Hand, ought to determine for the other Opinion. The Thing is now put out of Doubt. A Medal of the King's Cabinet, of middling Bronze \*, of the Emperor *Titus*, presents on the Reverse a Woman standing, with the usual Habit of the Goddesses, leaning her left Hand upon the *bastia pura*, and holding a Balance, with these Words: *Æres Augusti, S. C.*

'Tis true, the Word *Æres* is hardly in the Analogy of the *Latin* Tongue, and it might be interpreted, *the Coin of the Emperor*. But as the Figure bears the Symbols of Divinities, the *bastia pura*, and the Robe called *Peplum*; 'tis probable that this Figure was designed to represent the Divinity, who with the God *Æs* or *Æsculannus* presided over the Coinage of Brass Money.

We even see upon a Medal of *Commodus* a naked *Apollo*, with this Legend, *Apollini Moneta*: And to be sure it was but just that the God of Arts and Sciences should preside over the Beauty and Elegance of Coins.

We find also Inscriptions in *Gruter's* large Collection, whereby it appears that the Coiners invoked *Vulcan*, and 'tis easy to find out the Reason; but why did they also invoke *Hercules*, as is proved by other Inscriptions copied from the same Author? As to that I own myself quite at a Loss,

### H E R E S.

There was also in the *Roman* Calendar a Goddess for those who entered Heirs, whom they called for that Reason *Heres*, as has been already said. But why was this Goddess, according to *Festus*, called *Marteia*, and ranked among the Companions of *Mars*? I can see no other Reason for it, but that this God, more than any other, makes vacant Inheritances.

*The*

\* The Antiquaries distinguish three Sizes of Medals, the Great, the Small, and the Middle Size.

*The Goddess R O M E.*

The City *Rome* shared also divine Honours, and she was one of the greatest *Roman* Divinities; and though this was not the only City which received divine Honours, since Medals make us acquainted with several others whose Deification is not to be doubted of, yet the Worship of none was either so much celebrated, or so extensive. For to her were Temples erected in several Places of the Empire, especially in *Nicea*, in *Ephesus*, *Alabanda*, and several other Cities. But the *Romans* especially signalized themselves in the Worship they paid this Goddess, who owed to them her Original. Temples, Sacrifices, annual Festivals, were all employed to do her Honour. She was become the most common Figure on Medals, where we see her often crowned with Turrets, holding in her Hand a Victory. In other respects she was drawn so like to *Minerva*, that she can only be distinguished from her by some particular Symbols. A fine *Roman* Statue represents her as a big Woman sitting upon a Rock, having Trophies of Arms at her Feet, and her Head covered with a Helmet. When she has by her a Sheep and a Goat, she figures the Peace and Tranquillity enjoyed by the Nations which she has conquered. When she is accompanied, as she is in a Figure published by *M. de la Chausse*, with an old Shepherd and with the Wolf which suckled *Romulus* and *Remus*, 'tis obvious that this denotes her Original, and the Shepherd *Faustulus* who took Care of those two young Princes. Lastly, other Monuments exhibit to us *Rome* triumphant, crowned by Victory, with some other Symbols; for which I refer to the Antiquaries.

*R O M U L U S.*

The *Romans* having put their City into the Number of the Gods, we need not doubt but they would raise *Romulus*, the Founder of both their City and Empire, to the same Rank.

In the Year of *Rome* 37, on the 7th of *July* (1), as *Romulus* was haranguing his Soldiers in a Plain near the  
Goats

(1) *Dion. Hal.* l. 1. *Plut. in Rom.*

Goats Pond, whither the Senate had accompanied him, there arose a Storm mingled with Hail and Thunder, so terrible, that almost all retired, except the Senators, who, taking Advantage of this Consternation, tore their Prince in Pieces; and whether they had carefully concealed him, or had each of them taken one of his Members, which they concealed under their Robes, so it was that *Romulus* appeared no more, nor was any Vestige of this Parricide to be found. The Storm being over, those who had withdrawn returned, and asked the Senators about their King, by whom they were told that he was suddenly carried away in a fiery Whirlwind, and that Heaven had snatched him from the Earth; that in short they had Reason to console themselves under this Loss, since instead of a King, who ought indeed to be very dear to them, they would have among the Gods a Protector who was never to abandon them. The more Credulous appeared satisfied with a Story which supposed their Founder in the Rank of a God; but those of deeper Penetration beginning to murmur against the Senators, whom they suspected to have assassinated their King, they were forced to engage *Julius Proculus*, who passed for one of the most honest Men in the City, to speech it to the People in the following Manner, after he had by a solemn Oath taken the Gods to Witness the Truth he was going to relate: “ As I was in my Journey, says  
“ he, all of a sudden *Romulus* presented himself to  
“ my View; his Stature was higher than that of other  
“ Men, and his Armour reflected a dazzling Light.  
“ Seized with a religious Consternation, I thus address  
“ myself to him: Why have you then left us so soon?  
“ To what wicked Suspicions have we given a Hand-  
“ le? We are taken for the Authors of your  
“ Death. - - - The Gods, answered *Romulus*, have  
“ recalled me to Heaven, whence I derived my Ori-  
“ ginal, and have given me a Place among them-  
“ selves. - - - Go therefore, dear *Proculus*, and  
“ put my *Romans* in mind to study Temperance and  
“ the Exercises of War. - - - As for me, I shall  
“ always

“ always be propitious to them under the Name of  
“ *Quirinus*.”

This Speech, delivered by a Man of an unblemished Character, calm'd their Minds, and their only Concern now was to do honour to the new God under the Name of *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, a Surname of *Mars*, which they thought fit to bestow upon his Son (a). In honour of him they instituted the Feasts called *Quirinalia*, which were celebrated annually on the 17th of *February*, and some Time after *Numa Pompilius* created a High Priest, called *Flamen Quirinalis*, who was to be of the Patrician Order, to overlook the Worship of this God. This Institution, and the Name of *Pontiff*, prove the gross Mistake of those who reckon there was no other God at *Rome* called *Quirinus* but *Mars*, since the Priest of *Mars* was called *Flamen Martialis*. *Herfília*, *Romulus's* Wife, received the same Honour with her Husband, and was revered under the Name of *Horta*, or the Goddess of Youth.

The *Romans*, satisfied with seeing their Founder seated among the Gods, did not think of raising their other Kings, nor any of their great Men to the same Dignity for several Ages; till at length, upon the Loss of their Liberty under *Julius Cæsar*, they suffered *Augustus* his Successor to give him Deification, spreading a Report that *Venus* had come, as we read in *Ovid* (1), into the Middle of the Senate, at the Time of that great Man's Assassination, and placed her Kinsman among the Stars. A new Star, or rather a Comet, which appeared that Year, as *Suetonius* tells us (2), favoured the Apotheosis, and it was easily believed to be the Mansion of the Soul of that Prince. Temples were built to him, wherein Sacrifices were offered, and his Statue has always been represented

(a) There are various Opinions about the Word *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, the Epithet of *Mars*: Some are of Opinion, that in the Language of the Country it signified a *Spear*, others, that it was the Name of an ancient God, worshipped by the *Sabines*; but whoever he be, *Romulus* took his Place, and was the new *Mars* of *Rome*.

(1) *Met.* l. 15. (2) In *Cæſ.*

presented since with a Star over its Head (*a*). But to say the Truth, this Deification came somewhat too late ; the Times were not now so fertile in Divinities as of old.

Whatever Veneration was paid to the Grand-Nephew of *Cæsar*, this Deification did not fail to provoke some to rally him ; some called him the Puppet-master (*1*) ; others said, he took Care to fill up the Vacancies in Heaven, which had received no new Colony for a long while. But *Augustus* made a Jest of those Scoffs, not doubting but he himself should one Day receive the same Honours. For the great Affair is once to establish a new Fashion. His Hope was not vain ; they did not so much as defer the Ceremony till his Death ; and, according to *Appian*, he was hardly of the Age of eight and twenty when he was acknowledged a tutelar God in all the Cities of the Empire. The deifying Spirit raged afterwards to such a Degree, that they gave a Place among the Gods, not only to the most wicked Emperors, as *Tiberius*, but also to the most stupid of them, as *Claudius*. Several Empreßes had the same Honours ; and the Folly of *Adrian* went even so far, that he would needs have the infamous *Antinous*, who was drowned in the Nile, to be deemed a God, having erected in the City *Antinopolis* in *Egypt*, which he built in honour of him, a magnificent Temple, where he also founded an Oracle. But it must be owned that those new Gods and their Oracles, did not rise to great Vogue, whatever Pains were taken to advance their Credit. The Eyes of People came at Length to be opened as to an Usage equally impious and ridiculous, and we find no new Divinities since that Time. *Alexander*, who to be sure was as justly intitled to that Honour as any other, according to the Terms on which it was conferred, had in vain aspired to a Place among the Gods, upwards of three hundred Years before *Augustus* : In  
vain

(*a*) The Apotheosis of *Julius Cæsar* is liable to some Objections, which I have taken Notice of in my *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, l. 15.

(1) *Plin.* l. 2. c. 15.

vain did the Orator *Demades* use all the Force of his Eloquence to persuade the *Athenians* to reckon that Conqueror the thirteenth of the Great Gods. *Alexander* was disobeyed, and the Orator fined.

To conclude, the *Romans*, as superstitious in Religion as they were famous for the Wisdom of their Policy, for fear of having omitted in their Kalendar any God, whether Friend or Foe, sacrificed to the unknown Gods, as well as the *Greeks*, as has been said in the first Volume. Accordingly *Aulus Gellius* (1) tells us, that in the Time of a dreadful Earthquake, which shook the whole City of *Rome*, not knowing what God they should address themselves to, they sacrificed a considerable Number of Victims to him who was the Author of that severe Calamity, without knowing or giving him a Name. The fatal and ridiculous Effect of Superstition, which refusing to acknowledge the only GOD, Creator of all Things, set up new ones every Moment, and made a Collection of them from all the Countries of the World, lest any should have escaped them! Such was the Origin of the unknown and anonymous Gods, which was a Kind of Supplement to the public Creed.

## C H A P. IX.

### *Of some Gods peculiar to Italy.*

**A**S *Italy* had at different Times received several Colonies, which were planted there by the *Greeks*, and other Nations, as may be seen in the curious Dissertations composed by *Theodorus Ryckius* upon this Subject, those Colonies, like all others, brought with them their Gods, and the Ceremonies of their Religion. I might cite a great many particular Examples, but this is not the Place for treating of that Subject (2). I shall content my self with that of the Feasts called *Lupercalia*, which *Evander* the *Arcadian* had founded there. As most of these Gods were the same with those of the Nations that had planted the Colo-

(1) L. 2. (2) See Vol. 2.



Colonies there, 'tis needless to repeat here what we have said ; but there were some peculiar to each Canton, whom 'tis proper, at least, to name here. The antient *Tuscan*s had their *Fates*, the great Artift of the *Tuscan* Divination, whom we have mentioned in the Article of *Divination* (1). The *Sabines* acknowledged for their principal Divinity *Semo Sangus*, who is thought to be *Hercules*, as shall be said in the History of that Hero. The *Albins* paid a peculiar Worship to *Jupiter*, and to *Aeneas*, whom they confounded with that God (2). *Evander* and *Carmenta* his Wife attained to divine Honours in the Place where the Colony planted by that Chief had settled ; that is, near to Mount *Aventine*, and the Confines. *Hercules*, who had passed that Way, when he was returning from *Spain* with *Geryon's* Oxen, received there the same Honours. *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Picus*, *Canens*, and some others of whom we have already spoke, became the *Indigetes* and Topical Gods of the Places where they had reigned.

The Inhabitants of *Antium* and *Præneste* bestowed a particular Worship upon *Fortune*, and for consulting her had those Lots so famous in Antiquity.

Lastly, the Inhabitants of *Brescia* in *Italy* had several Divinities who were peculiar to themselves, whereof *Rossi*, in his *Brescian Memoirs*, has given the Figures. The first of those Gods represents a Woman sitting, leaning upon an Urn, holding in her right Hand a Scepter. This Figure has the Head radiant, and crowned with Laurels, and at its Feet is to be seen a Wheel and a Compass. The Author of the Memoirs now quoted, takes this Statue for a *Fortune* : But not to mention here, that the Wheel was also a Symbol of *Nemesis*, the Scepter and the Compass agree still better to that Goddess than to *Fortune*. Perhaps it is *Justice*, to whom the Scepter and Compass are perfectly applicable. I am however of Opinion, that no other Conclusion can be drawn from this Monument, but that it represents a Divinity peculiar to the

(1) Vol. 2. B. 4. (2) See the History of France, Vol. 7.

the *Brescians*, among whom there were others besides, which are no where else to be found.

Another Figure found in the same Country, represents a young Man wrap'd up in a Drapery which covers his whole Body, with this Inscription, *Bergino M. Nonius, M. F. Senecianus, V. S. Marcus Nonius. Senecianus, the Son of Marcus, of the Favian Tribe, has accomplished the Vow which he had made to Berginus.* The Roman Toga which this Figure wears, induced *Montfaucon* to believe that it represented the same Person who had performed the Vow; which would be pretty extraordinary. 'Tis true, the Family of this *Nonius Senecianus*, was one of the most considerable in *Brescia*; and there was found in that same City, a Statue of another *Nonius*, with this flattering Inscription, *M. Nonius, a Youth, the great Hope of the Brescians.* However, I cannot persuade myself that a Man who discharges a Vow made to a Divinity, would assume the Figure of the same, upon a Monument which he has raised to that God as an Act of Thanksgiving for the Benefit which he believes he has received from him. We know nothing indeed of this *Berginus*, who undoubtedly was worshipped as a God by the *Brescians*, since he had an Altar, of which the Historian of the Antiquities of *Brescia* has given a Print, and a Priestess who had the Charge of his Worship. The same Author accordingly quotes an Inscription, which proves that *Nonia Maxima* had discharged that Priesthood. *Berginus*, no doubt, was some Hero of the Country. This is all that we can say of him, and his Roman Habit has nothing in it that ought to surprize us.

*Tyllinus* was another God whose Figure was also dug up near *Brescia*. His Statue, which according to *Rossi* was taken to Pieces in the Year 840, by *Rampat* Bishop of *Brescia*, and which had no Inscription but the Name of the God to whom it was consecrated, *Tyllino*, was of Iron, the Head crowned with Laurel, resting the right Foot upon a dead Scull, and holding in the left Hand an Iron Pike, terminated at the Top by a Hand open and extended, upon which is  
to

to be seen, between the Fore-finger and the Thumb; an Egg which a Serpent wreathed about the Hand was coming to bite; Symbols as obscure as mysterious; about which we learn nothing from Antiquity. *Mont-faucon* is of Opinion, that the Foot resting upon the dead Scull; and the Laurel, figured that *Tylinus* triumphed over Death, and was immortal: But whether he is in the right or not, I leave others to determine: What Antiquary or Mythologist, says one; will take upon him to explain the Import of the Serpent falling upon the Egg which is in the Hand at the Top of the Spear? Must we not own, that especially among the Topical Gods; who were hardly known but in some particular Cities that had chosen them for their Patrons, there often occur Symbols inexplicable?

However, I presume we may say, and that with a great deal of Probability, that this was a Mystery borrowed from the *Gauls*, in relation to the Egg *Anguinum, of the Serpents*, which those People eagerly sought after, and hastily carried off, when they had found it, lest the Insect which had formed it should look upon them, as shall be said at more Length; in the History of the Religion of that ancient People (1): The *Brescians* were too near the *Gauls*, and had too much Commerce with them not to be acquainted with this Article of their Religion.

This is what I had to say of the Gods of the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and some other People in *Italy*. It must not; however, be imagined, that I have exhausted the Subject. There were so many Gods known but in one single City, or at most in some little Cantons; that it would be impossible to name them all. Some too are dug up every Day, who are entirely unknown. I thought it sufficient to take Notice of those who were of some Note, and of whom the Antients have made mention.

(1) B. 6.

L. *explained by* HISTORY.

nably to their own Ideas; that is to  
ey observed in any of those Gods, ei  
ite or Symbol resembling those of t  
ies, they were sure to give them

Thus; according to them, such a  
; or *Apollo*, or *Mercury*; because he ha  
f Affinity with their *Mercury*, *Apollo*, o  
for after all; the antient Gods of the  
eds have been quite unknown to the  
mans, since *Lucian* (1), in one of his Dial  
*Mercury* say, that he knows not what Cou  
inviting those Gods to the Assembly o  
because, being unacquainted with their l  
he could neither understand them, nor m  
understand him.

as a Supplement to the short Hints on this Su  
iven us by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we shou  
Recourse to some *Gallie* Authors, we mig  
trace out the Origin and Foundations of their R  
: But the *Druids*, the sole Depositories of thei  
ies, wrote nothing, and industriously conceal  
m the People the Ground of their Religion  
ntented themselves with instructing those who  
at the same Dignity, whereof they were ex  
jealous.

it is, that several Monuments dug up from  
Time, have excited the Curiosity of the  
but they have only given a bare Explicati  
, without attempting to dive into the Re  
e People who had erected them in Honou  
ls. *Schædins*, who has composed a Trea  
eligion of the ancient *Germans*, has in  
together all the Passages of the Antient  
f the *Gauls* is made mention of; bu  
g Commentary he has made upon thos  
where he almost always deviates from h  
said little or nothing upon their Re  
eing the principal Subject of his Book  
o explains Antiquity by Figures, ha

given us the greatest Number of Figures of the *Gallie* Gods ; but the Reflections he has added to them are but few. Lastly, one of his learned Fellows (1), making Use of the same Figures, undertook some Years ago to give a compleat Treatise of the Religion of that People, which he published in 1727, in two Volumes in *Quarto* ; and we may say, that no Body before him entered so far into the *Gallie* Mysteries ; but it were to be wished he had observed more Order, and made fewer Repetitions.

## C H A P. I.

### *Of the Religion of the Gauls.*

**I**N order to give an exact Idea of the Religion of this People, we are to consider it under two different Periods of Time ; namely, before, and after the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar*, when the *Gauls* began to have any Commerce with the *Romans*. Not but that they were known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* long before that Prince carried the Seat of the War into the Heart of their Country, since they once became Masters of *Rome* itself, and on the other Side, had overrun and plundered *Greece*. But those sudden and transient Irruptions, instead of having settled any Commerce between those Nations, served only to make them be reckoned Barbarians, whose Power could only one Day prove fatal to them ; and the *Gauls* hardly ever dreamed, in those Irruptions, of informing themselves in the Religion of a People whom they only wanted to pillage, and enrich themselves by plundering their Temples and Houses. When *Cæsar*, after a ten Years War, had at last made himself Master of the *Gauls*, and that fine Country became a *Roman* Province, he made vast Alterations in the Religion of that People, who adopted most of the *Roman* Gods, and at length abandoned almost all their own antient Ceremonies, to follow those of their Conquerors.

As

(1) Don James Martin.

*Julius Caesar* had a long Time to be well acquainted with their Country, where he remained so long, 'tis from the Relation he gives of the War, and from some other *Latin* Authors, we seek for the History of the antient Religion of the Gauls; but, as has been already observed, those Authors say but little about it: They often contradict one another; and what is still more perplexing, they speak of it according to their own Prejudices, endeavouring not only to endeavour to identify the Gods of the antient People with those whom they themselves

The Historian *Josephus* even reproaches them for having spoke of a Religion wherein they were nor could be well informed. For they wrote nothing, contenting themselves with recording their Memories, and afterwards that of their predecessors, with a prodigious Number of Verses, concerning their Theology, Verses barbarous with respect to the *Romans*, which, to be sure, they hardly understood, and probably would have had no great use, though they had understood them: Add to this, that these same *Druids*, concealed in the deep of the Woods, whence they seldom came abroad, were far from being communicative: And instead of revealing their Mysteries to Strangers, they hid them from the *Gauls* themselves.

Never as *Caesar*, of all the Antients, has unduly given most Light into the Religion of this People, it will not be disagreeable to give here all that he says upon the Subject. "The *Gauls*, says he, are a very superstitious People. Those who are in any Danger, offer up Victims, or make vows so to do, in performing whereof, they use the Ministration of the *Druids*. Being persuaded that there is no Way to obtain from the Gods the favour of a Man, but by sacrificing another in his stead: In the following Manner do they perform their publick Sacrifices. They fashion Oaken Boughs into Human Figures of a monstrous Bigness, whose

P 3

" Cavity

“ Cavity they fill up with living Men, whom they  
 “ burn together. As they believe the Execution of  
 “ Robbers and other Criminals to be well pleasing  
 “ to the Gods, 'tis from among them they choose  
 “ out their Victims, but when they fall short, they  
 “ sacrifice innocent Persons.”

“ Of all their Gods, he to whom they pay the  
 “ highest Veneration, and of whom they have most  
 “ Statues, is *Mercury*, whom they take to be the In-  
 “ ventor of all Arts, the Guide of Travellers, and he  
 “ who gives most Assistance in carrying on Trade,  
 “ and in acquiring Riches by Means thereof: To *Mer-*  
 “ *cury* they join other Gods, such as *Apollo*, *Mars*,  
 “ *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, of whom they have much the  
 “ same Sentiments with other Nations. They be-  
 “ lieve, for Example, that *Apollo* averts Diseases;  
 “ that *Minerva* was the Inventress of Manufactures  
 “ and other Arts; that *Jupiter* has for his Lot the  
 “ Empire of Heaven; that *Mars* makes War; and  
 “ therefore, when they go to Battle, they make a  
 “ Vow to offer to him the whole Spoil. — All the  
 “ *Gauls* pretend to be descended from *Pluto*, which  
 “ they say they learned from the *Druids*.”

*Cæsar* is very far from having named all the Gods of the *Gauls*, as we shall see afterwards; he has even omitted some who are mentioned by other Historians. The Religion of this People, as we are told by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (1), was a Religion of Philosophers, like that of the Primitive *Persians*; which makes *Pliny* say (2), that notwithstanding the Distance of Countries, and the Impossibility of knowing one another, they practised the same Ceremonies so exactly, that one would have said they had communicated them to one another.

In the first Place, as to the Origin of this Religion *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* contradict one another; the first alleging it came from *Britain*, and the second, that the *Gauls*, in peopling that Island, had introduced their Mysteries thither: And what would seem to make

(1) In *Protrep.* (2) L. 30.

make for *Tacitus* is, that in all Probability the *Gauls* were peopled before *Britain*, which may be understood in general of all Islands, into which none would readily venture to pass over, till the Continent was quite peopled. However, to reconcile these two Authors, we may say that the *Gauls* indeed passing over into *Britain*, established their Religion there; but that those Islanders, who kept more at home than they, preserved it in all its Purity, while among the *Gauls*, who by their frequent Wars were led into Commerce with other Nations, it underwent some Alteration. Accordingly we see that in later Times, the *Gallic Druids* had a high Veneration for those of *Britain*, and often sent thither their Pupils to be by them thoroughly instructed in their own Religion.

But whether the *Britons* got their Religion from the *Gauls*, or whether these brought it into *Britain*, it will still remain a Question whence it was derived at first; and as this Point is very obscure in itself, 'tis no Wonder that we find such Diversity among those who have considered it. All are agreed however, that before the Conquest of *Cæsar*, the Difference between it and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was too wide to have been derived from them; and the generality are of Opinion, that it came from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*. In support of this Sentiment, they alledge,

1. Some Kind of Resemblance they find between the Worship of the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, and that of the *Gauls*, which supposes that they, as all the other Western Nations of *Europe*, had received it from those two People who trafficked, especially the former, on all the *Gallic* Coasts, as far as *Cadiz*, where so many Footsteps of their antient Religion have been found.
2. The Figures of *Isis*, and some other *Egyptian* Divinities, dug up from Time to Time in *Gaul*, some of them even a few Years ago.

Some modern Authors (a) are persuaded that this Religion came from no other Country, but was peculiar

(a) Don *James Martin's* Treatise of the Religion of the *Gauls*, Tom. 1.



liar to the *Druids*, and that they themselves were the Founders of it. But to support this Allegation, it would be necessary to prove that those who came to people this Country, were without Religion and without Worship, which is not very credible. For my Part, I am of Opinion that it was derived from the *Asiatics*, but that it was propagated to *Gaul* from the North. The *Celte*, from whom our *Gauls* were descended, were extremely powerful, and possessed most Part of the North of *Europe*, whence they spread themselves at last Southward, and took Possession of the Country which now we inhabit. Their Empire, if indeed one might give that Name to a Domination such as that of the antient *Celte*, extended from the Northern Parts of *Asia Minor* (a), to the Western Coasts of the *Gauls*: They might have learned their Religion from the *Cappadocians* and the *Persians*, their Neighbourers; and the Resemblance which this actually has to the other, led *Pliny* to say, that the Difference was so small, that, as has been already remarked, one would be apt to think it had been derived from thence, were it not that the Distance and Impossibility of Commerce between those two People stood in Opposition to this Notion. But this Distance does not now a-days imply the same Difficulty. The World in the Beginning, was reduced to one Family and one Belief; and all the Worships that have spread since, are but a Corruption of the true one. Men removed by Degrees to a Distance from the Place of their Original, peopled the Earth, and in various Manners corrupted the Purity of Primitive Religion. Some came by Land towards the North, and under the Name of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, and *Celte*, peopled those vast Countries that separate us from *Asia*; others more adventurous, braved the Dangers of the Ocean; and we have a hundred Proofs to evince that, first the *Phenicians*, and then the *Carthaginians*, penetrated to the very Extremities of the West.

Hence,

(a) See what has been said above in the History of the *Telous*. B. 1.

Hence, no doubt, that Resemblance of Worship and Religious Ceremonies between Nations, separate by so many Seas, and such a vast Tract of Land. Hence, likewise, we can account for that Affinity which has been so often traced between the *Magi* and the *Druids*: For since the *Gauls* and the *Celtæ* had received their Religion from the *Persians*, or at least from the People who lay near them upon the North, to whom they had communicated it, no Wonder that those Priests, or, if you please, those Philosophers, had so much Resemblance to one another. They were both of them in high Repute in their own Country, and were consulted upon all important Occasions; being the sole Ministers of Religion, all other Persons were prohibited from intermeddling with it. In fine, both of them led a very austere and very retired Life.

The *Magi* opposed themselves with all their Might to the Opinion which gave the Gods a human Original, and which divided them into male and female Deities; just so it was with the *Druids*, especially in the Beginning. Both of them governed the State, and the King never failed to advise with them in all critical Conjunctions. Their Garb being the same, namely white, at least in the Ceremonies of Religion, all Ornaments of Gold were prohibited to them. Being great Lovers of Justice, they either administered it themselves, or took Inspection of their Conduct who were vested with that Office. The Immortality of the Soul was, both in *Persia* and among the *Gauls*, an essential Article of Belief. Antiently neither the one nor the other had Temples nor Statues, and 'tis thought that this Usage was still kept up among the *Gauls*, even when *Cæsar* conquered them, and that the Temples, whereof some Remains are yet to be seen in several Places, belong only to the second Period of the Religion of the *Gauls*. Their only Temples therefore at first were the Woods and Forests, as shall be said in a Chapter by itself. The *Persians* worshipped the Fire as the Symbol of their first Divinity; the *Gauls*, as we are told by *Polybistor* cited by *Solinus*,

*Solinus*, preserved upon their Altars a perpetual Fire, and *Mitbras* was a God equally revered by the one and by the other.

The *Persians* gave peculiar Worship to the Water, as has been said in the second Volume; History informs us that the *Gauls* paid the same Honour to that Element, as we shall see afterwards. But what we have farther to add upon this Subject, in drawing the Parallel at greater Length between the *Magi* and the *Druids*, will, I presume, fully convince the most Sceptical, that the *Gauls* received their Religion and Tenets from the North.

'Tis true, there were some Rites wherein those two Nations were quite different from one another; but not to repeat what has been said elsewhere, that the Religion of the *Persians* itself underwent several Alterations by Time, there is no Doubt but that same Religion, by being propagated from the *Celts* into Countries so remote from one another, would suffer still more considerable ones. This antient Religion of the *Gauls* was at first of great Purity; that People, especially the *Druids*, had much more just and spiritual Apprehensions of God than either the *Greeks* or *Romans*. *Tacitus*, *Maximus Tyrius*, and others inform us, that the *Druids* were persuaded that the supreme Being was to be worshipped no less by the silent Veneration of the Heart, than by external Sacrifices.

But that primitive Simplicity was not of long Duration, and the *Gauls*, even before their Subjection to the *Romans*, had altered their Religion so far that it could not be known. The *Druids* themselves, so esteemed for their Wisdom and Knowledge by all Nations that had heard of them, became devoted to Divination, Magic, and all Sorts of Superstition; and were there no more but the human Sacrifices which they offered to their *Esus*, *Teutates*, and *Saturn*, as we learn from *Tacitus* (1), *Lactantius* (2), and *Luch-*  
en (3).

(1) De Mor Germ. (2) Div. Inst.

*an* (a), a Practice which was still subsisting in the Time of *Diomysus Halicarnassicus*, this same would be sufficient to convince us that the Religion of that People came short at length of no other in Superstition and Cruelty.

I reckon the second Period of the *Galic* Religion, that which elapsed from the Conquest of *Julius Caesar* to the Establishment of Christianity among the *Gauls*. Now in that Interval the same Religion underwent several Alterations. First, it adopted most of the Gods of their Conquerors, their *Vulcan*, *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*. The Monument erected in the Time of *Tiberius*, which we shall speak of afterwards, upon which the Names of those Gods are inscribed, as it proves this Truth, so it shews that it was not long after the Conquest of *Julius Caesar* that those Gods were introduced into the Country. In short, they conformed themselves almost in every thing to the religious Rites of the *Romans*. They began to follow their Example in building Temples, Chapels, and in making Statues of the Gods.

But to come to a particular Detail with respect to the antient Religion of the *Gauls*, I believe I may assert that they had a purer Idea of their Gods than other Idolaters, since they believed it impossible to represent them under any Figure, or to confine their Majesty within Temples; and that they had preferred for the Exercise of their Religion solitary and solemn Woods, whose very Aspect inspires with something of a religious Awe.

I am persuaded too that after the Example of the *Persians*, from whom they had received a Part of their Tenets, they began with the Stars and Elements as the sole Objects of their Adoration. Accordingly, we shall see afterwards that they gave a particular Worship to the Sun, distinct from that of

(a) *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine dno  
Teutates, horrendumque seris altaribus Efus.*

of *Apollo*, that they paid Homage to the Moon, whom they plainly distinguished from their *Diana*; and that they likewise paid a religious Worship to the Earth, whom they looked upon, like other idolatrous Nations, as the Mother of Gods and Men.

The eternal Fire which they preserved in their Forests, which served them for Fire-Temples, and the Veneration which they had for *Mithras*, shew that they paid to that Element the same Worship with the *Persians*.

They had also a religious Regard for the Lakes and Marshes, which they looked upon either as so many Divinities, or at least as the Places which they made Choice of for their Residence. They even gave those Lakes, as well as Trees, the Names of some particular Divinities. The most celebrated of those Lakes was that of *Toulouse*, into which they threw either in Specie, or in Bars and Ingots, the Gold and Silver which they had taken from their Enemy. There was also in the *Gevaudan*, at the Foot of a Mountain, a great Lake consecrated to the Moon, under the Name of *Elanè*, where, according to *Gregory of Tours*, they assembled every Year from the Neighbourhood, to throw in thither the Oblations that were made to the Goddesses. *Strabo* (1) again speaks of a famous Lake of the *Gauls*, which was called *the Lake of the two Ravens*, because there were two Fowls of that Kind that haunted them, of which they told a thousand ridiculous Stories; but this much is certain, that in Quarrels that happened, the two Parties repaired thither, and threw each a Cake to them: He whose Cake the Ravens ate up, only nibbling at the other, gained the Cause.

To the Worship of the Lakes and Marshes the *Gauls* joined that of the Rivers, Floods, and Fountains, which they believed to be so many Divinities; and what has been said in the IVth Vol. of the Honours paid to the Water, belongs to this People at least as much as to any other. They sacrificed to it  
like

(1) L. 4.

like the other idolatrous Nations, threw Cloaths and other things into the running Waters, and drowned in the Gulphs the Horses which they had taken from their Enemies. 'Tis needless to multiply here the Testimonies of the Antients in Proof of this Proposition : They are all unanimous as to this Article, and those fine Verses are well known which *Ausonius* has made in Honour of the celebrated Fountain of *Bordeaux*, which was called *Divona*, or *The Divine Fountain*.

As the *Egyptians* worshipped the *Nile*, and the *Indians* the *Ganges*, so the *Gauls* had a greater Respect for the *Rhine* than for the other Rivers : From a Persuasion that he animated them in Battle, they depended a great deal upon his Assistance.

But what was most sacred and revered in the Religion of the *Gauls*, was the Woods and Forests ; and the *Oak* was the Tree for which, of all others, they had the greatest Veneration, as we shall see in the following Chapter.

## C H A P. II.

### *Of the Temples of the Gauls.*

**T**HE *Gauls* in antient Times had no other Temples but the Woods and Forests, as we have now said, nor other Statues of their Gods, nor other Altars but the Trees of those Woods : Their Woods were so sacred among them that it was not permitted to cut them down, nor to approach them but with a religious Awe, and only to adorn them with Flowers and Trophies, and hang upon them the Remains of the Victims offered to the Gods whom they represented. It was not even allowable to make Use of certain Trees, even when they had fallen down through Decay, or by any other Accident. In a Word, the Forests and Trees were their Temples, their Altars, and the Statues of their Gods. It was in the middle of those Groves that they offered Sacrifices, and kept all their religious Assemblies.

'Twas

'Twas very late before they gave into the Usage of other Pagan Nations as to this Article. *Cæsar* accordingly says nothing either of their Temples or of the Statues of their Gods; we have an hundred other Proofs of this Truth, and the Fact is incontestable. However, some antient Historians speak of the Temples of the *Gauls*, at the very Time of the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar*. *Suetonius* (1) says; that Conqueror pillaged and sacked those Temples which were full of Treasures; *Strabo*, to cite no other, makes Mention likewise of the Temples and Oratories of the *Gauls*; but we may answer that these Authors speak the Language of their Nation, and according to their own Prejudices.

The *Gauls*, 'tis true, had Places set apart and especially consecrated to the Worship of their Gods; which were the Places where they performed their religious Ceremonies, offered Sacrifices, &c. But those Temples, if we will call them so, were not Edifices like those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: They were the Woods and Groves; and at *Toulouse*, in particular, it was the Banks of a Lake, consecrated by Religion, that served for a Temple. These were the Places where they laid up their Treasures. Thus the Author now quoted had Reason in one Sense to say; that *Cæsar* had pillaged their Temples; namely the Places that they used as such. 'Tis according to this Distinction we are to understand what *Strabo* says, that it was in their Temples the *Gauls* crucified the Men whom they offered up to their Gods, namely in those same Forests which served them for Temples. For suppose Edifices ever so spacious, how would those Colosses of Osier have entered into them, within which they lodged either the Criminals or Captives, and what Disorder would have been there occasioned by the Fire that consumed them?

But further, nothing is so celebrated in the History of the antient *Gauls* as the Woods of *Chartres*\*, which were,

(1) In *Cæs.*

\* Antiently of the *Carnates*.

were, if I may use the Expression, the Metropolis of the Country, where they assembled from all Quarters, as well for the Ceremonies of Religion, as for Affairs of State, as shall be said at more Length in the History of the *Druids*; and the Forest which was near to *Marseilles*, where was the second College of those Priests, and the most frequented next to the Country of *Chartres*.

*Tacitus* (1), speaking of the *Semnonēs, Celtæ* by Original, who followed the same Religion with the *Gauls*, confirms what has been now said. “ Those People, “ says he, have no other Temple but a Forest, where “ they discharge all the Duties of Religion. No Bo- “ dy enters into this Wood unless he brings with him “ a Chain, as a Badge of his Dependance, and of the “ supreme Dominion which God has over him.”

’Twas not therefore till after the *Romans* had invaded *Gaul*, that they began to build Temples there, nor was the Use of them at first general. They continued, notwithstanding those new Temples, to sacrifice in the Forests, and even to make use of Trees to represent the Gods; and this Usage lasted a long Time, since *Maximus Tyrius* says the Statue of their *Jupiter* was nothing else but a very tall Oak.

This Worship paid to the Trees was very antient in this Nation, and consequently so difficult to be abolished, that notwithstanding the Canons of several Councils, and the reiterated Admonitions of Prelates, who used all their Endeavours to suppress it, it still subsisted in some Province of *Gaul*, long after Christianity had triumphed over Idolatry, and some Remains thereof were still to be seen in the Time of *Charlemagne*. Church-history makes frequent Mention of the Trees which holy Persons caused to be cut down, because they were still the Objects of public Veneration; and it informs us in particular, that *St. Severus* of *Vienna* made one be rooted up, which represented an hundred of their Gods, as appeared from the Inscription they set up in the Church that was built in

(1) De Mor. German.



in the Place where that Tree stood. But the *Gauls* were so habituated at last to the Manners and Customs of their Conquerors, that they erected every where Temples in great Numbers, where were deposited the Statues which represented both the antient Gods of the Country, and those of the *Romans*. The Antiquaries, and especially *Montfaucon*, have given Figures of the Remains of several of those Temples, which may be seen in their Works: 'Tis observed, that almost all of them are of a round Figure, or octogonal, as if they had believed the Sovereigns of the World were only to be lodged in Places that resembled it in Figure.

The Learned have carefully enquired whence came that Regard the *Gauls* had for Trees, and especially for the Oak, which they had in so much Veneration, that it may be said to have been both their Temple and their God; and the Generality are persuaded that it took its Rise from the Oak of *Mamre*, under which *Abraham*, as we read in the Book of *Genesis*, invoked the Name of the LORD. And indeed it cannot be denied that this Oak became very famous; and it would be but lost Time to heap up Testimonies to prove it. In after Times they kept a Fair there, where Merchants from several neighbouring Nations assembled, with a great Concourse of People. This Oak, which the Father of the Faithful consecrated, having been so well known, 'tis probable, say they, that the Colonies which came from *Syria*, and the other neighbouring Provinces, to people the West, preserved the Memory of it, and made Choice of that Tree in the Places where they came to settle, preferably to all others, to celebrate there the Mysteries of their Religion. In like Manner it cannot be disowned, say they, that the Religion of the *Gauls* had, in its Beginnings at least, a great Deal of Affinity with that of the *Jews*. *Porphyry* laid hold on this Affinity, and improved it as a Ground of Reproach against the Christians, opposing the Antiquity of the *Druids* to the Novelty of the Christian Religion. But I believe it is in vain to seek for Mystery here. The Earth of old was quite covered

ed with Woods; and they who came and settled in any uninhabited Country, clearing only so much of it as was necessary for sowing their Grain, were necessitated to take the Woods and Forests for celebrating their Mysteries. Besides, dark and solitary Places seem to inspire a Kind of sacred Awe, which makes them more venerable. We may judge of the old World as of the new. Now, all Relations inform us that *America* was but one large Forest; and the Savages, without knowing any Thing of the Oak of *Mamre*, performed in the Woods, and at the Roots of Trees, their religious Ceremonies.

But not to insist on this, nothing is so antient in the Pagan World, as this Respect for Woods and Forests, which served for Temples to primitive Mortals; insomuch, that even when they began to build real ones, they seldom failed to plant Groves around them. Hence, no doubt, the Origin of those sacred Groves, *Luci*, so universally celebrated in Antiquity, and whose Use continued so long.

At the very Time that the whole Earth was full of Temples, to take this Word in its proper Signification, not only the Poets designed them still by the Word *Lucus*, a Grove, but also the Historians, and which is yet stronger, the very Architects. Thus, *Vitruvius* speaking of the Proportions that ought to be observed in Structures of the *Tuscan Order*, and giving for Example the Temple of *Diana Aricina*, calls that Building, *Aricina nemori Dianæ*, The Grove of Diana.

As the Exercise of Religion was in the Hands of the *Druids*, 'tis necessary to give some Account of these Priests so famed in Antiquity.

### C H A P. III.

*Of the Ministers of Religion among the Gauls, and especially of the Druids.*

OUR antient *Gauls* had at first, as has been said, a great Deal of Religion; and as the *Druids* treated it in a Manner grave and serious, they had

inspired a vast Veneration for it. Let us not therefore expect to find in the Religion of this ancient People, those absurd and impious Fables with which that of the *Greeks* and *Romans* was stuffed, far less a lascivious *Venus*, an incestuous *Jupiter*; and those impure Mysteries which profane Authors durst not even reveal.

Tho' the *Druids* were the principal Ministers of the Religion of the *Gauls*, yet they were not the only ones, but there were different Degrees in their Hierarchy. The Antients reckon among those several Ministers the *Bardi*, the *Eubages* \*, the *Vates*, and the *Druids*. The latter were the Chief, and the others only Subalterns, who assisted them in their Ministrations, and in every Thing were much inferior to them. The *Bards*, whose Name in the *Celtic* Language imports, according to *Festus*, a *Sonnetter*, celebrated in Verse the immortal Deeds of great Men, and commonly praised them upon musical Instruments. Their Verses were in such high Esteem, that they were sufficient to immortalize the Memory of those whom they undertook to praise; and the *Bards* themselves were so esteemed, that if they presented themselves when two Armies were ready to engage, or tho' the Battle was even already begun, both Parties presently laid down their Arms to hearken to what they had to propose. Besides their ordinary Employment of celebrating the Praises of their Heroes and Benefactors, they took upon them to censure the Actions of private Persons, especially when their Conduct did not correspond to their Duty.

The *Sarronides* instructed the Youth, and instilled into their Minds virtuous Sentiments. The *Vates*, or *Eubages*, had the Care of the Sacrifices, and applied themselves to the Contemplation of Nature; but those three Sorts of Ministers were in every Thing inferior, and subject to the *Druids*, who, in Process of Time, united in their Body almost all the Functions of the others,

\* Thought to be derived from the *Persian* Word *Bach*, *Sanctus*, whose Province it was *scrutari seria & sublimia Naturæ*. *Amian.* 15. 9.

others, those especially that regarded Religion, leaving to them only the Care of other Things. The Functions of the others now named are but little known, and *Diodorus Siculus* even confounds the *Sarronides* with the *Druids*. But the latter were so far superior to the others, that not only were they invested by their Station with the Care of every Thing that concerned Religion, but they also had the absolute Command of those subaltern Ministers, who could not exercise their Office but by their Permission, and were obliged to withdraw whenever they appeared; unless they had Leave from them to stay.

The *Druids*, whose Name is certainly derived from the Celtic Word *Deru*, signifying an Oak, which the Greeks call *δρῦς*, were therefore among our antient Gauls the chief Ministers of Religion. The Antients design them sometimes by other Names, but such as always express their Functions. Thus *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of them at considerable Length under the Name of *Sarronides*, others under that of *Samothbei*; and *Diogenes Laertius* (1), as also *Suidas*, informs us that they were also denominated *Semnotbei*, a Name which designed their Profession of worshipping the Gods, and of being consecrated to their Service, as that of *Sarronides* alluded to the Oaks, near which they spent their Lives (a). In fine, the Monuments dug up in the Cathedral of Paris, to be mentioned afterwards, give them the Name of *Senani*, which shall be explained in its own Place.

*The Origin and Antiquity of the DRUIDS.*

I shall not amuse myself long in examining into the Antiquity and Origin of the *Druids*. Those who have enquired most narrowly into this Article, are forced to own that they have come at no Certainty about it, but must content themselves with Conjectures. Shall we say with some Authors that the *Druids* were descended from the antient *Indian Gymnosophists*? But what Traces have we left in History of any Commerce

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between

(1) In Proem.

(a) See the Author of the History of the Gallic Religion, Tom. i. p. 175.

between People so remote from one another? Were they Disciples of *Pythagoras*, whose Doctrine has so much Affinity with that of those *Gallic* Priests? For, in short, it was in *Italy*, at *Crotona*, that Philosopher published his Doctrines, and the *Gauls* are near enough to *Italy* for those Doctrines to have passed to this Side of the *Alps*. But, 1. 'Tis much more probable that *Pythagoras* himself had adopted several Opinions of the *Druids*. 2. 'Tis not true that the Doctrine of that Philosopher has so much Affinity as is believed with that of the *Druids*; and as to the principal Article, that of Transmigration of Souls, which *Pythagoras* had fetched from *Egypt*, and which even in his Time was diffused over all the *Indies*, it does not appear, as we shall see by and by, that they had copied one another. 3. Tho' the Distance of the *Gauls* from *Italy* is not very considerable, yet the *Italians* had little or no Commerce with the *Gauls*, whom they accounted Barbarians, and only sought to defend their Frontiers against them.

As I have already proved it to be very probable that the northern *Celtæ*, the Fathers of our *Gauls*, had derived a Part of their Doctrines from the *Persians*, or their Neighbours, so we may presume that the *Druids* had formed themselves upon the Model of the *Magi*; and to be sure they have a more remarkable Resemblance to them than to all the other Philosophers in the World. Accordingly several of the Antients were of this Opinion, without troubling themselves to consider by what Way the *Persian* Religion might have penetrated into the Extremity of the West. After all, the Origin of the *Druids* is lost in the Darknesh of Antiquity; and all that we can know, is, that the *Greek* Philosophers, *Aristotle*, *Sofson*, and others before them, by whom they are mentioned, for they were known in the earliest Ages, speak of them as of a wise Sort of People, very knowing in Matters of Religion, and as consummate Philosophers in Speculation. So high a Notion had they of their Knowledge, that *Cicero* says it was by them Mythology was invented,

ed, and consequently they ought to pass for the Teachers of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

But it will appear but too evident hereafter ; for Truth obliges me to tell their Bad as well as their Good, that all their Wisdom was but Folly, that they were addicted to Studies equally frivolous and pernicious, to Magic, to Divination, and to childish and superstitious Rites ; and what made them pass for the wisest of Men, is, that Mankind commonly admire those who are most dextrous at imposing upon them.

*Of their Manner of living, their Habit, their Authority, &c.*

The *Druids* led a very reclude and austere Life, in Appearance at least. Being shut up in the Heart of the Woods, they came seldom abroad, but confined themselves to their wild Recesses, where the whole Nation came to consult them. This austere Life of theirs struck *Julius Cæsar* with Admiration, even *Cæsar* who hardly admired any Thing but ostentatious Virtues ; and he was struck with them to such a Degree, that he could not but esteem them.

Tho' the *Druids* formed several Colleges in *Gaul*, yet that of the Country of *Chartres*, as we have said, was always accounted the most considerable, and the Head of that College was the High Priest of the *Gauls*. It was in the Woods of this Country that the great Sacrifices were offered, and all the grand Ceremonies of Religion performed. There, in short, it was that the Grandees of the Country assembled, and held the Convention of Estates.

Next to this College that of *Marseilles* was the most considerable, and nothing is more celebrated than the Wood where their *Druids* assembled. The Description given of it by *Lucan*, when he relates how *Cæsar* ordered the Trees of it to be felled, inspires one with a Kind of religious Awe and Horror (a).

Tho' the *Druids*, both old and young, had all one and the same Spirit, it appears however from the Mo-

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numents

(a) See what has been said on this Subject in the first Vol. B. 3. c. 7.

numents which represent them, that they had not all the same Kind of Garb. Whether they were permitted to follow the Mode of the Province, or if the different Habits expressed the different Degrees to which the Candidates arrived before they were Professed, is what I cannot determine. Only this much is certain, that after the Ceremony of Admission, for it was by receiving formal Admission from the *Druids* that the Novices became Professed, the Candidate laid down the secular Habit, and put on that of a *Druid*, which consisted in a Sort of Tunic that reached no farther than the Mid-leg. Further, this Habit, as well as the Robe that was under it, was open before, and the Candidate, before his Admittance, was obliged to throw it aside, lest there should be an Imposture in the Case, and the Priesthood, through Mistake, vested in a Female.

So great was their Authority, that no Affair of Importance was undertaken till they were consulted. They presided in the Estates, determined Peace or War as they pleased, punished Delinquents, and their Power sometimes went the Length of deposing the Magistrates, and even the Kings, when they did not observe the Laws of the Country. They were the first of the Nobility of whom the Commonwealth was composed, and all bowed before them. As they formed a Body distributed thro' all the Provinces of the *Gauls*, by Means of their Colleges, so they were entrusted with the Education of the Youth of first Quality in the Kingdom.

To them belonged the Right of creating an annual Magistrate to govern in every City, sometimes even with the Name and Authority of King, or *Vergobret*; who could do nothing without them, not so much as assemble his Council: So that, strictly speaking, it was they that actually reigned, and the Kings were but their Ministers, or rather Slaves.

Justice was administered only by them. Umpires in all the Differences and Interests of the Nation, they equally decided public Affairs and those of private Persons,

sons, punished Crimes, and in Proceſſes they adjudged a controverted Property to him whom they thought intitled to it: Thoſe who reſuſed to yield to their Deſiſion, were anathematized; they were interdicted from all Sacrifice, and accounted profane by the reſt of the Nation, none daring ſo much as to frequent their Company.

*Their Functions.*

The *Druids* had the Charge of the whole of Religion, which alſo gave them an unlimited Power. Thus Sacrifices, Offerings, Prayers, public and private; the Privilege of predicting future Events, of conſulting the Gods; of giving Reſponſes in their Names; of knowing their Attributes, their Number; of ſtudying Nature; the Right of rejecting or eſtabliſhing new Ceremonies; of ſeeing to the Obſervance of antient Laws; of making Additions to them according to Occurrences; of declaring War, and making Peace; of confirming or annulling the Election of Kings and *Vergobrets*; that is, thoſe who in certain Provinces of Gaul were like the *Archons* of *Athens*, but only with an annual Power; all theſe were their Province.

Add to this, that by their Station they had a Diſpenſation from going to War, and were exempt from all Sort of Tribute, which invited a great Number of Candidates, for all were capable of Admiſſion into their Body, of whatever Rank or Profeſſion; and their Number would have increaſed ſtill more, had it not been for the Severities of a long State of Probation, and the Neceſſity which the young Candidates were under of learning that prodigious Number of Verſes, which contained their Maxims of Religion and political Government.

In old Times the *Gallic* Women enjoyed a Part of theſe Prerogatives, and were ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of them when *Annibal* paſſed through the *Gauls*, ſince one of the Articles of the Treaty he made with that People, bore, that if a *Gaul* had any Matter of Complaint againſt a *Carthaginian*, the offended Party ſhould lay his Complaint before the General, or the Magiſtrate



strate whom the Senate of *Carthage* had established in *Spain*; and that when a *Gaul* did any Injury to a *Carthaginian*, the Cause should be brought before the Tribunal of the *Gallic Women*. In succeeding Ages the *Druids* intirely usurped that Authority; but the precise Date of that Usurpation is not known.

*The Doctrine and Science of the Druids.*

All the Maxims of the *Druids* tended to make Men wise and just, religious and valiant. The fundamental Points of their Doctrine were reduced to these three: To adore the Gods, to injure no Body, and to be brave and couragious. *Pomponius Mela* (1), speaking of their Philosophy, says they professed to know the Form and Magnitude of the Earth, and in general of the whole Universe; as also the Course of the Stars, and their Revolutions; and that their retired Life in the Caves and Woods, where they had their Habitation, allowed them full Time to meditate upon all these Points.

'Tis not to be doubted but the *Druids*, and in general the *Gauls*, believed the Immortality of the Soul; and it was this Persuasion made them rush upon Death, as a sure Means of attaining a more happy Life. 'Tis true they made a great Distinction between those who died a natural Death in the midst of their Friends and Relations, and those who sacrificed their Lives in the Service of their Country. The first were silently interred, without any Encomiums, or such Funeral Songs as were composed in Praise of the Dead: As for others, on the contrary, who had sacrificed themselves to the common Interest, they were believed to survive their Bodies, and to be gone to enjoy eternal Felicity in the Mansions of the Gods. In short, it was only for them that the Priests durst raise Tombs, and compose Epitaphs. But we are not to conclude from thence, that they did not believe the former to be immortal. The Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul is not to be believed by Halves, and there are  
few

(1) De Sylv. Arb. l. 3.

few Philosophers who taught it more clearly than the *Druids*.

The Reason of their putting so much Honour upon Warriors, was owing to the Genius of that valiant Nation, and to the Value they had for those who followed the Profession of Arms. The others, according to them, having nothing that merited their Esteem, seemed to die altogether; that is, they left no Memorial of themselves. *Strabo* however informs us, that the *Druids* taught that all Things were one Day to be destroyed by Fire and Water.

This, according to some Authors, was the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*; but as *Cæsar*, *Diodorus*, *Lucan*, *Valerius Maximus*, and some others, alledge that the *Druids* believed it, and taught it to their Disciples, I am more inclined to be swayed by those Authors, who had better Opportunity than we to be informed in the Sentiments of those *Gallic* Priests, especially the first who dwelt so long among them, than by the Arguments of modern Writers, who don't appear so convincing as they pretend.

I am fully persuaded, in the first Place, that it was not from *Pythagoras*, and far less from his Disciples, that the *Druids* had learned this Doctrine, (which was known long before him in *Egypt*, and in almost the whole East) since they taught it in the *Gauls* long before the Birth of that Philosopher; but 'tis not the less true that it was a Part of theirs, tho' perhaps with some Variations: For how many Forms and Shapes did this Doctrine assume? The strongest Argument of those Authors, is, that the Antients, except those whom I have named, take no Notice of it; but besides that they speak of the *Druids* very superficially, were they as well informed in what concerned them, as *Cæsar*, not to mention others; besides, do those Authors say any Thing that destroys what the others relate to us on this Subject? 'Tis true, they tell us, especially *Pomponius Mela* (1), that the *Gauls*, in burying their Dead, or the Ashes of those whom they

(1) De Situ Orbis, l. 3.

they burnt, put into their Tombs their Moveables, their Accounts, and the Bills of Money which they had lent, to serve them in the other World; that they even wrote Letters to their dead Friends; Customs, say they, which they never would have observed, had they not been persuaded that their Souls passed into new Bodies. But is it not well known, that the Partizans of the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* taught that it was not always immediately after Death that the Soul was introduced into a new Body; that it first went to Hell to expiate its Faults; that from thence it often passed into the *Elysian Fields*, where, after some Stay, as to the Duration whereof they varied a great Deal, it drunk of the Water of *Lethe*, which obliterated the Memory of all that had passed, and then it returned into this World to inhabit a new Body, more or less honourable, according to the Merit of its Actions. Nothing is more celebrated among the Antients than those Expiations, whereof *Virgil*, as has been said, in speaking of the infernal Regions (1), fixes the Time to a thousand Years. 'Twas therefore to be of Use to them in this Interval, that the *Gauls* put Cloaths, Moveables, and Bills, into the Tombs of their Dead, and Letters, which they had full Time to deliver to those to whom they were addressed.

What *Valerius Maximus* says, that the *Gauls* frequently lent Money to be payed in the other World, makes as little against the Belief of Transmigration; to this we may apply the same Answer, and say, that in that Case the Money would serve the Lender against the Time of his Expiation; that negative Proofs and Inferences, however they may appear necessary, are weak against the positive Proofs of contemporary Authors of good Credit.

Such were the Sciences and Doctrines which the *Druids* endeavoured to inculcate upon their Candidates, whose Time of Probation was very long. When any of those Candidates had a more happy Genius for Speculative Sciences than their Companions, the Masters  
sent

them into *Great Britain*, for their Improvement further Advances : For the *Druids* of that Island accounted the most accomplished of all ; whether as that their being less taken up than the *Gauls* gave them more Time to Study, or for the Reason we have given above. Notwithstanding this Distinction they maintained regular Correspondence together, consulted one another upon all important Emergencies.

As the *Druids* wrote nothing, and all their Knowledge was digested into Verses, they obliged their Nation to learn them by Heart, and these Verses were numerous, that sometimes fifteen or twenty Years were necessary to learn them. *Julius Caesar*, who relates this Fact, gives two Reasons for it : The first is, that the Doctrine of the *Druids*, might not be known to any, and that it might appear the more mysterious ; the second is, that the young People were obliged to learn those Verses, might be the most useful to improve their Memory.

*Their Superstitions.*

Besides the Study of Religion and Philosophy, the *Druids* also applied themselves to Medicine ; but they derived all their Reputation in this to the Notion People had of their knowing perfectly the Influence of the Stars, and that they had Insight into Futurity, as every Thing in Man has a Mixture of Good and Evil, so those Sages who were so much revered devoted themselves to Astrology, Divination, and Magic ; Sciences so much to the Taste of the People, though always deluded, yet they never recovered from their Prejudices. The *Druids*, 'tis true, made Use of Botany ; but they mixed with it so many superstitious Rites, that it is easy to see they were not Proficients therein. And indeed what Notion are we to have of the Knowledge of those pretended Sages, when we consider what *Pliny* tells us (1), that they thought, and accordingly they practised, that in order to gather the Plant called *Selago*, which is thought

be the *Black Heliebore*, a Knife was used, and that it was to be plucked up with the Knife, which was to be covered with a Part of the Plant, to be conveyed secretly into the left Hand, which had been stole; and lastly, that a necessary Offering it was, to be clad in white, to be brought to offer before-hand a Sacrifice of Bread.

As the *Druids* were especially conceived to attend the Virtues of *Vervein*, that Plant so famous in magical Operations; we find they never employed it without mixing with it many other Rites. In the first Place they said (1), it was gathered at the Rising of the Dog-Star, and on the first Day, before the Sun was up, and after offering a votive Sacrifice to the Earth, wherein Fruits of the Earth were employed. And then what Virtue ascribe to that Plant? By rubbing themselves with it they obtained every Thing they desired. It cured Fevers, cured all Sorts of Maladies, and reconciled the Hearts of those that were at variance, being sprinkled by way of Amity to their Guests, it had Virtue to make them more cheerful; touched with it more gay and better pleased; as if the bare Persuasion of the Influence of the Plant had not been sufficient to produce it.

We may also reckon among the Superstitions of the *Druids*, the Opinion they maintained, that of great Men there always happened some remarkable Change in Nature, and that their Prayers ever failed to raise Storms, extraordinary Tempests; that they produced the deafening Thunder, the menacing Flashes of Lightning, the fiery Meteors that infected the Air, and the various Distempers. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of the Cessation of Oracles, makes them reason in a Way that will convince but few of great Men, say they, is as a Candle, it burns produces only good Effects, but quenched raises an offensive Smell, We

(1) Plin. l. 25.

uth in this Reasoning, the Souls of the Wicked  
ght to occasion the greatest Evils.

'Tis true, and we ought to observe it by the way,  
at sometimes great Men have been flattered with  
e Notion, that Nature went out of its ordinary  
urse to do them Honour; and they have not been  
so rational as Cardinal *Mazarin*, who being told  
at the Comet which appeared some Days before his  
ath was undoubtedly a happy Prognostic for him, said  
a laughing Way, "The Comet did him a great  
deal of Honour." We might also rank among their  
superstitions what they affected to think as to those  
iferable Victims which they offered up to their Gods,  
d I not reckon this rather an Effect of their Policy  
an Persuasion. They made them believe that this  
sacrifice had a purifying Virtue, to divest them of all  
at was mortal in their Natures, and to raise them to  
Conformity with the Gods.

Another Superstition of those pretended Sages, re-  
ards the Egg which they called *Anguinum*, produced,  
they say, from the Slime of Serpents, which in  
reat Numbers meet together for Copulation at a cer-  
in Season of the Year. So soon as this Egg was  
rmed, the *Druids* gave out that upon the Hissing  
f the Serpents, it rose up into the Air, and that, in  
rder to preserve its Virtue, it was necessary to catch  
before it fell again to the Ground, then mount on  
horseback and get away as fast as possible, because  
e Serpents, jealous of their Production, would be sure  
o pursue the Person who carried it off, till some River  
opped their Pursuit.

When any one was so happy as to get one of these  
eggs, and catch it in the Air on a certain Day of the  
moon, an Experiment was made with it by throw-  
ing it into Water, incompass'd with a small Circle  
f Gold; and in order to be reckoned genuine, it was  
o swim upon the Surface.

If the Experiment succeeded, which probably never  
sided by some secret Means or other we know not,  
the *Druids*, present at this Ceremony, declared, that it  
had

had the Virtue of making a Person gain his Cause in all Pleas he might have, and that by its Means he would obtain free Access to the King. *Pliny* (1), who asserts what will easily find Credit, that this whole Management was but a Piece of vain Superstition, informs us that the Emperor *Claudius* put to Death a Roman Knight in *Dauphiny*, merely upon Account of his carrying in his Bosom one of those Eggs, with a View to gain a Process which he had depending.

The Ceremony of catching this mysterious Egg is thought to be represented upon the Monuments dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, which we shall examine afterwards: This at least is certain that it occurs upon a Tomb, a Print whereof is given by *Montfaucon* (2), upon which you see two Serpents, one of them holding an Egg in its Mouth, which the other fashions with its Slime.

The *Druids* were also very much addicted to *Magic*, and to all the Delusions that accompany it: They were willing to have it believed that it was in their Power to transform themselves into different Figures; to walk through the Air when they had a mind, and to perform all the ridiculous Things which the most expert *Magicians* pretend to. But of all their Superstitions, the most cruel was that which led them to sacrifice human Victims to some of their Gods; a barbarous Custom which lasted a long Time among them, and was with great Difficulty abolished.

In vain have some Authors alledged that we are imposed upon as to this Article, and that the *Romans* themselves were deceived, taking for real Sacrifices the Death that was inflicted upon Criminals. But nothing is more certain than what I here advance: All Antiquity gives Testimony to it, and it would be superstitious to heap up Authorities to prove it. In vain did the *Roman* Emperors endeavour by bloody Edicts, to banish so barbarous a Custom; it still continued, at least in some Provinces of the *Gauls*, until the entire Destruction of *Druidism*.

The

*The Ceremony of the Mistletoe of Oak.*

Of all the Ceremonies that were performed by the *Druids*, the most solemn was that of gathering the *Mistletoe*, which they believed the Gods had brought down from Heaven for the Felicity of Men (*a*). The *Mistletoe*, which the *Latins* call *Viscum*, is a parasitical plant, which is not produced by the Tree to which it adheres; *Quod non sua seminat arbor*, as it is in *Virgil*, who has given a fine Description of it, comparing it to the Golden Bough (*b*).

*As when bleak Winter binds the frozen Skies,  
Push'd from the Oak her foreign Honours \* rise;  
The lofty Trunk th'adopted Branches crown,  
Grac'd with a yellow Offspring not her own:  
So with bright Beams, all beauteous to behold,  
Glow'd on the dusky Trees the blooming Gold;  
The blooming Gold, by e'ery Breath inclin'd,  
Flam'd as it wav'd, and tinkled in the Wind.*

Pitt's *Æn.* VI. 290.

This Plant, which is not to be found upon the Surface of the Earth, grows upon Oaks, upon Apple-trees, Pear-trees, Plum-trees, the Beech-tree, and others: 'Tis commonly thought that the Thrushes, which are greedy of the *Mistletoe* Seed, after eating of it to Excess, throw out some of it upon the Trees which they frequent, and that this Seed, being fat and viscous, takes Root there, and puts forth a Tuft green and yellowish, which rises to no great Height, but does a great deal of Harm to the Trees upon which it ingrafts itself. The Fruits of this Shrub are oval Berries, soft, fat, and covered with a very delicate Membrane of a Silver Colour, which contains a viscous Substance. For this *Mistletoe*, especially when it grows upon the Oak, the *Druids* had an infinite Value; and

as

(*a*) Pliny, l. 16. c. 44. gives a full Description of this Ceremony, much the same with what we have here.

(*b*) *Quale solet hyvis brumali frigore viscum,  
Fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbor,  
Et croceo factu teretes circumdare ramos.* *Æn.* l. 6.

\* The *Mistletoe*.



as they had a small Skill in Botany, they undoubtedly knew that it was a specific against the Epilepsy, and that it is also of Use in the Apoplexy and Verrigos. They also extracted from it a Water which they reckoned a sovereign Remedy against all Sorts of Maladies. But as Superstition entered into all the Practices of those Priests, (for there had been nothing extraordinary in employing a medicinal Plant) at first they had no Value for any but that which grows upon the Oak, believing as *Pliny* says (1), that God had made a particular Choice of this Tree to bear that Plant. They therefore sought after it with great Assiduity in the Forests which they inhabited; and as it was then probably less common upon Oak than it is now, they blessed themselves, when after immense Labour they had the good Luck to meet with some Plants of it, as if they had really found a Treasure. However, the Time of gathering it was not indifferent, it was in the Month of *December* alone, which among them was a holy Month, and on the sixth Day of the Moon, that it was allowable to pluck it.

They assembled therefore for this Ceremony, which was performed with vast Parade, and marched in Procession to the Place where this precious Plant had been discovered. The Soothsayers went foremost, singing Hymns and Songs in Honour of the Gods. Next came a Herald, with a Rod in his Hand, who was followed by three *Druids*, bearing the Things necessary for the Sacrifice. Last of all, appeared the Chief of those Priests clothed in a white Robe, and followed by a Crowd of People. When they were come up to the Place appointed, the Chief of the *Druids* got up upon the Oak, and cut the *Mistletoe* with a golden Sickle. The *Druids* received it with great Reverence into the *Sagum*, or a white Cassock. Then followed the Sacrifice of two white Bulls, to which succeeded a Feast, and Prayers were put up to the Gods, as *Pliny* tells us, to make this Plant a Mean of communicating Prosperity to those who should partake of it. On the  
first

first Day of the Year, after having blessed and consecrated the *Misseltoe*, they distributed it to the People, promising and wishing them a happy Year. The Form made Use of for that Purpose, has been very long preserved by these Words, *The New Year to Misseltoe*.

As nothing is more difficult to root out than Customs founded on Superstition, they have still the same Cry in *Picardy*, adding *Plant, Plant*, when they wish for a plenteous and fruitful Year. In *Burgundy* and other Provinces, the Children, that have a Custom on the first Day of the Year of asking their New Year's Gift, make Use of the same Cry. There was even established in several Places, a Quest, or Kind of Begging on the first Day of the Year, where they made Use of the same Phrase, *The New Year to Misseltoe*, in asking People to give Alms.

Though *Pliny* gives a pretty full Account of this Ceremony, yet he has said nothing of the Place where it was performed; but the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls* is of Opinion, that it was in the Country of *Chartres*: 1<sup>mo</sup>, Because, according to the Naturalist now quoted, it was performed during the Assembly of the Estates General; now 'tis known, that this is the Country where those Meetings were held, and that once a Year. 2<sup>do</sup>, Because the Ceremony in question having been the most solemn of all, 'tis very probable that it was performed in the great College which was at *Chartres*. 3<sup>tie</sup>, As *Cæsar* observes that the *Gauls* repaired thither with a vast Concourse at that Time, so 'tis probable that they improved that Conjuncture, to make those who were then upon the Place, Partakers of the most sacred of their Ceremonies.

As to what remains, I know not what was the Foundation of the religious Respect which the *Druids* had for the Number Six; but 'tis certain that they preferred it to all others. 'Twas on the sixth Day of the Moon that they performed their principal Act of Religion; that they began the Year; they went six of

them in Number to gather the *Misseltœ*; and among the Monuments now extant, we often find the same Number of them.

*The Maxims of the Druids.*

The *Druids* not writing any Thing, as has been said, Tradition has preserved to us few or none of the many Maxims contained in that vast Number of Verses which they made their Pupils learn; however, *Gollut* (1) has collected for us some, which I shall quote from him, without laying more Stress upon them than they deserve, being persuaded, that they have been only taken from the Accounts we have of their Doctrine in Antiquity.

The first Maxim. *'Tis necessary to be taught in the Groves by the sacred Priests.*

2. *The Misseltœ ought to be gathered with great Respect, and if possible, at the sixth Moon; a Golden Sickle is to be used for that Purpose.*

3. *Every Thing that is born, derives its Origin from Heaven.*

4. *The Secret of Sciences is not to be committed to Writing, but to the Memory.*

5. *Great Care must be taken of the Education of Children.*

6. *The Misseltœ beat to Powder, makes Women fruitful.*

7. *The Disobedient ought to be removed from Sacrifices.*

8. *Souls are immortal.*

9. *Souls pass into other Bodies after the Death of those which they have animated.*

10. *If the World perishes, it will be by Fire or Water.*

11. *On extraordinary Occasions, a Man must be sacrificed. According as the Body falls, or according as it moves when fallen; according as the Blood flows, or according to the Opening of the Wound, shall future Events be predicted.*

12. *The Prisoners of War are to be slain upon the Altar;*

(1) Mem. of Franche Comté.

tars, or to be shut up within Apartments of Osier, to be burnt alive to the Honour of the Gods.

13. Foreign Commerce must not be permitted.

14. He who comes last to the Assembly of the Estates, is to be punished with Death.

15. Children are to be educated to the Age of fourteen Years, at a Distance from their Fathers and Mothers.

16. Money lent in this World, shall be repaid to Creditors in the next.

17. There is another World; and they who kill themselves to accompany their Friends thither, shall live there with them.

18. The Letters given to the Dying, or thrown into the Funeral Pile of the Dead, are faithfully delivered in the other World.

19. The Moon cures all, as her Name in Celtic implies.

20. Let the Disobedient be cast out; let them have no Justice done them; let them be received into no Company, nor admitted into any Office.

21. All Heads of Families are Kings in their own Houses: They have Power of Life and Death over their Wives, their Children and Slaves.

## C H A P. IV.

### Of the Druidesses.

THOSE who have read *Cæsar's Commentaries*, *Tacitus*, and some others of the Antients, know what Regard the *Germans* and *Gauls* had for their Wives. Those of the *Druids* especially, shared the Authority with their Husbands, though with some Dependance; and intermeddled, like them, not only in Political Affairs, but also in those of Religion. As there were in the *Gauls*, even from the Time of the Conquest of the *Romans*, Temples into which all Men were denied Access, in them the *Druidesses* presided, and regulated all that belonged to the Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies of Religion: All this,

however, is to be understood, Regard being had to different Times.

We may distinguish three Sorts of *Druidesses* : The first lived in Celibacy, as those of the Island of *Sain*; others, though married (1), dwelt regularly in the Temples which they served, except one Day of the Year, when they were permitted to have an Interview with their Husbands. Lastly, the *Druidesses* of the third Order lived constantly with their Husbands, and took Care of the private Affairs of their Family.

We may divide them again into two Classes : In the first were the Priestesses, while those who were but Ministers under the Orders of the first, composed the second.

As nothing gives more Reputation than the pretended Knowledge of Futurity, so we may judge of that of those Priestesses, who were believed to be possessed of that Gift in an eminent Degree (2). Accordingly this Reputation was not confined within the *Gauls* : It was also diffused through foreign Countries. People came from all Quarters to consult them with great Confidence, and their Decisions were reckoned Oracles. The Emperors themselves (3), when they were Masters of the *Gauls*, did not disdain to consult them; and tho' 'tis certain that they were not the only ones, History however informs us only of their Consultations, as if those of private Persons had not deserved to be transmitted down to Posterity.

True it is, as has been said in the preceeding Chapter, the *Druids* took upon them the same Profession; but whether their Wives were more expert in it, that is, knew better how to deceive, they had abandoned it almost wholly to them.

I may add, that the *Druidesses* were established in almost all the Islands that are upon the *Gallic* Coasts, and upon those that lie near *England*; yet so, that  
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(1) See Don James Martin, tom. 1. p. 206. (2) See Tacitus, l. 4. Dion. &c. (3) Lamprid. Vopiscus, &c.

in those where *Druids* were, there were no *Druid* *ſſe* ; and theſe again poſſeſſed the others.

Further, all thoſe Iſlands were conſecrated to ſome particular Divinity, whoſe Name they bore. The Miniſters of either Sex performed there the ſame Functions as in the reſt of *Gaul*. 'Tis thought too, that they applied themſelves more particularly there than elſewhere to Magical Operations ; and it was an Opinion ſpread through all the *Gauls*, that they, as Maſters of the Winds, raiſed Storms and Tempeſts when they had a Mind.

I ſaid before, that only ſuch Predictions of the *Druid* *ſſes* have been preſerved as were addreſſed to the Emperors. I ſhall give here three or four pretty remarkable ones. *Alexander Severus* ſetting out on that Expedition, which was the laſt of his Life, one of his *Prieſteſſes* came up to him, and ſaid : *My Lord, don't hope for Victory, and be on your Guard againſt your own Soldiers.* Accordingly that Prince was aſſaſſinated in that ſame Campaign.

The Emperor *Aurelian* intending to conſult ſome of them, to know if the Empire would be long in his Family, they answered him ſimply, that the Family of *Claudius* was to be one Day the moſt illuſtrious ; and indeed that of *Aurelian* did not ſubſiſt long.

*Diocleſian*, when he was but an Officer in the *Gauls*, was amuſing himſelf one Day in caſting up his Accounts, when his Hoſteſs, who was a famous *Druid* *ſſe*, thus addreſſed him, *In Truth, Sir, you are too covetous. Well,* replied *Diocleſian*, *I ſhall be liberal when I come to be Emperor. You ſhall be ſo,* answered the Hoſteſs haſtily, *when you have ſlain a Boar* (1), *cum Aprum occideris.* *Diocleſian*, ſtruck with this Answer, applied himſelf from that Time a great deal to the Killing of thoſe Animals, without arriving, however, at the Empire ; but at laſt, bethinking himſelf that the equivocal *Latin* Word *Aper*, which ſignifies a Boar, might refer to *Aper*, *Numerian's* Father-in-law, he put him to Death, and ſo became Emperor.

In fine, to conclude what relates to those Ministers of the Religion of the *Gauls*, 'tis proper briefly to examine at what Time they were abolished. *Suetonius* (1), *Aurelius Victor*, and *Seneca*, maintain that it was under the Empire of *Claudius*, which is absolutely false, since we find they still subsisted a long Time after; and 'tis probable that they mean only the Human Sacrifices, from the Use whereof they were absolutely prohibited by that Emperor, and this is the most natural Sense can be put upon the Words of the former of these three Authors (a).

*Tiberius* had passed a Decree against them, but it was no better executed than that of *Augustus* had been. *Adrian* too made an Edict to abolish the Human Sacrifices that were offered up to *Mithras* and *Jupiter*; but this Edict had no more Relation to the *Druids* than to the other Priests of the Empire. The *Druids* were still subsisting in the Time of *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, who reproaches the *Gauls* with these Sacrifices of theirs, as also in the Time of *Ausonius*, who praises some of them who were his Contemporaries. Lastly, there were of them still remaining, at least in the Country of *Charitres*, to the middle of the fifth Century; and 'tis probable that their Order was not quite abolished till Christianity had triumphed fully in the *Gauls* over the Superstition of the Pagan World, which happened but late, at least in some Provinces.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of some Gallic Superstitions.*

THE abolishing of the *Druids* did not draw after it that of the Superstitions which they had diffused through all *Gaul*: They had taken so deep Root there, that the Introduction of Christianity itself was not able to stop the detestable Practice. That of the first of *January*, which consisted in covering themselves with the Skins of several Animals, and in running

Claudio.

Druidarum Religionem apud Gallos diu immanitatis, & tyibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolevit. Suet. ibid.

ning thus through the Streets, lasted to the seventh Century of the Christian *Æra*, in spite of all the Efforts of the Bishops, the Prohibitions of the Fathers, and the Canons of Councils, which tended to abolish them. This abominable Rite, at least in its Beginnings, is what was called *Cervoles* and *Vetula* (a). There, to the Disgrace of Nature, you might have seen People transform themselves into Beasts, counterfeited in their mad Rambles the Stag, the Fawn, the Deer, and other Animals. But in vain was it to remonstrate against that Usage, they still went on in their usual Way, and with much ado were those ridiculous Masquerades at length abolished.

The Worship of some Divinities that were peculiar, and dearer than others to our antient *Gauls*, continued even a good Time after the Establishment of Christianity, especially that of *Diana* or *Arduina*, to be spoke of afterwards, she whom that People, passionately fond of Hunting, took for their Protectress. Not long ago, there was discovered a small Statue (1), thought to represent that Goddess, and which probably was the Household God, or particular Genius of some famous Hunter. This Idol represents a Woman half covered with a Kind of Cuirass, in one Hand holding a Bow unbent, and having a Dog near her.

The abominable Practice of Magic and Enchantments subsisted likewise a long Time. As it was brought into Vogue by the *Druidesses*, the Women, after the Extinction of those Priestesses, continued to observe their Rites, and hence it is obvious how difficult it must have been to abolish them. Those Women actually believed they went to nocturnal Witch-Meetings, and that *Diana* furnished them by Night with Vehicles to carry them swiftly through the Air; and 'tis well known how long that fond Credulity lasted, if indeed it may be said to be abolished even yet among some Women of the meaner Sort. When

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(a) See the Ninth Letter of *M. le Beuf*, in the Work intitled, *Diverses Writing*, &c. T. 1. p. 280.

(1) Id. ib.



the Masquerade we have been speaking of came to be destroyed, the Feasts of the first of *January* did not entirely cease: They only changed the Object, and instead of running about under the Skins of Beasts, as used to be done formerly, they introduced the Custom of telling Fortunes on that Day, and of employing for that Purpose several superstitious Rites of Magic and Divination. 'Tis not to be doubted, in short, but all those Magical Rites, as well as the Notions of *Sabbath*, and the Nocturnal Expeditions, are derived from our antient *Gauls*, and from the *Druidesses* who had practised them first.

Another very singular Piece of Superstition was that which the *Gauls* practised towards the *Rhine*: When they suspected the Fidelity of their Wives, they obliged them to expose upon the River the Children which they doubted to be theirs, and if they were swallowed up in the Stream, the Wife was punished with Death as an Adulteress: If, on the contrary, they floated above, and came back to their Mother, who followed them along the Bank, the Husband, persuaded of her Chastity, restored to her his Confidence and Love. The Emperor *Julian*, from whom we learn this Fact, says this River-God, by his Discernment, avenged the Injury that was offered to the Marriage-Bed.

Again, another Superstition, at least as barbarous: Before they consulted about the Affairs of State, those People, as we are told by *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus*, pierced a Man behind with a Poinard, and drew their Omens from the Manner in which he fell, and from the Form of the Wound.

The *Gauls*, addicted to the Science of Auguries, particularly by the Flight and chirping of Birds, as much, at least, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, consulted likewise the Entrails of Victims, and were in general so insatuated with every Sort of Divination, that they paid an infinite Deal of Respect to all who professed to know and foretel future Events. Different Councils held in the *Gauls*, a Treatise by *S. Elci*, and the  
Authors

Authors of Ecclesiastic History, inform us of several other Sorts of Superstitions practised by our antient *Gauls*, and which lasted most of them a very long Time after they had embraced Christianity ; for in short nothing in the World is so difficult to be abolished as those Sorts of Customs.

We see by those Authorities that they still consulted the Auguries, that they were attentive to observe the Flight of Birds ; the lucky and unlucky Days ; the Days of the Moon ; that they still masqued on the first of *January*, and continued to practise a part of the Fooleries which we have spoke of ; that they observed the Solstices, from thence drew Omens, and at that Time sung loose Sonnets ; that they still invoked the Names of some Pagan Divinities ; celebrated the Days of the Dedication of Cities ; went with lighted Tapers to the Land-Marks as it were to do Honour there to the God *Terminus* ; practised several Sorts of Lustrations ; cast Charms upon the Herbs and Fruits ; swore by the Names and Surnames of the Sun and Moon, which were called the *Lord* and *Lady* : That in Diseases they put less Faith in the Physicians than in Spells, Talismans, &c.

Though the *Gauls* did not carry superstitious Rites in Funerals so far as several other idolatrous Nations, yet they did not fail to perform some pretty singular ones upon that Occasion. Thus, for Instance, they put the Arms and Bucklers of the Dead into their Tombs, as also several other Utensils which they thought would be of Use to them in the other World, a Circumstance which was discovered upon opening some of those Monuments. They were even wont to intrust the Dead with Letters for their deceased Relations. But as these Particulars belong more to the Antiquary than the Mythologist, I content myself with observing that in all Appearance the Tombs, and Inscriptions engraved upon them, are not of greater Antiquity than the Conquest of the *Romans*, since these practised the same Superstitions with those.

We see in those of the *Gauls* as well as in those of their

their Conquerors, the ordinary Form, *D. M. to the Gods Manes, Diis Inferis, to the infernal Gods*; and there, in short, we find the celebrated Form *sub Ascia*, which has and still continues to rack the Brains of the Learned, who have attempted to explain it, and who all of them almost contradict one another.

After having spoke of the Religion of the *Gauls*, of their Ministers and Superstitions, 'tis Time to give the History of their Gods. I shall begin with those who are upon the Monuments dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, where we find some who were unknown to the *Roman* Historians. Several Authors, 'tis true, have already explained those Monuments; but I reckon a compendious History of this Discovery, and of the Works that have been composed upon this Subject, joined with some new Reflections, will not be displeasing to my Readers.

#### C H A P. VI.

*Of the Bas-reliefs dug up in the Choir of the Cathedral at Paris.*

WHILE *Lewis XIV.* to execute the Vow of *Lewis XIII.* was setting about the building of the magnificent Altar of the Cathedral at *Paris*, it was found necessary to change the Burial-Place of the Archbishops, and in raking up the Earth there was discovered a Wall (1) near three Foot thick, and a little deeper, another Wall, which was partly formed of Stones, upon which were perceived Letters and Figures: Those Stones were quickly taken up, and it was judged that the Figures engraven upon them, represented *Gallie* Divinities, and that they had antiently served for a Base to some Altar. Whatever Injuries they had suffered, both by Time and by the Workmen, who, to adapt them to the Wall where they were employed, had made no Scruple to cut and deface them, and sometimes even to divide them; yet the Discovery of them made a great Noise, and invited our Anti-

quaries,

(1) March 16, 1711.

quaries, who came to examine them. From their examining to the making of Dissertations upon them but a short Time intervened. M. *Baudelot*, Member of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, had those Bas-reliefs engraved, and together with their Figures published a Dissertation in order to explain them. M. *Moreau*, Member of the same Academy, soon followed his Brother, and happened to be as different from him in the Figures as in the Explications of them, which he published in his Turn. But it must be owned that those two Dissertations betray a little the Precipitancy of their Authors to bring them to Light. F. *Daniel* too made a Dissertation on the Subject, which is printed in the Memoirs of *Trevoux* for that same Year : But that learned Writer, who might, if he had pleased, have cast a great Light upon this Monument, applied himself only to clear up what concerned the Company of Watermen, or rather of Traders, who had erected it. M. *Leibnitz*, not to mention other Foreigners, having entered the Lists, vigorously attacked the Dissertation of M. *Baudelot*. *Montfaucon*, without entering into a Detail of Particulars, contented himself with giving Draughts of those Monuments in his *Antiquity explained* (1), with all possible Exactness. F. *Lobineau* having no mind to leave his History of *Paris* without so considerable an Ornament, got also Prints of the same Bas-reliefs, and joined to them his own Conjectures. In fine, *Don James Martin*, in his History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, published the same Figures with Explications, which, in my Opinion, are of all others the most satisfying : The Conjectures of others, though often not very well founded, yet open and enlarge their Minds, and sometimes carry them further than those had arrived who went before them in the same Enquiry. As this Monument is of great Value, and makes us acquainted with *Gallic* Gods, who are mentioned by no History, I thought proper to set out with it, and begin the History of the *Gallic* Religion with the Explication of this Monument.

Those

whom I have named above, is of *Celtic* Original, and composed of *Gier*, *Good Luck*, and *Reiser*, *Waterman*. The *Greeks*, adds he, have a Word like it, composed of the same Letters, and that has the same Signification; namely, that of *εὐπεῖρος*, and signifies *one who is the Waves favourable to him*. Now, we know that *E* was often put for *S*. and that so commonly, that *Lucian* in his Dialogue of the Judgment of the Vowels, introduces the last of these two Letters, complaining that the other had banished him from all Words. These People in Arms, who first offer themselves after the Inscription of the Dedication, are therefore the Leaders of the Enterprize. The Arms which they bear, denote, what is true, that the *Gauls* never were present at the Performance of any Act of Religion, nor in the Management of any public Affair, but in Arms, which they seldom or never laid aside. The great Circle which one of those *Gauls* wears, was a Crown, or a kind of Diadem for *Jupiter*, to whom the Altar was consecrated.

Upon the Face of the Stone which follows that of the Traders on the *Seine*, we see again other Men, but different from the former, in regard that instead of Arms they are clad in a grave and majestic Habit, having Crowns upon their Heads. These unquestionably are *Druids*; and tho' their Garb, different from that of the other *Gauls*, did not prove it, yet we have now seen that they were the sole Ministers of Religion, or at least, that the others whom we have mentioned after some Antients, as the *Bards*, &c. were intirely subject to them. They must needs therefore have been present at this solemn Dedication, and 'tis by no Means surprizing to find them there.

The Words *Senani Vilo*, that are at the Foot of the same Stone, ought then to design them; but it must be owned that they are hard to be explained. *M. Baudet* says, that the Word *Senani* is the same with *Sequani*, and likewise denotes the Watermen; but what Appearance is there, that after having designed them by the Word *Eurises*, which is above them, they would

would again design the same Thing in using the Word *Senari*, which is upon the Face where are the Men without Arms? 'Tis therefore the *Druids* that are designed by this Word, and I readily embrace the Opinion of the Author whom I have now quoted, who says that the Word is the same with *Seniores*, the old Men; a Term apposite to those Ministers of Religion, for whom the *Gauls* had so much Veneration. The same Author thinks, that from this Word had been formed *Senatus* and *Seniores*; the Curious may read his Proofs of it in the Work itself of that learned Benedictine. I also adopt his Conjecture as to the Word *Vell*, which, according to him, was the Name which the *Gauls* gave to the *Mistletoe* of Oak which we have spoke so much of in the third Chapter: And who proves it, is, that the *Greeks* expressed in the proper Sense, Glass, and in the figurative, what is bright and shining by the Word *Velas*. Now the *Mistletoe* has the two Qualities, as we have said from the Description given of it by *Virgil*, who compares it to the golden Bough.

If I be asked why the *Mistletoe* is named in this Ceremony, I answer, that it was in so great Veneration among the *Gauls*, that not content with distributing it to the People, and extracting from it a salutary Water, they undoubtedly mixed it in all their religious Rites. This barbarous Word, 'tis true, is joined that of *Senari*, upon a Face where this Plant does not appear, but besides that, we are certain of its being presented upon two Places of the same Monument, namely, upon the Side where is *Eflu*, who appears hold a Branch of it in his Hand, and upon that where is the Bull, *Taurus Frigarius*, it may also be very probably upon that where the Word *Vello* is written, the Stone being very much damaged.

'Tis also owing to the bad Condition the Stone now in, that it is hard to say how many *Druids* were designed upon the Face in question. *M. Baudelot* sees of them, others cannot find so many. But is this or like, or had *M. Baudelot* really better Eyes than

the other Antiquaries who have explained this Monument? This is what I cannot decide. It would indeed be very lucky, if six of them could be found here; that Number, as has been said in the preceding Chapter, being sacred among the *Gauls*.

*VULCAN.*

*Vulcan*, who appears upon the second Row of Stones, is drawn quite in the *Roman* Manner, with a Habit which reaches only to the Knees, a Bonnet upon his Head, holding in one Hand his Hammer, and in the other his Pincers. We must not, however, imagine, that the *Gauls* had received the Worship of that God only from their Conquerors: They paid Adoration to him 150 Years before *Julius Cæsar* had entered into the *Gauls*. *Plutarch* accordingly informs us (1), that those People having declared War upon the *Romans*, their King, *Viridomarus*, made a Vow to consecrate to that God all the Arms he could take from them. The Success, 'tis true, did not answer his Desires, since his Army was put to the Rout, and himself slain by the Consul; but 'tis not the less true that they then acknowledged that God in *Gaul*. Their Skill in working Metals, the Art of tinning over so curiously the Vessels of Copper, that they were apt to be mistaken for Silver, as we are told by *Pliny*; and that of Varnish and enamelling, which they applied to Gold and Silver; all these had made them adopt the God of Smiths, though we could not know by what Way they came to be acquainted with him.

We may remark, in finishing this Article, that the *Gallie* God *Vulcanus*, who is known to us only by an Inscription found at *Nantz*, and by a Manuscript, is not *Belenus*, as several learned Men pretend, but *Vulcan*: As to which you may see, in the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, *Tom. II.* the Proofs thereof given by the Author.

*CASTOR and POLLUX.*

Upon the two first Faces of the third Row of Stones are *Castor* and *Pollux*, with their usual Habit and Bonnet,

(1) In *Marcello*.

ten, holding in the right Hand a Pike, and their left resting upon a Horse's Head: Hence 'tis plain that these two Heroes were worshipped in the *Gauls*; but are they there, in a Dedication made by the Watermen, to the Gods who favoured Navigation? This is what cannot be thought, since the Horses that accompany them, have no Relation thereto; and it would rather be in Quality of Warriors that they are here represented, the Gauls having chose them to preside over the Exercises and Games that were to accompany this Dedication. But whatever be in this, we know not whether their Worship had passed into the Gauls only since the Conquest of the *Romans*, or if they had received it before. I should be much inclined to think, that the Knowledge of those Gods, originally of *Greece*, had come to them from that Country, and that it was by such of the *Gauls* as had escaped the Dangers to which their Army was exposed under *Brennus*, the Knowledge of them and their Worship was brought into Gaul. This Conjecture is at least as plausible as that of Authors who alledge that the *Gauls* had known the *Argonauts*, who are said by *Thucydides* and *Appianus Rhodius* to have re embarked upon the *Tyrrhene*, and so to have entered the Ocean; whence passing through the Straits of *Calix*, they had coasted along the *Gauls*, and that our two Heroes, who then made themselves known to that People, were deliv'd by them. Is there in all this the smallest Degree of Probability, and is not the Return of the *Argonauts* by the Ocean a meer Chimera (1)?

*Reinsius* quotes an Inscription found at *S. illel*, in *Bugy*, which begins with these Words, *Deo Vintio Polluci*, and proves that this God was worshipped at *Vence*, which was called *Vintium* or *Vincium*; but I refer to the seventh Volume what I have to say of those two *Diogenes*.

#### E S U S.

It appears that the great Divinity of the *Gauls* *Vintius*; his Name is also written with an Aspiration



tion *Hefus*. As the Antients give us but little Account of this God (1), the Learned have framed several Conjectures about him; but they all agree that he was the God of War; and I am the more inclined to embrace their Opinion, that I find so little Probability in that of others. However, the Author of the History of the *Gallic* Religion gives us a quite other Idea of this God. He takes him to have been among that People the Supreme Being, the Unknown God, adding, that they adored him with high Veneration, though they had not any Figure of him, unless he was represented by the Oak, that Tree so respected by the *Druids*, and in general by all the *Gauls*. It was in the Woods, continues he, and at the Feet of Oaks that they offered Sacrifices, and addressed their Vows and Prayers to him. It must be owned, that he supports his Opinion by happy Conjectures, and by Etymologies that are no less so (a); but though it were true, as he says, that the Word *Efus* in *Gallic*, and *Æsar* in the *Tuscan* Language, signify *God*, would this prove that it signified *the God*, by Way of Eminence, the Sovereign of Gods, the Unknown God? As Etymologies and Conjectures are no Proofs, the Author, besides, not only recedes from the most generally received Opinion, but, which is still more considerable, from the Idea which the Antients give us of *Efus*, whom they reckon a cruel and savage God, who could only be appeased by the Sacrifice of human Victims; an Idea which agrees better to the God of War, than to a Being spiritual, invisible, and superior to all others (b).

Again, is it not more natural to believe that the *Gauls*, a courageous Warlike Nation, worshipped the God of Battles? And we find none among them but *Efus*, to whom this Title can be applied. Besides, is not their offering to him the Prisoners of War, pre-  
 VOL. III. S ferably

(1) Lucan. Pharf. l. 1. Lactan. Div. Inst. l. 2.

(a) See the 254 and 255 Pages of the 1st Vol. of the Hist. of the Religion of the *Gauls*.

(b) *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro,*

*Teutates, horrendæ feris altaribus Efus.* Luc. Pharf. l. 5.

ferably to other human Victims, a Proof that it was to thank and pay him Homage for the Advantages they had obtained in War.

We may add farther, that the *Celte*, if they were not *Scythians* themselves, had at least dwelt in their Neighbourhood: For it must be owned that their great, and I may say their sole God, was the God of War (1), whom they represented by a Sword.

In fine, it is certain that *Efus* had Statues, since we find him represented upon one of the Bas-Reliefs of the Cathedral of *Paris*, with his Name underneath, while it is not possible to mark the Time when he had none: For, though the Author whom I have cited, alledges that it was very late before they began to represent him, and that this Custom was quite new in the Time of *Tiberius*, the *Druids* having hindered it as long as it was in their Power, yet 'tis obvious that this is but a Conjecture without any Foundation, and that this Date for the Introduction of Statues of this God, is only assigned, because no Room was left to doubt of his having them from that Time. His Figure, 'tis true, exhibits nothing that suits with the God of War, since he there appears like a young Man, with naked Shoulders, and one Hand lifted up, wherein, probably, was an Instrument which Time has defaced, ready to give a Blow to the Oak which is near him; but what can be concluded from one single Figure, considering the different Manners in which the Pagans represented their Gods? I know the Antiquaries, who have explained this Monument, will have it that this God is in action to cut the *Misseltoe*: But what Inconveniency is there in saying, that as he was the great Divinity of the *Gauls*, so to him was attributed the most sacred Function of their Religion, and that thereby was intended to denote, that the chief of the *Druids*, to whom alone it belonged to gather it, was only to be reckoned the Instrument which *Efus* made Use of to communicate to Men a Plant which had so many Virtues, and which

(1) See the 3d Vol.

which he himself had brought down from Heaven for their Benefit?

But waving that, *Eſus*, or *Mars*, was one of the greatest Gods of the *Gauls*, and him they honoured with peculiar Worship. When they were upon the Point of giving Battle, they vowed to offer up to him not only all the Spoils and Horses which they should win from the Enemy, but also all the Captives; and nothing was more faithfully put in Execution than this Promise. For no sooner was the Battle over, than they sacrificed to him all the Horses, and gathered into a Heap the Arms and Spoils, which they consecrated to him, and which no Body durst touch. If any one was convicted of having applied to his own Use any Part of those Spoils, he was condemned to lose his Life, and suffered Death without Mercy. As to the Captives, the Manner of paying their Vow was not uniform, contenting themselves sometimes with offering up the Choice of them, that is, the young and the most handsome, and killing the rest with their Arrows; while, upon other Occasions, they sacrificed them all, without Distinction of Age or Birth. Their Devotion for this God, or rather their Fury, was sometimes carried to such Excess, as to sacrifice to him their Wives and Children. This, at least, is what happened, according to *Justin* (1), in the Expedition which they made into *Asia*, when ready to fight against *Antigonus*, King of *Macedonia*, having consulted the Entrails of the Victims, and finding nothing there but fatal Presages, they took on the barbarous Resolution to cut the Throats of their Wives and Children. So great was their Rage, according to the judicious Remark of that Historian, "That they did not spare even what the Enemies themselves would have spared, turning against the Mothers and their tender Children, those very Arms which they ought to have taken up in their Defence."

The last Figure of the second Row of those Stones  
S 2 dug

(1) L. 26. c. 2.

dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, represents a Bull in the midst of a Wood with three Cranes, whereof one is upon his Head, the other in the Middle of his Body, and the third upon his Back, with this Inscription : *Taurus Trigaranus, The Bull with three Cranes.* 'Tis certain that those Birds are Cranes, since in the ancient Language of the *Celtæ*, *Taro* signifies a Bull, *Tri*, *three*, and *Garan*, a Crane. The *Greeks* themselves expressed the same Thing by these Words, *Ταυρος τριγέρανος* : Here, however, is a Mystery of the *Gallic* Religion not easy to be explained. As the Bull is joined with the other Gods of that People, and is in the same Compartment with *Vulcan*, *Jupiter* and *Esus*, it would seem that the *Gauls* paid a religious Worship to that Animal. But this is not a bare Conjecture : *Gregory of Tours* (1), after having told us, that our Forefathers had made Divinities of the Forests, the Waters, the Birds, and Animals, adds : “ Alas ! had they been but capable to comprehend “ what dreadful Vengeance God inflicted upon the “ *Jews* for the Crime they were guilty of in wor- “ shipping the Golden Calf ! ” which certainly intimates, that the Bull was included in the Number of the Animals which they adored. That the Bull appears upon this Monument, in a Place where Trees rise around him, is a further Proof that he was one of their Gods, since it was in the Groves, which served the *Gauls* of old for Temples, that their Mysteries were celebrated. Lastly, *Plutarch* (2), speaking of the Treaty which that terrible Army of Barbarians, composed of *Teutons*, *Cimbres*, &c. (that is, of *Celtæ*, for this was their generical Name) which was designed to go and besiege *Rome*, made with the *Romans*, says, they swore to the Observation of it by their Brazen Bull, which they probably carried about in their Armies, since *Catulus*, after having defeated them, made one of them be carried to his House as a glorious Spoil, and the most certain Mark of his Victory.

As for the *Cranes* that are upon the sacred Bulls, I judge

(1) Hist. l. 2. c. 10. (2) In Mario.

judge it sufficient to observe, that since the *Gauls* bore them upon their Ensigns, as the *Romans* did the Eagles, 'tis no Wonder that they intermixed them with the Mysteries of their Religion, and paid a Kind of Veneration to them.

C E R N U N N O S.

Upon the third Face of the first Stone of those Monuments, appears a *Gallic* Divinity, represented under the Figure of a Man, who has upon his Head, by the Side of the Ears, Horns intermingled with Rings, pretty like those of a young Stag, with the Inscription, *Cernunnos*. The late M. *de Matour* had another Figure not unlike to a *Gallic* God, which was naked, that is, with no other cloathing but a small Drapery upon the left Shoulder, which is wrapped about the Arm, whose Horns were wreathed towards the Root, and terminated in two Crescents (1); and M. *de Chazelles* had another entirely cloathed, whose Horns had several Branches, much like a Palm: This Figure bore upon the Arm a little Animal which resembled a Kid or a Lamb.

'Tis no Rarity to meet with horned Gods in Paganism: Such was *Jupiter Ammon*, *Pan*, the *Fauns*, the *Satyrs*, &c. But this *Gallic* God is known under the Name of *Cernunnos*, only since the Discovery of the Bas-relief of *Notre-Dame Church*. Thus we need not be surprized if the Learned, both in *France* and *Germany*, who have attempted to explain these Monuments, differ so much from one another with respect to this God; the two most probable Sentiments upon this Subject, are that of the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, and that of M. *Eccart*. The former takes *Cernunnos* to have been a rural God, who among our antient *Gauls* presided over Hunting, as *Alces*, or *Alcis*, according to *Tacitus*, was the God of the same Exercise in the Province of antient *Germany*, which was possessed by the *Nabarvali*. The strongest Argument which he brings in Support of his Opinion, is, that the Horns of *Cernunnos*, the

(1) See Montf. Ant. v. 1.

Diadem which he wears upon one of his Figures, and the Animal which he holds in his Hand upon that of *M. de Chazelles*, are all Characters of a God of Hunting, as is justified by several Figures of *Diana*, the Goddess of the same Exercise among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, where we find all these Symbols. *M. Ecart* thinks this God represents *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius*, an Opinion which wants not Probability; but after all, can he flatter himself that he has discovered what was the settled Opinion the *Gauls* had concerning a God who is so little known even at present?

To conclude, the Name of *Cernunnos* is composed of two *Celtic* Words, whereof the first *Cern*, imports a *Horn*, and the second *Yna*, or *Ona*, a *Spear*.

The last Face of the third Row of Stones presents the Bust of a naked Man, holding a kind of Club in the right Hand, which is lifted up as if he was going to strike a Serpent that is opposite to him, and is rearing itself against him. The Inscription above is almost quite effaced, and it is read differently. *M. Baudelot* has decyphered in it only these two Letters, *OS*, and *Don James Martin* finds *Seni ri os*. As the Man's Figure is unquestionably *Hercules*, who was highly adored in the *Gauls* under the Name of *Ogmios*, or *Ogmios* (*a*), so I am persuaded that the two Letters now mentioned are the last Letters of the Name of that God; the rest being almost quite defaced, one may find there whatever he fancies. The Serpent which seems to be rearing itself against *Hercules*, is probably either one of those which that Heroe slew when in the Cradle (1), or one of the Heads of the *Hydra* of *Lerna*, the rest either not having been added; or else being defaced, as is the greatest Part of the Bas-relief.

That *Hercules* travelled into the *Gauls*, that he had Children there, and that he was there honoured with peculiar Worship, are Truths attested by all Antiquity,

(a) This Name is derived from the *Celtic*, which was the Language of the *Gauls*.

(1) See the Hist. of *Hercules* Vol. VI.

quity, and it will not be expected, I presume; that I should make a vain Show of Erudition to prove them: But the Question is whether this was *Alcides* the *Greek Hercules*, or the *Egyptian Hercules*; or another? For, as we shall see in the sixth Volume of this Mythology, there were a great Number of them: This is what I take not upon me to determine. I shall only observe that the *Gauls* had a quite different Idea of this God from what the *Greeks* conceived of him, since they figured him otherwise than the others did, and reckoned him, not a Subduer of Monsters, and a Redresser of Wrongs, but the God of Eloquence, and of an Eloquence so sweet; and at the same Time so persuasive, that there was no Possibility of resisting it.

*Lucian* (1), who had travelled into the *Gauls*; has left us a Picture of this God, which is very proper to give us a just Notion of him. “ The *Gauls*; says  
 “ he, call *Hercules* in their Language *Ogmios*, and re-  
 “ present him in a Manner altogether extraordinary.  
 “ He is a decrepit old Man, almost bald; and the  
 “ few Hairs he has are all gray: Sun-burnt and  
 “ wrinkled, like our old Sailors, he was taken for  
 “ *Charon*; but yet if one considers his Lion’s Skin;  
 “ his Club which he has in his right Hand, his Qui-  
 “ ver and his Bow which he has in his Left, he has  
 “ all the Air of *Hercules*. What is most singular  
 “ therein is; that he draws along with him a Mul-  
 “ titude of Persons whom he holds fastened by the  
 “ Ears. Their Chains are of Gold and Amber;  
 “ and though they are very fine and slender; yet  
 “ it does not appear that any one of those who are  
 “ fastened to them; makes the smallest Effort to  
 “ break them, or to extricate himself from them:  
 “ On the contrary, all those who are chained; in the  
 “ height of good Humour follow their Leader with  
 “ so much Eagerness, that the Chains are slack; and  
 “ don’t appear to draw. The two Hands of *Hercu-*  
 “ *les* being; as has been said; intangled, the Painter  
 S 4 not

(1) Dial. intitled; *Of the twice-dieasted*.

“ not knowing where to fasten the Extremity of the  
 “ Chains, made a Hole in his Tongue, and to that  
 “ they are fastened in the Figure.”

From this Picture 'tis easy to perceive that the *Gauls* looked upon *Hercules* as a God of Eloquence, and the Thing is past Doubt. However, the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, will have this Figure to have been *Mercury*, who, according to him, was the God of Eloquence among that People, and by Consequence not to be *Hercules*.

But besides that all who have spoke of the *Gallic Hercules*, give him this *Celtic* Name; and *Lucian*, who appears to be well informed, says, *Ogmios* was very knowable by his Club, his Bow, and his Lion's Skin: What a *Gallic* Philosopher said to him leaves no Room to doubt of it. For when *Lucian* was expressing his Surprize at a Figure so extraordinary, a Philosopher of that Country, as he says himself, accosted him, and bespoke him in this Manner: *Your Astonishment will cease so soon as I have explained to you the whole Mystery. We Gauls are of a quite different Opinion from the Greeks, who make Mercury the God of Eloquence: According to us 'tis Hercules, because he surpasses Mercury in Strength. We paint him advanced in Years, because Eloquence never shews itself more lively and animated than in the Mouths of old Men. The Connection which there is between the Ear and the Tongue, justifies the Picture we make of this old Man, who with his Tongue draws Men, beld fast by the Ear.*

In several Places of the *Gauls*, in *Germany*, and Countries still more northerly, there have been found Figures of *Hercules*, with Surnames pretty singular, whereof I shall say a Word or two.

#### *HERCULES MAGUSAN or MACUSAN.*

*Hercules* was hardly known under the Name of *Magusan*, but by some Medals struck under the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*, when in 1514 there was discovered upon the Sea-coast at *West-Capello*, a Town in *Zeland*, in the Island of *Talbeven* (1),

a very

(1) See Keiser's Ant. Celt. p. 200.



a very large Statue, which represents a Man of a middle Age, very strong and robust, with Symbols not well known. The Drapery, which covers only his back Parts, forms upon his Head a Kind of Kerchief, which, falling down upon the left Shoulder, divides itself and reaches to the Feet. The Man represented holds in his right Hand a Dolphin, and in his Left a Kind of Scepter which terminates at the upper End in two Grains. On the Right of the Statue is a square Altar whence Flames arise, and on its left a small Sea-Monster, which is not known. I doubt if ever *Hercules* would have been known under a Figure so fantastical and so remote from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, had it not been for the Inscription which bears these Words:

*Herculi Maguzano, M. T. Primis uis Tertius. V.  
S. L. M.*

Marcus Primus, or Primillus *has paid the Vow which he had made to Hercules Maguzanus.*

The *Jesuits* at *Brussels* have at the Entrance to their Library an Inscription where is also mentioned a Vow made to *Hercules Maguzan*; and as the same Name occurs upon some Medals of *Posthumius*, *Herculi Maguzano*, on which that Heroe is represented with his Club in one Hand, and a Bow in the other, with a Kind of Skin upon his Arms, there is no Doubt of his having been worshipped in the *Gauls*, in *Germany*, and in some other more northern Countries.

The Learned are puzzled in explaining the Surname of *Maguzan*, given to *Hercules*: The Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, takes it to be derived from the *Celtic*, and that it may possibly design *Posthumius* himself, who struck the Medals in Honour of that God (1). But as upon another Medal struck by the same Emperor in Honour of *Duisanian Hercules*, the Heroe appears with the same Attributes, and as the Surname *Duisaniensis* which is given him, is that of a Place named *Duiz*, 'tis very probable

(1) Tom. II. p. 26, & seq.

probable that *Maguzan* is also a local Name, tho' we know no Place so called.

As for the odd Symbols that accompany the *Hercules* of *Zeland*, we need not be much at a Loss about them; Islanders having given to the *Hercules* whom they worshipped, Attributes suitable to a God of the Sea. And indeed, had it not been for the Name that is in the Inscription, I would be inclined to take the Figure for a *Neptune*, though his Sceptre has but two Forks, since sometimes that of *Pluto* had three, though it ought to have but two. Besides, every Country frequently varied as to the Symbols of their Gods. The *Maguzan Hercules's*, represented upon the Medals of *Posthumius*, have preserved the Attributes of their God better, though they carry an Air of the Time when they were struck.

The *Gauls* and *Germans* gave other Surnames to *Hercules*. Upon a Statue of Bronze found at *Strasbourg*; since brought into *France*, that God bears the Name of *Krutfanam*, which imports a valiant Man; and upon an Altar found in *Lorraine*, and represented in *F. Calmet*, that God is named *Salsan* or *Hercules* of the Rocks (1).

#### JUPITER, or TARANIS.

That *Jupiter* was known and worshipped by the *Gauls*, is a Thing not to be doubted: For, besides that *Cæsar* puts him among the Gods of that Nation, he is represented in the Bas-Reliefs of *Paris* with the Word *Jovis*, which is his true Name, since the *Celts*, as has been already said in the History of the *Titans*, called him *Iou*, or the Youth. Mount *Iou* in the *Alps*, called by the *Latins*, *Mons Jovis*, which was consecrated to him, and still bears the same Name, proves both that this God was held in Veneration in the *Gauls*, and that *Iou*, whereof *Jovis* is the Genitive, was his true Name. The Day of the Week that went by his Name, *Dies Jovis*, is still pronounced in all the southern Provinces of *France*, *Di-Jov*. But whether was this God known to the *Gauls* only from the Time of the Ro-

man

(1) Hist. of *Lorraine*.

*man* Conquest, or in antient Times? As to this, Opinions are divided: For my Part, I am persuaded that the *Gauls* worshipped this God before the *Romans*; and since the *Titans* had conquered the *Gauls*, and penetrated into the Heart of *Spain*, as has been said in their History, 'tis more probable, that so soon as that celebrated Conqueror was deified, he was worshipped in all the Bounds of his Empire. The *Gauls* gave him the Name *Taranis*, as we are told by *Lucian*, and offered to him human Sacrifices as they did to *Efus*. We have already said elsewhere (1), that the Sirname of *Taranis* answered to that of *Jupiter* the Thunderer among the *Romans*; which proves that they both looked upon him as the God who had Thunder and Lightning at his Command (a). However, that warlike Nation did not reckon *Jupiter* or *Taranis* the first of their Gods, *Efus* or *Mars* was their first and greatest Divinity.

In the mean Time we may suppose, as the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls* remarks (2), that from what Time the *Romans* became Masters of the *Gauls*, the Worship of *Efus* gradually diminished, and that no later than the Time of *Tiberius*, *Jupiter* was become the first God of the *Gauls*.

As for the Statues of the *Jupiter* of that People, the Antiquaries justly look upon them as Monuments that did not begin to appear till they were conquered by the *Romans*; for in antient Times they represented that God only under the Form of an unpolished Oak not cut; whereas the Statues that are transmitted to us resemble pretty much those of the *Romans* both in Taste and in their Symbols. In that which is upon one of the Stones of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*; this God has his Bosom and Right-arm naked, holding a Pike in his Left-hand, and the Right was probably armed with the Thunderbolt, which Time has defaced, or which the Workmen have broke. Another Figure of

(1) History of *Jupiter*, l. 1.

(a) The Word *Taranis* is Celtic in its Original, and comes from *Taran*, which in that Language signifies *Thunder*, or *to thunder*.

(2) Tom. I. l. 2. c. 2.

of the same God, which was formerly at Mount *Iou*, represented him slightly covered with a Cloak, which reached down from his left Shoulder, having the Arms extended, with a radiant Crown, and the Thunderbolt in the Right-hand. Time has preserved to us some others; but they have nothing singular in them (*a*).

## C H A P. VII.

*Of the Gods of the Gauls whom Cæsar names.*

WE have already observed, that a Conqueror, embarrassed with a thousand Cares, has but little Time to inform himself about the Religion of the People whom he subdues; consequently 'tis no Wonder, 1. Tho' *Julius Cæsar* names but five of the *Gallic* Gods, having known neither those whom we have mentioned in the preceding Chapter, nor those whom we are to speak of in the Sequel. 2. Tho' he says that *Mercury* was their principal Divinity, since 'tis certain that it was *Ejus*. However, here are the five whom he names (1), *Mercury*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*.

The *Gauls*, says he, pay the highest Worship to their God *Mercury*, of whom they have a great Number of Statues, and make him the Inventor of all Arts, the God of Traders and Merchants (*b*). *Cæsar* does not say that the *Gauls* gave this God another Name; whereas I am apt to believe, that antiently they knew him not under the Name of *Mercury*, but under that of *Teutates*; but as he saw the Resemblance between the latter and the *Mercury* of the *Romans*, he gave him the same Name as they did, without troubling himself about the Name which he had in the Country. For, in short, 'tis certain that the *Gauls* called

(*a*) See *Montf. Antiq.* v. 1. and *The Hist. of the Religion of the Gauls*, v. 1. l. 2. c. 8.

(1) De Bell. Gall. l. 6.

(*b*) Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; ejus sunt plurima simulachra: Hunc omnium inventorem artium serunt. De Bell. Gall. l. 6.

that this God *Teutates*, as we are told by *Lucan* (1), that they sacrificed to him human Victims, as well *Efus*. *Lactantius* (2) speaks of him in the same manner as the Poet whom I have now quoted: The Poet, says he, propitiated their God *Teutates* by the offering of human Blood. *Minutius Felix* (3) says the same, as do all who have made Mention of this God. The *Spaniards* likewise worshipped *Teutates*, the Name is plainly derived from *Thot*, who was *Mercury* of the *Egyptians*, and of some other neighbouring Nations, I am persuaded that those had Knowledge of him from the *Carthaginians*, and they communicated it to the *Gauls*; for the Religion of those two People had a great Deal of Affinity as we shall see hereafter.

It will, no Doubt, be objected, that most of the Images of *Mercury* that have been dug up at different Places, resemble those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and have the same Symbols, and consequently that it was from them, and not from the *Egyptians* or *Carthaginians*, that the *Gauls* received the Knowledge of him. I answer, we must have Recourse to the two Periods of Time I have distinguished in the Religion of this People. In the first, they knew *Mercury* only under the Name of *Teutates*, and represented him in several Manners, all of them pretty singular, as may be seen in *Montfaucon* (4), who has given the Figures of great many of them. In the second, namely, when they were subject to the *Romans*, they adjusted their own Idea of this God to that which their Conquerors had of him, and represented him in the same Manner with them. This Distinction will often be necessary, as we shall see in the Thread of our Discourse. Besides, as the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Carthaginians*, had all received from *Egypt* the first Knowledge of this God, tho' by different Colonies, they all both have conceived much the same Idea of him, since

(1) *Pharf. l. 1.* (2) *Div. Inst. l. 1. c. 21.* (3) *Ch. 39.*  
*Ant. Exp. Vol. I. Part 2.*

since the *Egyptians* themselves accounted him the Inventer of Letters, of Arts, &c.

*B E L E N U S, or A P O L L O.*

The same *Cæsar*, when he says the *Gauls* worshipped *Apollo*, adds, that they had much the same Sentiments of that God with other Nations, believing him to be the God who removed Diseases; *Eandem fere quam relique gentes habent opinionem, Apollinem morbos depellere* (1). The *Gauls* worshipped this God under the Name of *Belenus*, as is asserted by almost all the Antients, tho' *Cæsar* says nothing of it. *M. Della Torrè*, Bishop of *Hadria*, has made a learned Dissertation upon *Belenus*, wherein he proves that this God had been highly adored at *Aquileia* in *Friuli*, as appears from a great Number of Inscriptions found in that City, and quoted by *Gruter* and *Reinsius*. From *Aquileia*, according to that learned Prelate, the Worship of *Belenus* was introduced among the People of *Noricum*, pretty near to *Aquileia*, as he proves from *Tertullian* (2), who says in his Apologetic, Every People, every City has its tutelar God; the *Syrians*, *Astarté*; the *Arabians*, *Disares*; the People of *Noricum*, *Belenus*, &c. This same Worship, continues he, after having been received in several other Countries, passed at last into the *Gauls*, where *Belenus* became one of the great Divinities of that People (a); but of all the Provinces of the *Gauls*, there was none where he was more worshipped than in *Auvergne* (3) where his Name was a little changed, since upon an Inscription quoted by *Gabriel Simeoni*, he is called *Bellinus*; and in *Aquitania*, or in *Britany*, as may be proved by the Authority of *Ausonius* (4), who being of *Bordeaux*, was very capable to know the Gods and Religion of that Province.

The

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Apol. c. 24.

(a) *Reinsius* does not make the Worship of *Belenus* to have been propagated in the same Order. He pretends, on the Contrary, that it was brought by the *Gauls* into *Aquileia*; but his Sentiment is overthrown by *M. della Torrè*.

(3) See La descript. de la Limagne d'Auvergne. (4) De Prof. Burd. Car. 4 & 10.

The *Gauls* communicated the Knowledge of *Belenus* to the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, who worshipped him, as we are told by *Selden* (1), under the Name of *Belertuades*. *Monfieur de Valois*, in his Account of the *Gauls*, finds also in several other Provinces of those People, Vestiges of the Worship of *Belenus*; and neither he nor the Bishop of *Hadria*, nor the other Authors, make any Doubt of his being the same with the *Apollo* whom *Cæsar* speaks of, as is confirmed by the Inscriptions, which usually join the Name of *Belenus* to that of *Apollo*, *Apollini Beleno*.

If it be now asked, whence came the Worship of *Belenus* to *Aquileia*, and from thence to the other Countries we have named, and what is the Signification of the Name, I answer, that the Name may come from *Bélos*, an *Arrow*, or with *Vossius* (2), that it was propagated from *Syria* or *Phœnicia*, and that it is the same with *Bel*, or *Beelshamen*, that is to say, the *Sun*. The Author now cited is not alone in this Opinion, *Bochart* (3), *Selden* (4), *Reinsius*, *Spon* (5), in a Word, all the Mythologists agree to it, so that to quote Testimonies would be needless.

Though the Authority of the Authors now named be of very great Weight to prove *Belenus* to be the *Bel* of the *Syrians*, yet the Bishop of *Hadria* does not side with them, but opens a new Opinion. He proves, in the first Place, the Distinction between the *Sun* and *Apollo*, upon the same Principles which I have made Use of in speaking of the *Sun* (6), whence he proves, that *Belenus* was indeed the same with *Apollo*; but that he was quite distinct from the *Sun*: The Inscriptions designing *Apollo Belenus*, but never *Sol Belenus*; and by Consequence, he could not be the *Bel* of the *Syrians*, who in Truth was the *Sun*, and not *Apollo*, nor be derived from that Part of the East, where anciently they knew only the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*.

After having demonstrated this Article, the learned  
Pre-

(1) De Diis Syr. Synt. 2. c. 1. (2) De Orig. & Progr. Idol. l. 2. c. 17. (3) Geog. Sacr. Part 1. c. 14. (4) De Diis Syr. Syn. 2. c. 7. (5) Misc. Sect. 4. Art. 1. (6) B. 1.

Prelate is of Opinion, that *Belenus* is the same with *Helenus* the Son of *Priam*; the Change of the Aspiration into the Consonant *B*, being a very small Affair. *Antenor*, says he, having set out from *Troy* with *Pyrrhus*, both of them consulted *Helenus*, who, as every Body knows, practised the Art of Prediction; and as he let each of those Leaders know the Course of their Adventures, *Antenor* having crossed the *Adriatic* (for *Pyrrhus* settled in the Western Parts of *Greece*, which from thence got his Name) came into the Eastern Parts of *Italy*, pretty near *Aquileia*, and made *Helenus* be worshipped as a God, who had Insight into Futurity, which was the Reason of confounding him afterwards with *Apollo*. From that Part of *Italy*, the Worship of *Helenus* passed into the *Gauls*, as has been said; or perhaps, adds the Author whose Sentiment I am delivering, some of the *Trojans* who accompanied *Antenor*, left him at the Time of his crossing the *Adriatic* Gulf, came and settled in the *Gauls*, and there established the Worship of this new God.

But to proceed, we are ignorant of the Nature of that Worship which the *Gauls* paid to *Belenus*; and no Author has said that human Victims were offered to him, as to *Esus* and *Tentates*. *Ausonius* (1) speaks of his Priests; but as to the Sacrifices that were offered to him, he gives us no Information; all that he says upon the Subject amounting only to this: That *Attius*, of the Race of the *Druids*, was over the Service of the Temple of *Belenus*, and that he had the Surname of *Palera*; for this was the Name given to the Ministers of *Apollo* by those who were initiated into the Mysteries (a); and in another Place he makes mention of an old Man named *Phæbitius*, a *Druid*, who had been Sacristan of the Temple of the same God; but from all these one may even conclude, that

(1) Loc. cit.

(a) . . . . Sic ministros nuncupant

*Apollinares mystici*. . . . . *Auson.* loc. cit.

*Non reticebo senem, nomine Phæbitium,*

*Qui Beleni Aedituus, nil opus inde tulit.* Id. ibid.



that the *Belenus* of the *Gauls*, as I said at first, was the *Apollo* mentioned by *Cesar*.

Besides the Inscriptions that make Mention of *Belenus*, and which are very numerous, we find also in the *Gauls*, some Monuments of this God. The most curious one is undoubtedly that radiant Head, with a large open Mouth, so long preserved in the Castle of *Polignac*, a Print whereof was given, for the first Time, by *Gabriel Simeoni*. It represents *Apollo* delivering Oracles, as he is thought to have done from a Temple which he had at *Polignac*, a Name derived from that of *Apollo* himself.

The third God of the *Gauls*, whom *Cesar* names, is *Mars*; but as he, among them, was the same with *Hesus*, I shall add nothing to what I have said of him in the preceding Chapter.

#### M I N E R V A.

*Cesar*, in the last Place, names *Minerva* among the Divinities of the *Gauls*; but we learn nothing concerning her from Antiquity, whether they had got the Worship of her from the *Egyptians* by the *Phœnicians*, or by the *Cartaginians*, who trafficked upon their Coasts; or if they only received it after the *Romans* became Masters of their Country; and what Idea they had of this Goddess, all these are Questions which we cannot now determine. What we know is, that this Goddess was called in the *Gauls*, *Belisana*, and that she was reckoned the Inventress of Arts.

The Antiquaries think they observe upon *Cussy's* Pillar the *Gallic Minerva*. The Helmet she wears is ornamented with a Tuft of Feathers, and the Goddess is leaning upon the Trunk of a Tree, clad in a Tunic without Sleeves, over which is the Robe named *Peplum*, which covers her Body. She has her Feet across, and her Head reclining upon her right Hand. Her Attitude is that of a Person in profound Meditation: Bating this, she has no Resemblance to the *Greek* and *Roman* Figures of this Goddess, and has not the *Egis*, like them.

To conclude, as among the Figures that are represented

sented upon the Pillar I have now mentioned, that is that of a Man who has his Hands bound, with a dejected Air, seeming to wait till the *Druid* to give the deadly Blow, and who is undoubtedly Prisoner whom they were going to sacrifice, it follows, that it was not only to *Esus* and *Teutates* his Sacrifices were offered, but also to the other (and particularly to *Minerva*, who is upon this Monument.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of some other Gallic Gods : Of Peninus, Ab  
Dolichenus and Mithras.*

WE have seen in the preceding Chapter, that the *Gauls* worshipped *Apollo* under the Name of *Belenus*, and that this God was not the same, however, they paid religious Worship to that Larynx, though under other Names. First the *Peninians* or *Penins*, whence that Chain of Mountains derived its Name, as we learn from *Titus Livius* *Guichenon*, in his History of *Savoy* (1), has preserved to us the Inscription that was upon the Pedestal of a fine Statue that represented this God under the Form of a young Man naked, which was conceived in the following Terms, *L. Lucilius Deo Penino Optimo Maximo dedit.*

We must not however dissemble what we are told by *Cato* and *Servius* (2), that this was not a God, but a Goddess, whom the one calls *Penina*, and the other *Apenina*; but both the Figure and the Inscription inform us of the contrary. The Historian of *Savoy* joins these Words: *Upon the Mountain of Little Bernard, which belongs to the Valley of Aoste, is a Statue of Marble fourteen Foot high, dedicated formerly to the God Peninus, upon which was a Carbuncle,*

Pen

(a) Neque Mehercule montibus his. . . . ab transitu  
rum nomen inditum, sed ab eo quem, in summo sacrorum  
Penninum montani appellant. Dec 3. l. 11. n. 38.

(1) Tom. 1. (2) In 3 *Æn.*

*Peninus's Eye.* The Statue of that God was afterwards carried off, and that of *Jupiter* put in its Place; and then the Carbuncle was called *Jupiter's Eye*. 'Tis certain, however, that notwithstanding this Change, the Worship of *Peninus* was not abolished, and the Mountaineers continued to pay Adoration to him.

The Learned are at a Loss to find out what God this *Peninus* was. It would appear at first Sight that he was *Jupiter* himself, as the Epithets of *Optimus Maximus* seem to insinuate: But the Author of the *History of the Religion of the Gauls*, proves solidly (1) that he was the Sun, and that the Eye which we have been speaking of was the same with the Eye of *Osiris*, who in *Egypt* represented the Sun, as I have proved in his History; but not to dwell longer upon this Article, I refer to the Author whom I have quoted.

*A B E L L I O.*

In the Country of the *Cominges*, they adored the God *Abellio*, as appears from three Inscriptions quoted by *Gruter*. That Antiquary, followed herein by *Reinartus*, is persuaded that this God was the same with *Belenus*, worshipped through all *Gaul*, and the last pretends even to derive the Name of *Abellio* from that of *Belenus*.

*D O L I C H E N I U S.*

In digging the Port of *Marseilles* (2), was found a Groupe of Marble eleven or twelve Feet high, which represented the God *Dolichenus* standing upon a Bull, below which was an Eagle displayed. *Charles Patin* got this fine Marble engraved, and then the learned *Spon* adorned with it his curious Miscellanies of Antiquity. As the Figure of the God is in compleat Armour, he was taken at first for the God *Mars*. The Author of the History of the *Gallæ* Religion, is persuaded, that it is the Sun; or at least *Jupiter Sol*; but I hold to the Sentiment of *Spon*, who takes it to be *Jupiter* himself: And he relies upon an Inscription consecrated to that God, with this Surname, *Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolichenno*, &c.

T 2

The

(1) V. i. p. 404. & seq. (2) In 1658.

The Name of *Dolicbenius* came from *Asia*, and particularly from the Province of *Comagena*, where, according to *Stephanus*, particular Worship was paid to *Jupiter Dolicheus*, whence the Inhabitants themselves were denominated *Dolicbenians* : But I refer to what I have said of this God in the History of *Jupiter*.

## M I T H R A S.

That the *Persian* God *Mitbras* was worshipped in the *Gauls*, is an uncontested Fact. A Figure of this God found at *Lyons*, and designed first by *Gabriel Simeoni* (1), and then by *Spon* (2), and *F. Menestrier* (3), upon which is the Inscription, *Deo invicto Mithra Secundinus dat*, proves it sufficiently.

When *Simeoni* got the Print of this Figure, it had the Head of a Woman, and that Head is not now upon it, which perplexes the Antiquaries: For in short, say they, *Mitbras* was a Male God, and not a Goddess, and the Inscription so designs him : But not to mention here, that they may mistake for a Woman's Face that of a young Man, who never waxes old, whereby the Sun was represented ; 'tis certain that among the *Persians*, as I have proved by the Authority of *Herodotus*, *Mitbras* likewise represented the Moon : Thus the *Gauls* might have figured him like a Woman. But I have discoursed so fully of this God in the third Volume (4), that I have nothing here to add, only would have it remarked, that his Worship had passed into the *Gauls* in the Manner as I have said at the Beginning of that Book.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of other Gods worshipped in the Gauls : Berecynthia, Saturn, Pluto, Proserpine and Bacchus.*

**S** AINT *Gregory* of *Tours* (5) informs us, that our *Gauls* worshipped *Cybele*, whom they called *Berecynthia*, from the Name of Mount *Berecynthus* in *Phrygia*, where she was said to be born ; adding, that their

Ido-

(1) Descrip. de la Limagne d'Auvergne. (2) Recher. des Ant. de Lyon. (3) Hist. of Lyons. (4) L. 7. (5) In Vita S. Simpl.

Idolatry towards this Goddess was continued down even to the fourth Century. One Day, says that Writer, as they were leading *Berecynthia* through the Fields and Vineyards, in a Chariot drawn by Oxen, for the Preservation of the Fruits of the Earth, and is the Multitude that followed sung and danced before that Idol, *S. Simplicius*, affected with the Blindness of that idolatrous Herd, having prayed and made the Sign of the Cross, the Statue fell to the Ground, and the Oxen remained immoveable. They offered Victims, and beat the Oxen to make them go forward; but all their Efforts being in vain, there were some of them abandoned that foolish Superstition for ever, and embraced the Christian Religion. The Acts of *S. Symphorian*, published by Don Ruinart, confirm one Part of the Recital of *Gregory of Tours*, since we there read, that on a Day consecrated to the Feast of that Goddess, her Statue was drawn by Oxen: But besides these two Authorities, our Antiquaries think they discover the Ceremony which the *Gauls* practised in honour of this Goddess, upon a Coin quoted by *Bouteroue*, which on one Side represents a Chariot drawn by two Oxen, whereon is a Goddess standing.

But we must observe, that this Coin, which is thought to be that of the Inhabitants of *Evreux*, exhibits only one Part of the Chariot, namely that where the Goddess is.

As the *Romans* celebrated such another Feast in honour of this Divinity, 'tis probable that it was from them the *Gauls* learned the Worship of *Cybele*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1) tells us, that *Julian* the Emperor, when he was going to *Persia*, having arrived at *Callinice* a City in *Syria*, on the sixth Day before the Kalends of *April*, or the twenty seventh of *March*, a Day on which they celebrated the Feast in question, stop'd there to perform the Ceremony after the Manner of the *Romans*, who carried about in Procession the Statue of the Mother of the Gods in a Chariot, and

T 3

went

(1) L. 23.

went and washed her in the River *Almon* (a). This Feast, mark'd in the *Roman* Kalendar, and mentioned also by *Ovid* in his *Fasts*, was called *Lavatio*.

*Vibius Sequester* (1), speaking of the Brook *Almon*, says that it was the Custom to wash therein every Year on the sixth of the Kalends of *April*, the Statue of the Mother of the *Go's*. The Poet *Prudentius*, who also gives a Description of this Feast, observes, That all the People of Quality in *Rome* attended the Ceremony bare-footed; and others inform us, that it was frequented by the whole Neighbourhood. Upon their Return, the Procession re-entered *Rome*, surrounded with burning Torches, and Tapers. As every People retained or rejected what they pleased of foreign Ceremonies which they adopted, so it does not appear that the *Gauls* had retained this of washing the Statue of their *Berecynthia*.

But be that as it will, this Ceremony, practised by the *Romans*, and then by the *Gauls*, was derived, like all the rest, from the *Egyptians*, who, as we read in *Clemens Alexandrinus* (2), carried about in their Processions, which they termed *νομαδίας*, the golden Statues of their Gods, two Dogs, an Hawk and an Ibis.

We may observe, that in the Year 1689, there was found in the Garden of M. *Berrier* at the Depth of two Fathoms, under the Ruins of an old Tower, a fine Head of *Cybele*. This Figure, whose Face is bigger than the Life, was taken at first for that of *Isis*, a Goddess peculiarly worshipped at *Paris*, as shall be said afterwards; but 'tis more probable that it is *Cybele*, though those two Goddesses were often confounded with one another.

There has been another dug up since at the Foot of *Montmartre*, which is of Bronze: The Face thereof is smaller than that of the other now mentioned, and the Turret upon its Head somewhat different. Such are the Monuments and Authorities that prove our ancient *Gauls* to have paid religious Worship to *Cybele*.

S A

1) *Almon Romæ ubi Mater Deorum Sexto Kal. Apr. Lavatur.*  
 2) *De Flumin.* (2) *Strom.* l. 5.

## S A T U R N.

There is no Doubt but the *Gauls*, after having worshipped Gods unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as has been shewn, adopted afterwards a great Part of the Gods of those two Nations, and at the same Time many of their Fables; of which the following is a very plain Example. *Plutarch* (1) makes one *Demetrius* say, that having visited a certain Island in the Neighbourhood of *England*, he was told that *Saturn* was in another Island not far off, buried in deep Sleep which served for Chains to him, where *Briareus* was his Keeper. 'Tis easy to see the Affinity this Fiction has to what we have related in the History of the *Titans*: But yet I am persuaded that it was not immediately from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, but from the *Carthaginians* that the *Gauls* had received the Worship of *Saturn*. The Reason whereof is very obvious, since these as well as those offered up to him human Sacrifices; whereas when the *Romans* had conquered the *Gauls*, this impious and barbarous Custom had been for a long Time abolished among those Conquerors.

That the *Gauls* offered such Victims to *Saturn* is a certain Fact: *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (2) says so expressly; and *St. Augustine* (3) informs us not only that *Varro* was of this Opinion; but also that he believed they offered in Sacrifice full-grown Men, while the *Carthaginians*, who had adopted the Worship paid by the *Phœnicians* to *Moloch*, the same as *Saturn*, sacrificed to him only Children.

*PLUTO and other Infernal Gods.*

*Cæsar* in his Commentaries (4) tells us that they pretended to be all descended from *Pluto*: *Gallis se omnes a Dite patre progenitos prædicant*; and consequently one might expect in the History of their Religion to meet with several Vestiges of the Worship they paid to this God: And yet we find little or nothing of it. An Inscription upon the Frontispiece of a Temple, quoted by *Gruter* (5), but whose Antiquity is contro-

T 4

verted:

(1) Treat. of the Cess. of Oracles. (2) L. 1. (3) De Civ. Dei. l. 7. (4) L. 6. (5) P. 112.

verted: A dubious Statue upon the Pillar of *Cussi*, and an Expression in *S. Eloy*, who lived about the End of the seventh Century, and which names *Pluto* among the other Gods of *Gaul*; these are all the Proofs of his having been worshipped by that Nation.

As for *Proserpine*, whom they reckoned their Mother, *Strabo* (1) informs us, that she had a Temple in the *Gauls*, served after the Manner of the *Somobracians*.

An Inscription found at *Nismes*, and another at *Metz*, prove that they also paid religious Worship to the *Parcæ*, and to *Erebus*. Lastly a third, dug up in the Forest of *Bellesme*, explained by the late M. *Baudelot*, and conceived in these Terms,

D I I S I N F E R I S  
V E N E R I  
M A R T I E T  
M E R C U R I O  
S A C R U M.

informs us, that they reckoned these three among the infernal Divinities. 'Tis easy to see the Reason why they put *Venus* there, especially in confounding her with *Libitina*, *Venus Libitinaea infera*, the Antients informing us, that at funeral Obsequies the same Victims used to be offered to her as to *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and the other infernal Gods.

As for *Mars*, I don't know that over the *Greeks* and *Romans* reckoned him of the Order of the infernal Gods. Perhaps our ancient *Gauls* might design thereby to point out to us, that so bloody a Deity, who was continually peopling *Pluto's* Kingdom, had a good Title to a Place among the Gods of Hell.

As to *Mercury*, there is no Manner of Difficulty: That God, who was sometimes in *Olympus*, sometimes in the Regions of the Dead, whither he conducted Souls, was equally a celestial and infernal God.

B A C C H U S.

*Bacchus* was peculiarly worshipped in the *Gauls*, as  
is

(1) L. 4.



is proved by several Monuments found in different Places: But he was so especially in a little Island situated at the Mouth of the *Loire*; and as his Temple (*a*) was served by Women, who celebrated the *Orgies* there, much the same Way as in *Greece*, 'tis probable that it was from the *Oriental*s they had both received his Worship. *Strabo* (1), who speaks of this Island and of the Worship therein paid to *Bacchus*, adds that the Women whom I have now mentioned, took off every Year and put on again on the same Day the Roof of this Edifice, and that before the Sun was set; and that in the same Space of Time they celebrated the *Orgies*, and were agitated with that fanatic Fury which seized them; and that if any one of them, by a Thrust from the rest, or by any other Accident, let fall the Load which she was carrying, either in taking off or putting on the Roof, her Companions fell upon her, and tore her in Pieces; a Madness unknown to the *Greeks*! Which proves that every Country added or retrenched something in the Worship they had received from other People.

Several Antiquaries take the *Bacchus* of the *Gauls* to have been the same with *Cernunnos*, whom we have mentioned above, in regard that both of them had Horns; but as other Gods had them too, this I presume is no Reason for confounding them together.

## C H A P. X.

Ceres, Proserpine, Diana, and the Moon, Isis and Telephorus.

**I**T sometimes happens that when Authorities fail, Recourse is had to some Monuments discovered in a Country, to prove that the Gods represented by them had been worshipped there; though 'tis possible that those Monuments brought from some other Place, may have been there collected upon the Fall of Houses or Temples,

(*a*) This was at best but a very small Chapel, as appears from what follows.

(1) L. 4.

Temples, when they had been deposited either through Design or otherwise; this is what we are to think of *Ceres* worshipped in the *Gauls*. *Montfaucon*, in the second Volume of his *Antiquity explained*, has given a Print of an Altar, upon one of the Faces of which is a *Ceres* with a Torch in each Hand, a Symbol that alludes, as has been said in her History, to the Pains she had been at in searching for her Daughter, whom *Pluto* had carried off.

'Tis true, in a small Island near the Coasts of *Great Britain*, there was a Temple to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, and the Worship of those two Divinities, as we are told by *Artemidorus*, cited by *Strabo* (1), had a Mixture of the Ceremonies of that which was paid them by the *Samothracians*; but as in antient Times the *Gauls* had no Temples, we are from thence to conclude, that they had not the Knowledge of those two Divinities till the Conquest of the *Romans*.

#### D I A N A.

*Diana* was highly adored in the *Gauls*, especially in the Forest of *Ardenne*, whence she got the Name of *Arduina*, under which she was known to those People. This Forest, very spacious of old, was consecrated to her, and was properly her Temple. Accordingly, says the Author of the *Gallic Religion* (2), we may judge of the Antiquity of the Worship of *Diana* in the *Gauls*, from the Antientness of her Name; for it is not to be doubted but that the *Celtic* Name *Arduina*, a Word compounded of *Ar* and *Duen*, which imports *black, gloomy*, and is therefore applicable to Forests, is derived from the Forest which the *Romans* called *Arduenna*: Now 'tis certain that she had this Name long before the *Romans* were Masters of *Gaul*. Though after their Arrival the *Gauls* had accommodated their Ideas of their Gods to those of the Conquerors, yet the Worship which they paid to this Goddess was long kept up, and she still retained the same Name; those too who left the *Gauls*, and went and settled elsewhere, still preserved it to her; so faithful were they

to

(1) Geogr. l. 4. (2) T. II. l. 4. p. 44.

their antient Customs, as to observe them religiously  
 en in the midst of Strangers; and this is confirmed  
 some Inscriptions found in *Italy*, where *Diana* is al-  
 ys named *Arduina*.

As to what remains, the *Gauls*, in the main, had  
 the same Sentiments of their *Diana* as the  
*Greeks* and *Romans*, and reckoned her a chaste and  
 Virgin-Goddes, who made Hunting her whole Study.

nothing is harder to abolish than antient reli-  
 gious Customs, the Worship of *Arduina* continued in  
 the *Ardenne*s, and in the neighbouring Countries up  
 the *Rhine*, even a good Time after Christianity got  
 footing, when several Saints, Bishops, or Religious,  
 found the greatest Difficulty imaginable to abolish it.

The M O O N.

Though Antiquity has often confounded *Diana*  
 with the *Moon*, as I have proved in the History of  
 celestial Gods, yet 'tis certain, that they were more  
 frequently distinguished; and whether the *Gauls* had  
 derived Part of their Religion from the *Persians*, or  
 from some other *Oriental* Nations, they distinguished,  
 between them, those two Divinities. The Author of the  
 History of the *Gallic* Religion, proves by a great  
 number of Testimonies (1), that the Worship of the  
*Moon* was diffused all over *Gaul*; and that I may not  
 weary him, I refer the Reader to the Book itself.

It was this Goddess, according to him, that was  
 particularly worshipped in the Island of *Sain*, situated  
 on the South-Coast of the *Lower Britany*, opposite  
 the Province of *Cornouaille*; though *M. de Valois*  
 will have it to be *Mercury* that was worshipped  
 that small Island. 'Tis true, *Pomponius Mela* (3),  
 who speaks of the Oracle that was in that Isle, does  
 not name the Divinity who delivered it; but there are  
 many Proofs of its having been the *Moon*, that  
 there is no standing out against the Opinion of the  
 learned *Benedictine*, whom I have named. Further,  
 the Oracle was served by young Virgins: They were  
 nine in Number, though at first they were but six.

Those

(1) T. II. l. 4. (2) Account of the *Gauls*. (3) L. 3. c. 6.

Those Virgins, *Druideſſes* by Profeſſion, vowed inviolable Chſtity to the Goddeſs whom they ſerved, and lived much after the Manner of the *Roman Veſtals*.

If we may rely upon the Authors who have given Account of them, they were often conſulted, eſpecially for Navigation, and it was firmly believed that good or bad Weather depended upon them, and that the Winds and Tempeſts were at their Diſpoſal. The Notion that prevailed of their being able, when they pleaſed, to mount up in the Air, diſappear or become viſible as they had a mind, contributed not a little to the great Reputation they had acquired. Nothing was ſo much talked off as their nocturnal Aſſemblies, the Prodigies they wrought : In a Word, they were looked upon as real Witches who kept their Sabbaths. Nothing is more celebrated among the Antients than thoſe pretended Sorcererſſes of the Iſland of *Sain*, whom they deſigned by the Name of *Gallicæ*.

Farther, they were alſo named *Senæ*, either from their being at firſt only ſix in Number, or becauſe this Name was originally *Celtic*, and ſignified, *reſpectable, venerable*. From this Name was the Iſland which they inhabited called *Sain*.

#### I S I S.

Though I am very far from giving into the Notion of moſt Authors of the Antiquities of *Paris*, who alledge that the Name of this Iſland comes from *Iſis*, *para Iſidos*, yet it is certain, this Goddeſs was highly adored in the *Gauls*. Her Statue, which was formerly in the Church of *S. Germain des Prez*, and which Cardinal *Brignonet*, who was the Abbot thereof, cauſed to be demolished and reduced to Aſhes ; an Inſcription found at *Soiſſons* ; the City of *Melun*, which upon receiving the Worſhip of this Goddeſs, changed its Name from *Melodunum* into that of *Iſeos*, or *Iſea* ; the Town of *Iſſi*, near *Paris*, whoſe Name ſeems evidently derived from that of *Iſis* ; the Statue dug up in the Ground of *M. Berrier*, which reſembles that of *Iſis*, as much as *Cybele's*, if indeed *Iſis* and *Cybele* were not one and the ſame Divinity ; in fine, the Worſhip

ship of this Goddess established in *Germany* (1), chiefly among the *Suevi*, whose Religion had so much Affinity to that of the *Gauls*, whose Original was the same with theirs: All these are undeniable Proofs that *Isis* was worshipped in the *Gauls* (a).

If a Medal of the *Segusians*, which is thought to have been struck before *Cæsar's* Arrival in the *Gauls*, and which on one Side represents the capital City of that People, and on the other a *Hercules* with a small Figure, covered from Head to Foot; if, I say, this Child is *Telephorus*, as some Authors believe, this will be a Proof that the *Gauls* paid some Worship to that God of Health; and I am the more willing to give him a Place here, that *Isis* was also taken for a Goddess who presided over Health, under the Name of *Isis Medica*, as has been said in her History.

## C H A P. XI.

*Other Gallic Divinities, deified Cities, &c.*

**U**PON the Gate of the *Hotel-Dieu* of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, was formerly a very singular Figure, representing a *Gallic* Divinity, whereof *Gabriel Simeoni* has given a Print in his *Histoire de la Limagne d' Auvergne*. This Figure is a Woman's Head, with Wings displayed above, and two large Scales that rise out of the Place where are the Ears; this Head is encompassed with two Serpents, whose Tails lose themselves in the two Wings.

*Simeoni* seeing these two Serpents, took the Head for that of *Medusa*; and 'tis indeed that of a young and beautiful Person, as that *Gorgon* was before her Crime had provoked the Indignation of *Minerva*, who transformed her fine Hair into Serpents; but here the Head has its Hair in very good Order, and the Serpents don't seem to make a Part of it.

The Author of the History of the *Gallic* Religion, who

(1) See the subsequent Book.

(a) We shall enquire, in speaking of the Religion of the antient *Germans*, whence they might have received the Worship of that Goddess.

who gives the Name of *Onusva* to the Divinity whom this Head represents, is persuaded that it is the *Venus Celestis*, or the *Derceto* of the *Phœnicians*, who, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, was worshipped at *Ascalon*, under a Figure which had a Woman's Head, and the rest of its Body terminating in a Fish (1). That Author adds, that as this Figure is only a Bust, the rest of the Body could not be there represented; but that the Scales which we have mentioned, give us plainly to understand what it would have been, had the Figure been represented at full Length. Then, having Recourse to what Antiquity informs us concerning *Oannes*, *Oen*, and other Sea Monsters (a), the lower Part of whose Body was a Fish's Tail, and concerning Serpents that were acknowledged for Divinities in several Places, he displays a great Deal of Erudition.

*Marcel*, in his History of *France*, takes this Figure to have been a Hieroglyphic, and a lively Expression of the Mysteries of *Belenus*, one of the great *Gallie* Divinities. For my Part, I am persuaded that this Head is neither *Medusa*, for the Reason I have given; nor yet *Derceto*; for 'tis a mere Conjecture, and quite without Foundation, to alledge that the rest of the Body would have been represented like a Fish, had it been drawn at full Length: No more than a Head was designed, nor indeed would any more have been proper; it is a full Expression of what it was intended to represent; nor yet is it *Belenus*, whom I have proved to have been distinguished from the Sun, nor only among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but also among our antient *Gauls*: But I am of Opinion that it is the Sun himself; for besides one's being inclined to judge thus at first Sight from his Youthfulness and radiant Air, his Wings sufficiently express the Rapidity of his Course, and the Serpents that twine themselves about his Head, plainly denote that he moves round the World in an oblique Circle. May we not farther pre-

sume,

(1) See Vol. 1. B. 7.

(a) See what has been said of them in the third Book of the first Volume.

sume, that the two Scales that are in Form of Fins, point out to us that this Luminary surveys the Sea as well as the Land ?

Our antient *Gauls* adored several other Divinities, as the *Sulevæ*, the *Commodevæ*, the *Dufii*, the *Sylvatics*, &c. whom we shall speak of in the Article of the Mother-Goddeffes, as also several other Gods and rural Demi-Gods, not unlike the *Fauns* and *Satyrs* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Lastly, other *Genii*, whom they believed to frequent Houses, and to love the Commerce of Women. These last were called among them *Dufii*. St. *Augustine* (1), speaking of those *Genii*, compares them for their Incontinence to the *Sylvans*, *Fauns*, and *Satyrs*, and even goes the Length of asserting, that after the Testimony concerning those Spirits given by Persons worthy of Credit, it would be Impudence to deny that there are some Demons that court the Company of Women. These *Dufii*, whom *Isidorus* of *Seville* (2), says the *Gauls* named *les Velus Pilesti*, from their being overgrown with Hair, were those pretended *Incubi* and *Sucubi*, who in every Thing resembled the *Ephialtes* of the *Greeks*.

I have no Mind to enlarge upon this Subject, nor upon all the Reveries of a Set of Mystics, which is founded only upon these and the like fantastical Notions. I shall only say, that never was Opinion more general, nor of longer Duration, than that which admitted those Spirits of whom the World was believed to be full, as has been already remarked.

Some Antiquaries pretend that the God *Syleianus*, known only by an Inscription found at *Feurs* in the Forest, was one of those *Dufii*, or *Pilesti*, whom we have mentioned. But 'tis more probable that this is the God *Sylvanus*, who, as I said in the Article of the terrestrial Gods, was worshipped in the *Gauls*, where was a College of his Priests, as at *Rome*, and in several other Places.

*Deified Cities.*

The *Gauls*, once subjected to the *Romans*, adopted

not

(1) De Civ. Dei. l. 15. (2) Orig. l. 8.

not only several of their Divinities, as we have remarked more than once, but they also, like them, deified their Cities. Thus they ranked among their Goddeses the antient City of the *Edui*, which *Cæsar* and *Strabo* call *Bibraëte*, and which is thought to be *Autun*, tho' *M. de Valois* (1) will have it to be another City; but as the Inscription that speaks of this Goddes, and begins with these Words, *Deæ Bibraëti*, &c. was found (2) at *Autun* itself, in the Bottom of a Well filled up Time immemorial, 'tis probable that *Bibraëte* and *Autun* were the same Town.

Another Inscription dug up at *Vaison*, conceived in these Terms,

MARTI  
ET VASIONI  
TACITUS.

confirms that this City had also received the Honour of Deification, as well as that of *Perigueux*, *Nismes*, and several others.

Besides these deified Cities, the *Gauls* acknowledged *Genii*, who took Care of each particular Province and Canton, as is proved by the Inscription quoted by the learned Father *Sirmond* in his Notes upon *Sydonius Apollinaris*; *Genio Arvernorum Sex. Orcius Suavis Eduus*.

But to lay open the Foundation of this Part of the Pagan Mythology, we must make two Reflections. The first is, what I have from the Author of the History of the *Gallie Religion* (3), that as for the Deification of Cities, we are to know that the Intention of the Authors of those Deifications was to consecrate every City to a certain Divinity, whose Name was sometimes the Name of the City itself, as we see in the Inscriptions of *Bibraëte*, *Vaison*, *Nismes*, &c. and sometimes it was different.

The Foundation of the Worship that they afterwards paid to those Cities, or rather to the *Genius* who protected them, and became their tutelar Divinity,

was

(1) *Not. des Gaules* upon the Word *Angustodanum*. (2) In 1619.  
(3) Vol. 11. l. 4. p. 206.



was to engage them to take Care of them; to defend them against Enemies; and to remove from them all Evils with which they might be distressed; such as epidemical Distempers, and other Calamities.

The second, which I have already made upon another Occasion, is, that the Names of those tutelar *Genii* were kept secret, lest coming to be known, they should be conjured away; and at last be forced to abandon the Cities that were committed to their Charge, to pass into others, where a more solemn Worship was promised them.

Besides the tutelar Gods I have been now speaking of, there were few Cities in the *Gauls* but had one for whom they had a singular Veneration; witness several Inscriptions quoted by *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, and *Spon*.

But I must not forget the Goddess *Tutela* worshipped at *Bordeaux*, where she had a magnificent Temple, if indeed it was a particular Divinity; for this Name appears to be rather a generical Name than an appellative. Learned Antiquaries take her to have been a Divinity peculiar to Sailors and Merchants who trafficked upon the Rivers; in regard it was a common Practice to put upon their Ships the Figures of certain Gods who gave Names to them; and were called by the Antients *Tutela Navis*; *The Tutelar Divinity of the Ship*, as has been said, when we were upon the Gods *Pataici* (1); but 'tis more natural to think that this *Tutela* was the Patroness of the City *Bordeaux*, as what we have now read seems to prove.

Be that as it will, this Goddess had a Temple in that City, which is called at this Day *the Pillars of Tutela*. It was an oblong Peristyle, each Face of which was supported by eight Columns, and the two Extremities by six. Each of those Columns was so high, that it rose above the highest Edifices of the City. *Louis XIV* ordered the arched Roofs of this Temple to be demolished, which Time had already damaged, in order to form the *Glacis* which is before the *Château Trompette*.

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U

I shall

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I shall say nothing of some other Gods of the *Gauls*, whose Names occur upon Inscriptions, since Antiquity gives us no Information about them. Such is the God *Lebeven*, in Honour of whom *Domesticus*, the Son of *Rufus*, paid the Vow which he had made to him, as appears by an Inscription found at *St. Bertrand*, the Capital of the Country of *Cominges*. *Keisler*, I know, alledges that he was a Sea-god, but upon what Foundation I know not ; for I have not heard whether he has published the Dissertation upon this God which he had promised (1).

Another Inscription found in the same Country names *Boccus*, whom *Gruter*, who has quoted it, takes to be a God ; but this is all he lets us know about him ; or about *Bacurdus*, whose Name is read in an Inscription of *Cologne* (2) ; or about the propitious Gods, *propitius Deis*, who are mentioned upon another Inscription of *Narbonne*. Whether these were particular Gods, or all the beneficent Deities in general, is what I cannot determine.

The Reader will be little wiser when I have named the Goddess *Aventia*, whose Name appears upon some Inscriptions found in the *Swiss Cantons*, and *Movistargus*, whose Name occurs upon another Inscription dug up at *Alise* in *Burgundy* ; and tho' it may give him a little more Light concerning the Gods called *Arboni*, to know that they were worshipped in *Gascony*, and that *Hesychius* reckons they presided over the public Games and Combats ; yet I should but lose Time, and my Reader's Patience, to insist on a *Verjugodannus* worshipped at *Amiens*, or in that Neighbourhood, where was found the Inscription quoted by *Ducange* (3), a *Dulovius* who was worshipped at *Vaison* in the *Venaissin* County ; and therefore I choose rather to proceed to Divinities more known, as are the Mother-Goddesses, of whom I have deferred the Account till now, because they belong equally to the *Gauls*, the *Spanish*, the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, and the *Germans* ; the In-

(1) *Gruter*, p. 1174. (2) *Id.* p. 86. (3) *Diff. sur les Mers. de l'Emp.* n. 54.

scriptions that make Mention of them, having been dug up in these several Countries.

## C H A P. XII.

### *Of the Mother-Goddeffes.*

**I**N this Chapter I am to examine who were the *Mother-Goddeffes* in the Pagan World, their Number, their Functions, what Sort of Worship was paid to them, in what Countries they were adored; and lastly, what was their Original.

Among the Monuments we have now remaining of those Goddeffes, there are some *Bas-reliefs*, and a vast many Inscriptions (*a*). The first of the *Bas-reliefs* is at *Metz* upon the Frontispiece of an antient Temple. There we see three Figures of Women standing, two of them holding Fruits like Pine-apples in their Hands; the third seems to have some of them wrapped up in her Robe, with this Inscription :

*Those of the Street, or of the Village of Peace, have consecrated to the Mothers this Monument of the Glory of the imperial House.*

The second is at *Lyons*, upon the Gate of the Church of *Aisnay* (1). It represents likewise three Women, but in a sitting Posture, with much the same Air, and the same Draperies as those on the Monument of *Metz*. She in the Middle holds in her Hand a *Cornucopia*, with Fruits in her Lap; the other two hold an Apple in each Hand; the Inscription bears, *Matribus Augusti*.

The third is at *Munster-Eilden*, in the Dutchy of *Juliers* (2). There we see also three Goddeffes sitting, whose Laps are full of Fruits, with this Inscription :

*Tiberius Claudius Maternus has discharged his Vow to the Mothers or Matrons of Valcblendorf.*

At the Bottom of the *Bas-reliefs* is to be seen a  
U 2 Priest

(*a*) See *Spon*, *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, the Treatise upon the Religion of the antient *Gauls*, and my Dissertation upon the *Mother-Goddeffes*, printed in the seventh Volume of the *Academy of the Belles Lettres*.

(1) *Menest. Hist. conf. de Lyon.* (2) *Gruter*, p. 91.

Priest and Priestess, accompanied with a *Camillus* or Minister.

The fourth and last was found in a Town of *Zeland* (1), and it represents three Goddesses sitting, by whom is a Priestess standing, while the *Camillus*, who accompanies her, is pouring a Liquor upon the Altar, whose Sides are charged with *Cornucopias*.

From these Monuments and Inscriptions the Learned have delivered their Conjectures with respect to those Goddesses. *F. Menestrier* (2) was of Opinion at first that they were but three in Number, and that they denoted the three *Gauls*: But he had not considered that the three *Gauls* are represented by three Mens Heads; as may be seen upon a Medal of *Galba*, with these Words, *Tres Gallie*. Accordingly that Author quitted this Notion afterwards.

*M. Keisler* has made a Dissertation some Years ago, to prove that the *Mother-Goddesses* were the Wives of the *Druids*, who were in high Veneration among the antient *Gauls*, and he chiefly relies upon *Cesar's* calling them *Matres Familias*, and upon *Plutarch's* giving them the Epithet of *Sacred*: But we may ask this Author, why the *Gauls* had deified only three of those Priestesses? Were they not all equally consecrated to the Worship of the Gods? Did they not all profess to have the Gift of Prediction? And did not their Ministration render them all equally respected?

Other Authors (3) have contented themselves with saying that the Mothers were rural Divinities, honoured in the *Gauls* and in *Germany* by the Country People; as if their Worship had not been known in the Cities: For, were there no more but the Monuments of *Metz* and *Lyon*, it would still be certain that celebrated Cities worshipped those Goddesses.

Lastly, *Bockart*, and after him *F. Menestrier*, would have those three Goddesses to be the *Parce*; and this Opinion, which those two Authors had not well examined, has been supported with a great Deal of Erudition

(1) *Keisler's* Diss. (2) *Hist. Conf. de Lyon*. (3) *Cberrier's* *Hist. of Dauphiny*.

chap. XII. explained by HISTORY.

tion by the Author of the History of the Religion of the antient *Gauls*.

All these Antiquaries agree in two Things. The first is, that the *Mother-Goddesses* were only known in the *Gauls* and *Germany*, since, say they, we hardly find any other Inscriptions or Monuments of them out of these two Countries. 2. That their Worship is of no great antiquity, since the most antient Inscription now extant, goes no higher than the Time of *Septimius Severus*.

For my Part, I am of Opinion that these three Goddesses derived their Original neither from the *Gauls* nor *Germans*, and that their Worship is much more antient than is commonly believed. In support of these two Propositions, I am first to speak of the several Countries where Traces are to be found of the Worship of those Goddesses; and, in the second Place, trace their History to its Original. The Proof of the first Proposition will not be difficult. 'Tis certain, in the first Place, that they were known in *Spain*; the Proof of which we have three Inscriptions: One found at *Gironne*, the other in *Arragon*, and a third in *Catalonia*. There have been three of them discovered in *Ireland* \*. Here then, without going further, is the Worship of those Goddesses established in *Spain* and *Ireland*. It will not be objected, that these two Nations received it immediately from the *Germans* and *Scythians*; for this will be a begging of the Question; it might be alledged with as much Probability, that the *Spaniards* had the Knowledge of these three Goddesses from the *Phœnicians*, who had travelled into *Spain* before ever the *Gauls* had penetrated thither. At it is very probable that both had received them from the *Romans*, and other People in *Italy*, among whom we find a World of such Inscriptions in Honour of *Ceres*, the *Mothers*, the *Matrons*, the *Junones*, like Divinities. But the *Romans* themselves were the first who worshipped these Goddesses: they learned from the *Greeks*, to whom those Di-

vinities were not unknown, to pay them religious Worship; and this is what has been little considered by those who have treated this Subject: For, not to mention their *Mother Plafene*; who, according to *Pausanias* (1), had a Temple upon Mount *Sypilus*; *Spon* (2) has preserved to us a *Greek* Inscription of the *Mother-Goddeses*, ΑΦΗ, ΜΑΤΡΑΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΟΙΣ; that is, *To Mars, to the Mothers, and to the Discuri*.

The *Greeks* received most of their Divinities from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, by the Colonies that came and settled in their Country. Those Colonies, before they arrived in *Greece*, had left Traces of their Religion in the Islands thro' which they passed; and if in some of those Islands we find the Knowledge of the *Mother-Goddeses*, 'tis not to be doubted but that their Worship is originally from *Phœnicia*. A Passage of *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Marcellus*, evidently proves that they were very well known, and peculiarly worshipped in *Sicily*, and that they had got the Knowledge of them from the *Cretans*, a *Phœnician* Colony. I make use of M. *Dacier's* Translation. "There is in *Sicily* a City called *Enguia*, which is of "very great Antiquity, and especially famed for the "Appearance of the Goddeses whom they call *Mo-* " *thers*, ἡς καλεῖσσι Μητέρας. We are assured that their "Temple was founded by the *Cretans*. There are "to be seen in it great Spears and Helmets of Brass, "whereof some bear the Name of *Merion*, others "that of *Ulysses*, who had consecrated them to those "Goddeses." Then *Plutarch* tells us, that this City favouring the *Carthaginians*, *Nicias*, one of the chief Citizens, who was for the *Romans*, finding they had a Design to deliver him up to the Enemy, thought of a singular Stratagem to extricate himself. He began by talking dishonourably of those *Mother-Goddeses* and their pretended Appearances; then, as the People were one Day assembled, he feigned all of a sudden to be delirious and frantick, crying out with all his  
Might,

(1) In *Eliac*. (2) C. 13. p. 136.

Might, that he saw those Goddesses ready to take Vengeance upon him. He fell a running about, and while all made Way for him, he by this Means got out of the City, and repaired to a Place where his Wife and his whole Family were waiting for him.

From this Passage it appears that the *Phœnicians* were Worshippers of the *Mother-Goddesses*, and that from the earliest Times; for, since it was they, according to *Plutarch*, had built the Temple of *Enguia* in Honour of these Goddesses, we may conclude that they had a high Veneration for their Persons. Farther, it would seem to have been a prevailing Opinion that they terrified People by their Apparitions; and this perhaps is the Reason why *Theocritus* (1), speaking of the three Nymphs, whom he names *Eunica*, *Malis*, and *Nicea*, who were probably the same with the *Mother-Goddesses*, says they were a Terror to the Country People.

To what we have now quoted, *Diodorus Siculus* adds that *Merion*, after the Siege of *Troy*, having gone to *Sicily* with some *Cretans*, built there a Temple in Honour of these Goddesses, which was afterwards in high Veneration. We are told, continues this Historian, that it was from *Crete* where these Goddesses were exceedingly revered, and from *Enguia*, that their Worship had been brought into *Sicily*. The mythological Historians, adds the same Author, relate that it was by those Goddesses *Jupiter* of old had been nursed, without the Knowledge of his Father *Saturn*; and that in Recompence for this Piece of Service that God had given them a Place in Heaven, where they form the Constellation of the great Bear; and the Poet *Aratus* has followed this Tradition in his Poem called *Phænomena*. We could not pass over in Silence, continues he, the high Honour which the Devotion of People has conferred upon these Goddesses: For not only the Inhabitants of *Enguia*, but also their Neighbours, offer to them costly Sacrifices, and pay them extraordinary Honours. Several Cities were even enjoined by

(1) Idyl. 13. v. 44.

the Oracles of *Apoll'o* to give them Homage, with a Promise of long Life, and all Kinds of Prosperity to their Inhabitants in so doing. In fine, their Worship came to be so much in Vogue, that in the Time of *Diodorus's* writing his History, the Inhabitants of the Country continued to bring them numerous Oblations of Gold and Silver, and but a few Years before had erected to them a Temple, distinguished not only for its Grandeur, but also for the Elegance of its Architecture. This Temple became extremely opulent, since among its Revenues were reckoned three thousand Oxen, and a vast Extent of Ground.

*Phanicia* therefore is the Country whence the Worship of the *Mother-Goddesses* had derived its Original; and this is also the Opinion of *Selden* (1), tho' he confounds them with *Astarte*, who, according to him, was the Mother of all the Gods. The *Syrians* multiplied their *Astartè*, and made several of them, whom they named *A'caprai*, whence other People formed their *Cybele*, their *Vesta*, and the *Mother-Goddesses*. Thus it was from the eastern Nations that the Knowledge of these Goddesses came; and since in the *Greek* Inscription of them now remaining, and in one of those from *England*, they are joined with *Mars* and the *Discuri*, or the Sons of *Jupiter*, we cannot doubt of their Antiquity.

But if we would trace back to the first Original of these Goddesses, we should perhaps find it in the ancient Tradition, which held that the World was stored with beneficent or malignant *Genii*. Never was Tradition more universal. To this is owing the Original of *Elves* and their Dens, of *Sylphs*, *Gnomes*, and all the wild Notions invented by the *Cabala*.

In fine, to assign another Original, which will belong more particularly to some of the *Mother-Goddesses*, 'tis very probable that the *Germans* and *Gauls*, who had a peculiar Respect and Veneration for their Women, ranked among them, after the Example of other Nations from whom they had received their Religion,

(1) De Diis Syr. Synt. 2.



gion, those who had distinguished themselves either by their Valour, or by the Invention of some useful Art, or by excelling therein. Thus the *Egyptians* had their *Isis*, the *Africans* their *Minerva Tritonia*, the *Phœnicians* their *Derceto*, the *Greeks* their Mother *Plastena*; lastly, the *Allemands* their *Velleda* (1); for the Name of their Mother-Goddesses has not been transmitted down to us.

As to what remains, we know nothing very particular concerning the Worship that was paid to those Goddesses. No Doubt it was the same with that of other rural Divinities; and we may very well conjecture, from their carrying on the *Bas-reliefs* we have now extant, Flowers and Fruits in their Hands, that these were the Matter of the Sacrifices that was offered to them, as well as to the other rural Deities. Honey and Milk were Ingredients in the Oblations that were made them. We may conclude too, from the *Bas-reliefs* of *Zeland*, that there were Priests consecrated to them, and that the Liquor which the Minister pours out upon the Altar, consists of Milk or Wine.

They sacrificed to them also the Hog. This is what appears in the *Bas-reliefs* of *Rome*, upon which are represented Ministers killing one of those Victims, to offer it to the Goddesses, who are there named *Sulve* and *Campestres*, and were the same with the Mother-Goddesses or *Matrons*. We may remark, by the Way, that the Hog was sacrificed to *Bacchus*, and to the rural Divinities, because that Animal makes great Devastation in the Fields, Gardens, and Vineyards; and for the same Reason the Sow used to be sacrificed to *Ceres*.

The *Gauls*, who paid particular Worship to the Mother-Goddesses, built for them little Chapels, which were termed *Cancelli*, brought thither their Offerings, lighted small Tapers in them, and after pronouncing some mystical Words over Bread and certain Herbs, they withdrew those Offerings from the Chapel, and went and hid them either in a hollow Path, or in the  
Trunks

(1) Cæsar. Com. l. 6.

Trunks of some Trees, believing that by so doing they secured their Flocks from contagious Distempers, and even from Death itself. To this Rite they joined several other Pieces of Superstition, whereof a particular Account may be seen in the old Acts of our Kings, known by the Name of *Capitularies*, and in the antient Rituals where they are prohibited.

These are the more probable Conjectures I had to offer upon a Subject not much minded by other Mythologists. 'Tis surprizing that those who have given ample and learned Treatises upon the Pagan Gods, as *Gerard Vossius*, and even those who had given particular ones upon the Divinities of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, have not examined more narrowly into this Subject. For we are to make no Account of what is said of it by *Schoedius*, who barely copies the few Hints upon it offered by *Selden*.

From the whole we conclude, 1. That the *Mother-Goddeses* were Divinities common to several Nations, and that the Names which they bear in Inscriptions, were the Names of the Places where they were worshipped. Thus those wherein we read *Matribus Gallicis*, denoted the *Mother-goddeses* of *Gallicia*: And accordingly the Monument upon which is this Inscription, was found at *Corona*, a City in *Gallicia*. The Mothers of *Vaccelli* are those of an old Town in antient *Germany*, which *Grüter* names *Vachlendorf*. The *Rumanææ*, those who were worshipped at *Rbumanæim* in the Country of *Juliers*; and so of others.

2. That the Goddeses were peculiarly worshipped in the *Gauls* and in *Germany*, since in these two Countries were found most of the Monuments now extant; but that it is a Mistake to alledge, that among these two People they had their Original; since they were known in several other Places.

3. That they presided over the Fields and the Fruits of the Earth; whereof the Cornucopia which they bear upon Monuments, and the Fruits that were offered to them in Sacrifice, are convincing Proofs. It cannot however be denied, whatever some Antiquaries may

may say, that they were worshipped in the Cities, as appears from the Monument of *Lyons*, and from some others, as has been said.

4. That their Worship was not limited to rural Things, since they were invoked not only for the Health of the Emperors and their Families, but also for that of private Persons ; In Proof of which I shall offer two Examples. The first is taken from an Inscription found in *Pannonia*, to this Effect : T. Pompilianus Tribune of the Soldiers of the first Legion Minervia, has discharged his Vow by offering an Altar and a Table to the Matrons of *Ossen*, and to the Mothers of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, which Vow he had made for the Preservation of the Emperor *Sept. Severus*, and his whole Family. The other Inscription which relates to private Persons, is conceived in these Terms : Julius Regulus, Soldier of the sixth Legion the Antonian, cheerfully pays the Vow which he had made to the Mother-Goddesses, for himself and his Family.

5. That I had Reason to alledge that the Mother-Goddesses were often confounded with the particular Genii of each Place, or with the *Junones*, who were the Genii of the Women ; with the *Suleve*, the *Commodeve*, the *Matrons*, the *Silvatice*, and other such rural Divinities. Of all the Examples I might bring in Proof of this last Proposition, I shall single out but two : Others are to be found in *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, *Spon*, and the other Antiquaries. These I take from the Inscriptions of the *Gabians*, whereof the one cited by *Stephen Broelman* (1) in his History of *Cologne*, is conceived in these Terms : *Matronis Gabiabus*. The other which we find in *Gruter*, Page 91, bears, *Junonibus Gabiabus* : Whereby it evidently appears, that the *Junones*, the *Genii*, and such like Divinities, were the same with the Mother-Goddesses. It appears likewise from all that I have said, that their Worship was not confined to the *Gauls* and *Germans* alone, since it was as antient as that of the other Pagan Divinities ; and that their true Original is to be traced in *Phenicia*, whence

(1) Specim. Hist. Agrip.

whence came most of the Gods known in the West.

6. Lastly, that the Mother-Goddesses were served by Priestesses, and that their Priesthood was called *Sacer Matratas*, as you would say, *The sacred Order of the Mother*. Upon an Inscription found not long ago near *Cologne*, upon an Altar dedicated to the Goddess *Semele* and her Sisters, we find the *Regina Materna* who had the Oversight of the Worship of those Goddesses, is designed Priestess of the Ladies or Mother-Goddesses of the Place, and that she herself had erected that Monument in Acknowledgment of the Honour done her in being invested with that Priesthood. *Regina Materna ob honorem sacri Matratas aram posuit*. Hence we may conclude, that the Daughters of *Cadmus*, *Semele*, *Autonoe*, *Ino*, and *Agave*, were looked upon in the *Gauls* and *Germany* as Mother-Goddesses, since *Regina Materna*, who values herself on being Priestess of these Goddesses, was one of the Daughters of *Cadmus*; for the Reasoning of the Author of a Dissertation upon this Inscription, published in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, *July*, 1738, to me appears just. I suppose, says the Author, that the *Sacer Matratas* implied the Right of Sacerdotal Dignity or of Priesthood to the Goddesses, to whom the Altar in Question is dedicated; and as this was to *Semele* and her Sisters, and as this *Materna* is there said to be Mother born, and further to be honoured with the sacred Dignity of the *Matratas*, 'tis natural to conclude from hence that the same Dignity was what concerned the Worship of *Semele* and her Sisters, who consequently must needs have been Mother-Goddesses of the Canton where the Inscription was dug up.

But whatever be in that, 'tis certain from the Discovery of this Monument, that the Worship of the Daughters of *Cadmus* had been propagated to the *Gauls* and into *Germany*, and that we are to reckon those four Goddesses among those who were there the Objects of Adoration.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Of the Religion of the Inhabitants of Great Britain.*

I Shall not insist long upon the Religion of that People, because it was almost entirely like that of our *Gauls*; the Divinities, Worship, and Priesthood the same.

*Tacitus* (1) expressly says, that the *Angles* had the same Superstitions with the *Gauls*, as also the same Fierceness in Battle, and much the same Language. *Cesar* (2) had the same Opinion with *Tacitus*, and the other Historians differ from them but little. In the Beginning of this Book we have seen that the *Druids* were equally respected in *Britain* as in the *Gauls*; that among both they were Ministers of Religion, and that those of the former were even accounted more knowing and intelligent than those of the *Gauls*, who sent their Students to be instructed by them in the more profound Mysteries. The *Angles*, as well as the *Gauls*, had other subaltern Ministers, the *Bards*, and the *Eubages*, who had the same Functions among both: It has been also remarked, that the same *Britons*, as well as the *Gauls*, paid a particular Worship to the Mother-Goddeses, and that their Monuments had been dug up among them, as well as in the *Gauls*.

We may add farther, that according to *Cambden* and *Seldon* (3), their God *Balatucadua* was the same with the *Belenus* or *Apollo* of our *Gauls*, and that both Nations paid him the same Worship; that they both worshipped *Dis*, or *Pluto*, and *Samothres*. In fine, to compleat the Parallel, *Tacitus* (4), and *Dion Cassius* (5), tell us that they both offered to their Gods human Sacrifices.

'Tis proper however to observe, 1. That as *England* was invaded by different Nations, especially by the *Picts* and *Saxons*, not to mention others, 'tis very probable that those Conquerors introduced thither the  
Know-

(1) In Agric. c. 11. (2) De Bell. Gall. l. 6. (3) De Diis Syr. Syn. 2. c. 3. (4) Loc. cit. (5) L. 6c.

Knowledge of some of their Gods: And of this Number perhaps was their *Andate*, the Goddess of Victory, to whom they paid particular Worship.

I observe, in the second Place, that we are here to apply the same Distinction which we had Recourse to in the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, namely, that we must have Respect to the Period of Time; and that the Religion of the *Angles* could not but assume a new Shape, upon their being conquered by the *Romans*, who undoubtedly also introduced among them the Knowledge of several of their Gods.

3. That as it is certain the *Phœnicians* from the earliest Times had great Commerce with *Britain*, whence they exported every Year a vast Quantity of Tin, they perhaps had left them the Knowledge of some of their Gods. I say perhaps, because no Vestiges thereof have been found in the Country; besides, it is not usual for Merchants to talk about Subjects of Religion with those among whom they come only to trade, and in whose Ports they only spend as much Time as is necessary for making up their Cargoes. This accounts for our being so little acquainted with the Gods of that People, to whom we should have been yet greater Strangers had it not been for their Nearness to the *Gauls*, whose Religion is better known to us.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*Of the Religion of the antient Iberians or Spaniards.*

IT is not, I think, to be doubted that the antient *Spaniards* received their Religion first from the *Phœnicians*, and then from the *Cartaginians*. 'Tis certain, as the late M. *Huet*, Bishop of *Auranches*, has proved in his learned Treatise of *the Commerce of the Antients*, that both those Nations had great Commerce with the *Spaniards*, especially with those who inhabited *Betica*, the present *Andalusia*, where they came principally to traffic in Gold, which was then very common in that Country. This being supposed,

it

Chap. XIV. *explained by HISTORY.* 303

it appears evident, that both those Nations would teach them a Part of their Religion, and introduce among them the Worship of some of their Divinities. The Fact at least is certain as to the *Phanician Hercules*, he who is said to have raised upon the Borders of the Ocean those famous Pillars, to shew that this was the Extremity of the known World, and that there was no passing farther. This *Hercules* accordingly, was highly adored afterwards in the Country, and Antiquity makes mention more than once of the famous Temple which he had at *Gades*, or *Cadiz*. And yet, either for Want of antient Historians, or for Want of Curiosity on the Part of the Inhabitants, there are few Countries in the World whose Religion is less known to us than that of the antient *Spaniards*. The Historians, especially *Mariana*, who make *Spain* to have been peopled by a Colony planted by *Tubal*, about an hundred and thirty one Years after the Deluge, vent nothing but Fables, no less gross than ill matched.

Not but that some antient Monuments have been dug up in that Country from Time to Time; but most of them have been quite mangled, and all we can draw from them is mere Conjecture almost quite destitute of Proofs. Several of them have been dug up in different Places, with *Hercules's* Name upon them: Which proves that the Worship of that God had passed from *Cadiz*, where it was first established, into the neighbouring Provinces.

We also read upon a good many more that are to be seen in *Gruter* and *Reinesius*, the Name of *Endovellicus* joined with that of *Hercules*, and sometimes by itself; and most of those Monuments have been dug up near the City *Osca*, the present *Villa Viciosa*. No body doubts but this *Endovellicus* was a God peculiar to *Spain*: But whether he was the same with *Hercules*, as some Authors alledge, or a different Person, is not easy to determine. However, as in one of those Inscriptions we read

HER-

HERCULI P.

ENDOVELL.

TOLEET. V. V.

DEIS TUTELARIBUS.

It would seem that these two Gods were distinguished in *Spain*; for if they had been the same, we should have had Tutelary God, and not Gods in the Plural.

As we know not what Sort of God this was whom they worshipped in *Spain*, the only Country where his Name has been found, the Learned have given themselves Scope, and vented several Conjectures on this Subject. Some are of Opinion, that it was the God *Mars*, who was worshipped in *Spain*, as we shall see afterwards: Others have alledged, that he was the *Cupid* of the antient *Iberians*, or *Hercules* himself, both their Names being found in one of those Inscriptions; but not to dwell on this, I refer the Curious to the Dissertation of *Reinesius*, to that of an *Allemand*, who takes the Name of *Ludovicus Alpbitanus*, and lastly, to that of M. *Freret*, whereof a Copy is printed in the Historical Part of the third Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1).

We also learn from the Antients, that the *Spaniards* worshipped *Pluto*, or rather *Muth*, or *Death*, as did the *Phenicians* (a). And those who admit the History of the *Titans*, in the Manner as I have given it, will find no Difficulty to believe that they worshipped this Prince in the Country which fell to his Lot, and where he ended his Days.

*Mercury*, or *Teutates*, was a God very much revered among the *Spaniards*, as he was among the *Gauls*. *Titus Livius* (2) tells us there was at new *Carthage* an Eminence, which was called *Mercury Teutates*; and I doubt not, as I have already said, but that the *Spaniards* had received the Knowledge of this God immediately from the *Phenicians* or *Carthaginians*, and afterwards communicated it to the *Gauls*; but whether the former offered to him human Sacrifices, as these did;

(1) P. 191.

(a) See the Fragment of *Sanctiamboni*, Vol. 1. B. 2.

(2) Dec. 4. l. 6. c. 41.



did, is not known. 'Tis however very probable that both of them gave him the same Worship, since it was derived to them in the same Way. Besides, we learn from *Strabo* (1), that the *Lusitanians*, now the *Portuguese*, a People in *Spain*, offered to their Gods the Captives whom they had taken in War; and as that Author gives a pretty circumstantiated Account of this Matter, I shall quote what he says upon it. "The *Lusitanians*, says he, frequently offer Sacrifices, and carefully consider the Entrails of the Victim, without however making any Incision upon them. They observe with the same Attention the Veins, especially those of the Sides, and make Use of the same Entrails in Divination, by touching them with the Hand. To the same Use they apply those of the Captives whom they have offered in Sacrifice, after having covered their dead Carcasses with Cassocks. After they have cut out their Entrails, the Soothsayer draws the Omen from the Carcase itself; then cutting off their Hands, they consecrate them to their Gods."

That People worshipped likewise the God *Mars*, as we are told by the same Author (2), and to him they sacrificed Goats, Horses, and their Captives. They offered also, after the Manner of the *Greeks*, Hecatombs upon certain Occasions. What was singular herein, the Inhabitants of *Cadiz* represented this God like *Apollo*, or rather the *Sun*, having his Head encircled with Rays, from a Belief that the Heat of the Blood and violent Motion of the Spirits, which, according to them, formed Warriors, were immediately produced by the Sun.

*Strabo* does not inform us what Name they gave to the God of War; but as *Macrobius* says, the *Accitaniens*, another People of *Spain*, paid also a particular Worship to the same God, whom they called *Neton* (a), 'tis very probable that the *Lusitanians* gave him the same Name.

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X

The

(1) L. 7. p. 106. (2) Ibid.

(a) Simulachrum Martis radiis ornatum magna religione colebatur, *Neton* vocantes, *Sat.* l. 6. c. 19.

The *Celtiberians*, as we are told by *Strabo*, and those who inhabited towards the northern Parts of *Spain*, worshipped an anonymous God, a God unknown; and the Worship which they paid to him, consisted in assembling together, each with his own Family, at the full Moon, to dance all Night by the Gates of their Houses.

This is nearly what we know as to the Religion of the antient *Spaniards*, or *Iberians*; but as they had received several of their Gods from the *Gauls*, as well as communicated to them the Knowledge of some of theirs, hence the Religions of both People bore a considerable Resemblance to one another: However, we nowhere find that the *Spaniards* had *Druids*, and consequently their Priesthood was different from that of the *Gauls*.



## B O O K VII.

*Of the Religion of the antient Germans, and some other Northern Nations.*

WITHOUT entering into the Question debated among the Learned, whether the *Gauls* peopled *Germany*, as some are of Opinion, or rather, if it was not the *Germans* who first came from the North, that gradually extended themselves to the South, and spread over *Gaul* and *Spain*, which I reckon more probable; 'tis at least certain that both these Nations were *Celtæ*, and had the same Original. Hence that Conformity in Religion, which so remarkable, that they worshipped almost all the same Gods. Neither of them had any other Temples but the sacred Groves, for which they had a high Veneration; nor other Statues of their Gods, but the

Trees, reckoning it derogatory to the Divinity to represent him in any Manner whatsoever, which is to be understood of both only with Regard to their Primitive Religion. These Groves bore also the Names of the Gods to whom they were consecrated. This Conformity in Religion will make it superfluous for us to dwell long upon that of the antient *Germans*, to which we may apply a Part of what we have said upon that of the *Gauls*.

However, as every People takes a Liberty to make what Innovations they think proper in the Religion of their Forefathers, frequently introducing new Gods in the Place of the old ones; and as they seldom fail to adopt those of the Countries which they come to inhabit, so we shall find some Difference between the Religion of the *Gauls* and that of the *Germans*.

The Priesthood accordingly was not the same: For the *Germans* had not *Druids* like the *Gauls* and Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, tho' each of the three Nations had a great Respect for their Priests. Those of the *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (1), had great Credit, and they alone were permitted to chastise any one, to bind and beat him; and, for the most Part, it was not to punish the Person whom they dealt with, for Faults he had committed, nor was it in Obedience to the Orders of their Superiors, but, said they, because such was the Pleasure of the Gods. Again, it was their Province to remove from the sacred Groves the Representations of their Gods, which they carried into the Field of Battle: What those Representations of their Gods were, the Author does not say; he only assures us, that they had no Statues, so that it seems difficult to reconcile the two Passages which I am going to cite: *Effigies & signa (Deorum) extracta lucis in prelium ferunt . . . . Cæterum nec cobiberi parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilari, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur.* They were probably

(1) De Mor. German.

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some rough Symbols, such as the Sword, by which the *Scythians* represented the God *Mars* (a).

Bating these Particulars, the two Religions bore a great Resemblance to one another. As *Julius Cæsar* of all the Antients has given the fullest Account of the Religion of the *Gauls*, so *Tacitus* is he who has enlarged most upon that of the *Germans*. For whether it was that *Cæsar* did not sufficiently know that People, or that not having conquered them, he was the more indifferent about studying their Manners and Religion; or lastly, that from his Time to *Tacitus*, the Religion and Manners of that antient People had undergone many Changes, the first only says: "The *Germans* own no other Gods but those "whom they see, and from whom they derive some "sensible Benefit, the Sun, *Vulcan*, and the Moon: "As to others, they have not so much as heard of "their Names (b)." *Tacitus*, in his Book intitled *De Moribus Germanorum*, and in several Places of his History, is very full and particular upon this Subject; and I cannot do better than lay together here the whole of what he delivers, with the Addition of some short Reflexions.

In the first Place he says, in the Beginning of that Book, the *Germans* acknowledged a God *Tuiston*, who derived his Original from the Earth, and had a Son named *Mannus*, of whom that People was descended: This *Mannus* had three Sons, who gave their Names to the *Ingæones*, the *Herminones*, and the *Istævones*, to whom were also joined the *Marfi*, the *Gambrivii*, the *Suevi*, and the *Vandals*. As the *Germans* wrote nothing,

(a) The Custom of carrying the Images of the Gods to War, was established among several Nations in *Allemania*, such as the *Cimbres*, the *Ambrians*, the *Germans*, and, to comprehend almost all, the *Celts*; whence the Author of the History of the *Gallie* Religion, Tom. 1. p. 7 concludes, that they had learned this Custom from the *Philistines*, who in like Manner carried their Gods to War, or even from the *Hebrews*, who had frequently in their Camp the Ark of the Covenant.

(b) *Germani Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt, & quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, Vulcanum, Lunam. De Bell. Gall. 1. 6.*

thing, any more than the *Gauls*, it was in Verses got by Heart that those ancient Genealogies were contained.

The *Alleman* Authors, and *Schoedius* in particular, who has composed a very learned Treatise upon the *German* Gods, have tortured themselves in explaining those Genealogies, alledging, that they discovered in the Words quoted by *Tacitus*, Terms of the *Teutonic* Language, which is not without Foundation. For my Part, I am apt to think that *Tuiston*, as to his Original, was quite unknown, and that this is the Reason why he was said to be the Son of the Earth. As for his Son *Mannus*, it signifies, in the Language of the Country, a *Man*. As the same *Tacitus* tells us, that an Ambassador of the *Teneteri*, a *German* Nation near the *Rhine*, gave Thanks to the Gods of the Country, and particularly to *Mars*, Chief among them, in regard that those of *Cologne* were re-united to the *Germanic* Body, we may consequently conclude, that *Mars* was the first and principal God of that warlike Nation ; and *Vossius* (1) thinks he was among the *German*s the same with the Sun : But *Tacitus* says, in another Place, that *Mercury* was their chief God ; *Deorum Maximum Mercurium colunt*, and that they offered to him human Sacrifices. A remote People, in the Extremities of *Germany*, says the same Author (2), worship *Cybele* in a singular Manner, since their Worship consists in carrying, in the Feasts of that Goddess, the Figures of Boars ; which serve instead of Arms Offensive and Defensive, to those who carry them, and shelter them from every Danger, even in the Midst of Fire and Slaughter.

*Tacitus*, in this Place, undoubtedly speaks conformably to the Ideas of the *Romans* : We may however presume, that this Nation paid particular Worship to the Earth, reckoned by all Idolaters the common Mother of Gods and Men. Those Barbarians were probably much addicted to Hunting, and lived upon the Boars they slew, these Animals being common in

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the Forests, and accordingly offered of them to her in Sacrifices; for the Victims were always taken from such Things as were for Food.

“ A Part of the *Suevi*, says he again, sacrifice to *Isis*: How they came to adopt that foreign Divinity is what I know not: Only the Figure of a Galley, under which they represent her, shews that she had been brought to them from some other Place. The same People, continues he, worship the Earth, whom they call *Herta*, and *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods. They are persuaded from the Greatness of the heavenly Objects, that the Gods are not to be fashioned into a Resemblance of human Figures, nor confined within Walls; and therefore, instead of Temples, they consecrate to them Groves and Woods, and give the Names of their Gods to those secret and recluse Places, to which they hardly dare to lift up their Eyes, so great is the Veneration they have for them.”

“ They are more observant than any other Nation, of the Flight of Birds, and make Use of Lots, in which they put great Faith, though their Manner of taking them is very simple. They cut down a Branch of a Fruit Tree, and then divide it into several small Parts, on each of which they put a particular Mark, and then throw them all at random upon a white Vestment. If the Consultation is public, he who presides is the chief Priest of the Nation; if private, it is the Master of the Family, who, after putting up a Prayer to the Gods, and raising his Eyes to Heaven, takes up the Twigs three Times, and interprets them according to the Marks with which they are distinguished. If they are not favourable, they consult no more for that Day; if, on the contrary, they prognosticate good, they likewise have Recourse to the Auspices, which they take from the Chirping and Flight of Birds, and from Horses, which are maintained at the public Charge in those Sacred Groves. The Colour of these Horses is white; and they are never em-

“ ployed in any Work. The Priest, with the King,  
 “ or the Head of the Nation, yoke them in a sacred  
 “ Chariot, go along with them, and observe their  
 “ snorting and neighing ; and there is no Omen on  
 “ which they lay greater Strefs than upon that which  
 “ they take in this Way (a).”

“ They have also another Sort of Omen, to which  
 “ they have Recourse in Time of War, in order to  
 “ know the Event. For this Effect, they endeavour  
 “ by all Means to get one of the Enemy into their  
 “ Hands, whom they match in a Duel with one of  
 “ their own Party ; and they believe the general Ad-  
 “ vantage will be on his Side who gains the Victory  
 “ in the single Combat.”

“ The *Suevi*, continues the same Author, assembled  
 “ together by their Deputies, at a certain Season of  
 “ the Year, in a Wood, which the Religion of the  
 “ Country had consecrated, and ushered in the hor-  
 “ rid Ceremonies by putting a Man to Death. *Stato*  
 “ *tempore in sylvam,*

“ *Auguriis patrum & prisca formidine sacram,*

“ *omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, ca-*  
 “ *soque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda*  
 “ *primordia.*”

To proceed, *Hercules*, according to the same Au-  
 thor, was one of the great Gods of the *Germans*, and  
 to him, as also to *Mars*, they offered animal Sacrifices:  
*Herculem ac Martem concisis animalibus placant.*

The *Nabarvali*, another *German* Nation, had a  
 consecrated Grove, whose Priest was dressed like a  
 Woman. The *Romans* believed that the Gods wor-  
 shipped therein were *Castor* and *Pollux*, in regard they  
 were Brothers, and both young ; but in their Country  
 this God was named *Alcis* (b), and no Statue of him

X 4

was

(a) Almost all the Nations of the World have given into this  
 Superstition mentioned here by *Tacitus*, each of them employing  
 therein particular Rites of their own.

(b) Apud Naharvalos antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur : Præ-  
 sedet sacerdos muliebri ornatu. Sed Deos interpretatione Romana  
 Castorem

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was to be seen. The *Roman* Historians, in short, had no other Foundation for their Opinion but a Tradition, that the *Argonauts*, in their Return from *Colchis*, had embarked again upon certain Rivers, as shall be said in their History (1), and entered into the northern Seas. Probably it was also from the long Wanderings of *Ulysses* they came to say that there were Vestiges of his having been in the same Countries, and that certain Honours were paid to him ; but the Historian himself who relates this Fact, seems to give no Credit to it.

Though the *Germans* had no *Druids*, as has been said, yet it was in the sacred Groves they kept the Representations of their Gods, like the *Gauls* ; and they were not permitted to place them elsewhere. In the same Grove did both of them offer their Sacrifices, and of all Trees the Oak was most respected by each Nation : No Sacrifice was offered, either in the *Gauls* or in *Germany*, till they had first covered the Altar with Leaves and Branches of that Tree. The *Greeks*, to mention it by the Way, did the same ; *Apollonius Rhodius* (2), speaking of the solemn Sacrifice offered by the *Argonauts* before their setting out, says, after raising an Altar upon the Sea-shore, they covered it with Branches and Leaves of the Oak.

I might carry on the Parallel between the Religion of those two People to a greater Length ; but I shall only instance in two other very plain similar Characters. The first is, that in their Religious Assemblies, as well as in those that were merely Civil, both of them appeared in Arms. The second is, that unhappy Conformity in human Sacrifices, which both of them offered up to their Gods. Some modern Authors, I know, will have it, that those two Nations did not really sacrifice Men to their Gods ; that the Ground of the Mistake is, that they actually did put to Death their

*Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ejus numinis nomen, Alcis. Nulla simulachra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium. Ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur. De Mor. Germ. Num. 43.*

(1) *Ibid.* vi. (2) *Argon.* l. 1.



there Captives shut up in those large Machines which, as we said, they made Use of upon that Occasion; but that this barbarous Custom was not a Sacrifice: A mere Allegation which all Antiquity flies in the Face of; for not only *Cæsar*, but *Tacitus*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and many others declare the Fact so peremptorily, that it is not possible to clear our Ancestors from the Impuration. Had I a mind to make a vain Ostentation of Erudition, I might quote all the Passages of those antient Authors, but the Thing is too well known, and at the same Time too certain, to need to be insisted upon at greater Length: Let us return to our antient *Germans*.

*Tacitus*, having spoke of their Gods, goes on to mention several religious Customs that prevailed among them. One of the most singular is what, according to this Historian, was practised in Honour of *Cybele*, or the Earth, who was called in the Country *Herta*, in an Island of the Ocean inhabited by the *Germans*: and though I have mentioned it in the first Volume, yet I judge it proper to quote here the entire Passage of this Author.

“ In an Island of the Ocean is a sacred Grove, in  
 “ the midst whereof a covered Chariot is religiously  
 “ preserved, which none are permitted to touch but  
 “ the Priest; and he alone knows the precise Time  
 “ when the Divinity of the Place vouchsafes her Pre-  
 “ sence therein. Then that Minister yokes in the  
 “ Chariot two Heifers, puts them forward, and accom-  
 “ panies them with profound Veneration. In every  
 “ Place which the Divinity deigns to visit, nothing is  
 “ to be seen but Festivals and Rejoicing: War ceases,  
 “ they lay down their Arms, and this is the only Pe-  
 “ riod that they enjoy Peace and Quiet; which con-  
 “ tinues no longer than till the Priest, perceiving the  
 “ Goddess to grow sick of the Society of Mortals, leads  
 “ her back to the sacred Grove, where the Chariot, the  
 “ Vail with which it was overspread, and the Goddess  
 “ herself, if you will take their Word for it, are plunged  
 “ into a secret Lake, into which the Ministers throw  
 “ themselves in after her. Hence arises among that  
 “ People

“ People a religious Terror, and a holy ignorant Ad-  
 “ miration of what those may be supposed to see who  
 “ thus resolutely perish.”

To these Passages touching the Religion of the an-  
 cient *Germans*, *Tacitus* adds others with respect to their  
 Manners, which are not to my Purpose. I only single  
 out that of their Women, commonly as handsome  
 and pretty as they are chaste and virtuous. The *Ger-  
 mans*, says he, have a vast Value and Respect for their  
 Women, in whom they think they discern something  
 heavenly and divine. They impart to them the Know-  
 ledge of their most secret and most important Affairs;  
 and often even intrust them with the Care thereof, as  
 well as with the Administration of what concerns the  
 public Good. However, they don't go so far, continues  
 he, as to account them Divinities.

From all that I have drawn together from *Cæsar*  
 and *Tacitus*, for the other Antients, *Strabo*, *Mela*, and  
 in a Word, all those who speak of this antient People,  
 are quite silent as to their Religion, it appears, 1.  
 That the *Germans*, especially in the earlier Times,  
 worshipped the Stars and Elements, the Sun, the  
 Moon, the Earth, that is the physical Beings that were  
 the first Gods of all idolatrous Nations. 2. That they  
 wrote nothing, contenting themselves with learning by  
 Heart whatever concerned Religion and the Worship  
 of the Gods. 3. That their only Temples, as well as  
 those of the *Gauls*, were the Woods, which they  
 hardly durst look upon, so great was their Veneration  
 for those sacred Places. 4. That they were forbid to  
 picture and make Images of their Gods; and yet that  
 the former had certain Representations of those same  
 Gods, which they carried to the Field of Battle, though  
 we know not what those symbolical Representations  
 were. 5. That in their Sacrifices they offered up Vic-  
 tims and Animals, as all other idolatrous Nations. 6.  
 That they offered human Sacrifices, especially to *Mer-  
 cury*, and in the Assemblies I have mentioned. 7.  
 That their principal Divinities were the Sun, the  
 Moon, *Mercury*, or rather *Tenitates*; *Vulcan*, *Twiston* the

Son of the Earth, that is an unknown God, *Mars*, or the God of War, *Cybele*, or rather the Earth, *Isis*, *Hercules*, *Alcis*, or *Castor* and *Pollux*, &c. 8. That they were much addicted to the Science of *Augury*, to *Divination*, and other Superstitions that were peculiar to themselves. Lastly, that they had a high Veneration for their Priests, who had a vast Influence over them.

This is the Amount of all that the Antients knew concerning the Religion of the *Germans*; which is not surprizing, those People being very little known to them, and not being subdued till very late; whence I think one may conclude, with a great deal of Reason, that they preserved their primitive Religion longer than the *Gauls*, who were subject to the *Romans* long before them. However, as they were at last subdued in their Turn, there is the highest Probability that they adopted afterwards a Part of the Religion of their Conquerors.

As the Gods whom I have now named are pretty well known, and as I have spoke of them before, it will not be expected I should imitate the Conduct of *Elias Shædius*, who after quoting most of the Passages which I have given, makes a Commentary upon each of them at great Length; goes as far as *Syria* and *Egypt* to trace out the Origin of most of those Gods, and without Judgment or Discernment gives a Display of his Erudition often very preposterously.

I should even have confined myself to what I have now said of the Religion of the antient *Germans*, had not Time preserved to us some Monuments that exhibit Gods whom neither *Cæsar* nor *Tacitus* knew: Of these I shall discourse at some Length in the rest of this Book, after having spoke of the Superstitions of that antient People.

## C H A P. I.

### *Superstitions of the antient People of Germany.*

ONE of the most antient Superstitions of the *Germans*, and at the same Time the most general, since it was also common to the *Swedes* and *Danes*, is that  
of

of the *Alrunæ*, upon which a modern Author has lately published a small Treatise (*a*). This Superstition consisted in having in their Houses small Figures about the Height of half a Foot, or at most a Foot, and very rarely a Foot and a half, representing some Magicians; and these Figures they believed to have so great Virtues, as to have at their Disposal the Lives and Fortunes of Men. These small Figures were made, and are made at this Day (for the Superstition still continues among the Populace) of the Roots of the toughest Plants, especially of the *Mandrake*, and they gave them the Figure of a Woman, rarely of a Man; they dressed them immediately, and kept them laid up in some secret Place, whence they were never taken out but to be consulted. Figures of them may be seen in *Keisler's Celtic Antiquities*; for the Author now cited has given none. *Lambecius*, in his *Catalogue of the Imperial Library*, has given others that are all rough and overgrown with Hair.

I suppose it would be but losing Time to insist on all the fabulous Stories that have been and still are delivered about the Origin of these little Figures, which are thought to be formed of a Plant that grows under the Gibbet from the Urine that drops from a Man who had been unjustly hanged. The Root of this Plant, we are told, entirely resembles a Man; as is said, though without Foundation, of the *Mandrake*. To pull it up is an Enterprize of Danger; for when one forces it, they say, to leave the Soil where it is born, it raises such a loud Cry, as to kill the Man who plucks it. To prevent this Accident, he stops up his Ears close with Wax, as *Ulysses* did, that he might not hear the fatal Song of the *Sirens*; then he fastens the Plant to the Tail of a black Dog, and by presenting to that Animal a Piece of Meat or Bread, makes him strain to jump up, by which Motion he draws with him the fatal Root, and drops down dead with the Noise that it makes. I am

(a) GOTIFR. Christ. ROTHII  
De imaginibus Germanorum magicis, quas ALRUNAS vocant, &c.

I am ashamed to relate such impertinent Stuff; the Story however may have its Use, and mortify the Pride of Man, by shewing him into what Absurdity and Extravagance weak and criminal Curiosity may be carried.

As the Occasion to which the Growth of these *Al-rune* was owing made them very rare, they fell upon a Way to find other Originals to them; but for the most Part they are nothing but Roots which they polish, to which they adapt Members, Hair, &c. to fashion them to such a Resemblance as they desire.

When one has the good Luck to have such Figures in his House or about him, he reckons himself happy, he is no longer apprehensive of Danger, but expects from thence all Sorts of Blessings, especially Health, for 'tis chiefly to that Purpose they are employed. They steep them in Water to procure Fruitfulness to barren Women, and a happy Delivery to those who are pregnant. Diseases the most obstinate to Remedies, even those of Cattle and Flocks, don't hold out against this pretended Specific. Let a Judge be ever so adverse to a Party, he changes his Mind in his Favour, if he has about him one of those Figures; but which is still more wonderful, it discloses all the Secrets of Futurity, and that either by a Motion of the Head, or even by expressing itself in a Manner very intelligible to the happy Persons who have it in their Possession.

We will not be surprized after this, at their esteeming them the most considerable of their Household Gods or *Lares*; at their paying religious Duties to them, and even at their being fain to purchase them at a vast Price rather than be without them; for the Quacks made a publick Traffick of them. The Duties which I now mentioned, consisted in changing their Cloaths every new Moon; in putting into the small Chest wherein they were inclosed, Silk and Wool for them to lie soft upon; in washing them every *Saturday* with Wine and Water, and in giving them at every Meal a Mess of Drink and Meat, otherwise

wife they would cry, we are told, like Children who suffer Thirst or Hunger.

The Learned have not spared their Labour in searching into the Origin of so antient an Usage in *Almannia*, which they trace back to the very Time of their first Idolatry; though in later Times they added to the Rite a great many Superstitions unknown to the Simplicity of the antient *Germans*.

Some of these Authors think the Rise of those little Figures is owing to the Similitude which the first People made of the Ark of the Covenant; and as they believed that *Moses* had inclosed therein Figures that were not known, though their Virtue was such that the Ark brought Prosperity to all the Places where it rested, as to the House of *Obed-Edom*, they made those little Images, which they kept handsomely inclosed in little Chelts. Others, who don't trace their Original so far back, derive it from the Use which the *Greeks* made of the *Mandrake*. The Author who gives Occasion for this Article, takes these Figures to have been more probably the Work of *German* Women, who were accounted to have the Gift of Prediction, and were called *Alrunæ* (a). Upon this Principle, he reckons these little Images to have been so many Household Gods, or *Lares*, who took Care of Houses and of the Persons who dwelt in them. But in that Case we must conclude, that they were not so antient as he pretends, since, according to *Tacitus*, the *Germans* in the earliest Ages had no Images, no human Figures of their Gods, but represented them only by some Symbols.

Be that as it will, this Superstition so often condemned by Councils, continues at this Day among that People, as has been already remarked, so difficult is it to extirpate Error that has been perpetuated from Age to Age.

*Tacitus* also informs us, that the *Germans* formerly believed that the Gods sometimes appeared under a hu-

(a) A Word composed of *Al*, *omnis*, *universus*, and *Rau*, *mysterium*.

man Figure, and conversed with Men, joined in their Affairs, and even deigned to partake of the Food that they set before them. The same Author, followed herein by *Gregory of Tours*, says of these People, that in Honour of their Gods they had stated Festival-Days, during which they prepared for them Feasts of whatever they had rare and exquisite in its Kind; that they divided the Dishes of Meat, and after leaving a Part thereof for the Gods, the Guests that were invited to the Feast ate up the rest; a Custom which has a great Resemblance to the *Letisternia* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whereof we have given some Account in the Article of Sacrifices (1).

As they too had an Opinion, as well as the other Pagans, that the Souls of the Dead, cloathed with an aerial Body, delighted either in the Tombs, or in wandering about, they took Care to supply them with Meat and Drink; a Custom which the *Germans* probably had received from the *Scythians*, who practised it of old, as we are told by *Herodotus* (2). Hence those Pots, those Vases, those Knives, and so many other Utensils which are daily discovered in the antient Tombs of the *Germans*, *Gauls*, and some other People.

A superstitious Custom still more remarkable was that which the antient *Germans* practised at their Meals, where, as a Bond of inviolable Friendship, they drew Blood from themselves, and drunk all of it one after another (3). I shall add farther, as a Superstition peculiar to them, that when they burnt their Dead, they threw into the Pile Letters which they wrote to their Friends in the other World, a Custom which was common to them with the *Gauls*.

In fine, the last Superstition of this People, upon which I shall also insist a little, was Divination, to which they were religiously devoted. The Women were the Persons who dealt in it, and there was no Sorcery nor hellish Art which they had not Recourse to for the Knowledge of future Events, which they made public

(1) Vol. II. B. 4. (2) L. 7. (3) Athen. l. i. c. 11.

lic Profession of, foretelling to those who came to consult them. The Opinion which prevailed of their having an Insight into Futurity, was one of the chief Causes of that high Veneration and vast Regard, which, as was said from *Tacitus*, the *Germans* had for their Women; and the Reason why that Historian says something divine was thought to be discerned in them, was undoubtedly from the Intercourse they were imagined to have with the Gods, who disclosed to them what was to come. The Death of those Women did not put a Period to the Respect that was paid to them; on the contrary it encreased it; and from mere civil Respect, raised them to the Honour of Adoration. Most of them after Death were reckoned Divinities, and had the same Worship paid them with the other Gods. 'Tis true *Tacitus* names among those deified Women none but *Velleda*; but no Doubt there were others. The Authors of the Country are even persuaded that the *Mother-Goddesses*, of whom I have discoursed in the preceding Book, and of whom several Monuments have been discovered in many Provinces of *Germany*, were no other but those soothsaying Women, who, after their Apotheosis, were invoked for the Health of private Persons, and of the Emperors.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of Irminful, the God of the Saxons.*

**C***Harlemagne*, in one of his Expeditions into *Saxony*, having, in the Year 772, taken the Fortrefs of *Eresbourg*, destroyed the Temple of *Irminful*, and the Idol of that God. The Learned, and particularly *Abbé Vertot* (a), have made Dissertations upon this *Saxon* Divinity, of whom *Schædius* had said something before (1).

In that Part of antient *Germany* inhabited by the *Westphalian Saxons*, near the River *Dimelia*, was a high

(a) See the historical Part of the fifth Volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, p. 188.

(1) De Diis Germ. Syn. 3. c. 1.



gh Mountain, upon which stood the Temple of this  
 od, in the Middle of the Citadel now mentioned.  
 his Edifice, as we are told by *Meibonius* (1), was  
 ually esteemed for the Elegance of its Architecture,  
 for the Veneration of the People who had enriched it  
 th their Offerings, which *Charlemagne* knew how  
 make good Use of, drawing from it vast Sums of  
 old and Silver. The Statue of the God was placed  
 on a Column of exquisite Work, holding in one  
 and a Standard whereon was pictured a Rose, and  
 the other a Pair of Scales. The first of those two  
 mbols denotes the unfading Honour that is acquired  
 true Valour; the second the Uncertainty of Victory  
 ich depends sometimes upon a mere nothing, as the  
 st Trifle is capable of turning the Scale when the Ba-  
 ace is in *Equilibrio*. The Figure of a Bear which  
 ninsul wore upon his Breast, and that of a Lion up-  
 his Buckler, intimated the Necessity of Strength,  
 urage and Address in all great Enterprizes.

Thus the Statue is described by *Kransius*, and the  
 gures belonging to it explained, but without citing  
 y Authority, which makes the Description to be  
 nsidered by some as a mere Imagination. The an-  
 nt *Germans*, according to *Tacitus*, had no Statues of  
 ir Gods; 'tis therefore, say they, without Foun-  
 tion that the *German* Author mentions that of *Ir-*  
 nful, which the *Abbé d'Esperb*, who lived in the  
 irteenth Century, says was nothing but a bare Trunk  
 a Tree. But may we not excuse *Kransius*, by say-  
 g, that from the Time of *Tacitus* to that of *Charle-*  
 gne, the Religion of the ancient *Germans* had un-  
 rgone various Changes, and that those People, once  
 xdued, embraced, like others, the Usages and Cu-  
 ms of the Conquerors? An undeniable Proof of  
 ose Changes is, that *Tacitus* likewise says the *Germans*  
 d no other Temples but the Woods; and yet we  
 rn from History, that in the Time of *Charlemagne*  
 ninsul had a Temple upon the Top of a Hill, which  
 it Emperor demolished.

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But

1) Antiq. Saxones.

But to proceed : The Learned are divided about this God. According to some it was *Mercury* or *Hercules*, as his very Name seems to insinuate. *Eresburg*, according to others, being also named *Marsburg*, which signifies the Fort of *Mars*, we may very readily believe that the antient *Saxons*, a warlike People, worshipped the God of War, as did the *Scythians* and other Northern Nations. *Wernerus Rosevincius* took this Figure for a *Panthéan* Figure, representing at the same Time *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*. Some Authors take this God to be the same with *Arminius*, the General of the *Cherusci*, who, after he had defeated three of *Varus's* Legions, and obliged that General to fall upon his own Sword (1), was esteemed the Deliverer of his Country, and became its tutelar God. Such is the Opinion of *Schædus*, which is followed by *Vertot*.

*Irminsul* had his Priests and Priestesses, who had each their different Functions. At the Feasts which were celebrated in his Honour, the Nobility made their Appearance on Horseback (2) in compleat Armour, and after a Cavalcade which they made round a Column whereon the Idol stood, they alighted, and offered Gifts to the Priests. According to *Meibomius*, were chosen from the most considerable of the Nation. On they examined into the Conduct they had served in the last War, and punished such as had not done their Duty with Rods. This went so far, as even to punish those who had lost the Battle three times.

*Chalemagne*,

Temple of

ins, and

ported it

naire, it

Time

has been celebrated every Year in that City, on the Eve of the *Sunday* called *Letare* \*.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the Goddess Nehalennia.*

**T**HIS Goddess, worshipped in the northern Parts of *Germany*, was quite unknown, till on the fifth of *January* 1646, an East-wind blowing violently towards *Zeland*, the Sea-coast became dry near *Doefburg*, in the Island of *Valcbren*, and thereupon were perceived the Ruins of Houses that had been formerly under Water. Among those Ruins were Altars, Vases, Urns, and Statues, and among the rest several that represented the Goddess *Nebalennia*, with Inscriptions bearing her Name. These Treasures of Antiquity were very soon made known to the Curious; and *Urcé*, in his History of the Counts of *Flanders* (1), has given the Figures of fourteen of their Statues, all of them bearing the Name of this Goddess, one only excepted. *Montfaucon* has not neglected them; and you may find several of them in his *Antiquity explained*.

*Don James Martin* (2) has been at the Pains to give us all the Attitudes in which this Goddess is represented upon those several Statues, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing; an Air always youthful, and a Habit that covers her from Head to Foot, are her general Characteristics; and the Symbols that surround her are usually a *Cornucopia*, Fruits which she carries in her Lap, a Basket, a Dog, &c.

As one Discovery commonly makes Way for others, *M. Keisler* (3) says, that upon a careful Examination of the Idols that are still in *Zeland*, some were observed to have all the Air of *Nebalennia*, tho' it was never once suspected before. This at least is certain, that this Goddess was known in other Places

Y 2

besides

\* Fourth Sunday of *Lent*.

(1) T. 1. p. 52. (2) Hist. of the Religion of the *Cau's*, V. 2. c. 17. (3) *Antiq.* Septenti.

besides that Province, since *Gruter* (1) quotes an Inscription found elsewhere, which is consecrated to this Divinity by *Eriattius* the Son of *Jucundus*: *Deæ Nebal. Eriattius Jucundi pro se & suis votum solvit libens merito*: For there is no Doubt but this is the Name of *Nebalennia* contracted. But tho' we should not agree to this, 'tis however certain that this Goddess was worshipped in *England*, since an Inscription has been found there that bears her Name at full Length. Some too will have it, that an Image in *Mosaic*, dug up at *Nismes*, represents her; but this is a Thing very far from being certain.

The Authors whom I have cited in this Chapter are mostly agreed that this Goddess was the Moon, or rather the New-moon; but all Things well considered and examined, I am of Opinion that she was one of those *Mother-Goddesses* described at the End of the preceding Book. The Fruits, the *Cornucopia*, the Dog, in a Word, all the Symbols that accompany her, have a much greater Relation to a rural Deity, as the *Mothers* were, than to the Moon, with which certainly they have no Affinity. Monuments of those Goddesses have been found in *France*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany*; no Wonder then that some of them have been found in *Zeland*; for, as I have proved, their Worship was very extensive.

I had forgot to take Notice that *Neptune* is three Times joined with the Figure of *Nebalennia*, which gives Ground to believe that this Goddess was also invoked for Navigation; and this is confirmed by the Inscription of *England* which I have mentioned, wherein *Secundus Sylvanus* declares that he has fulfilled the Vow he had made to this Goddess for his Success in carrying on his Trade in Chalk.

C H A P. IV.

*Isis, worshipped by the Suevi.*

**O**F all the Divinities of the Pagan World, perhaps there is not any one whose Worship was more generally adopted than that of *Isis*. Not as if the various Nations which embraced her Worship, adored her always under that Name, but in Effect she was still the same, whether she was taken for the Earth, for *Cybele*, for *Diana*, or for the Moon, &c. Hence those thousand Names she was said to bear. *Tacitus*, who informs us that her Worship had been propagated even to the *Suevi*, a People distinguished amongst the antient *Germans*, owns, that he does not comprehend how it had passed into so remote a Country (*a*), and we may add, with which they had so little Commerce.

What appeared difficult to the *Roman* Historian, may seem so to us too ; but such Difficulties do but stimulate the Curiosity of the Learned, and give them Room especially for displaying their Penetration. Accordingly, how many Conjectures have been offered as to the Manner in which those remote People might have come to the Knowledge of *Isis* ? If this Goddess, says *Vossius* (1), is *Eve*, as in Fact she is, since her Name comes from the *Hebrew* *Ischa*, which imports Woman by way of Eminence, where is the Difficulty to account for her being worshipped by so many Nations that knew her Name by Tradition ? Why, says *Cluverius*, might not the Worship of *Isis*, known thro' all *Asia*, have been propagated to the Extremity of *Germany* with the Colonies that settled there ? The *Suevi*, according to *Don Pezron*, having come from *Asia*, had, no Doubt, embraced the Religion of that People. If *Osiris*, in those great Expeditions which *Diodorus* and other Antients make him under-

Y 3

take,

(*a*) Pars Suevorum & Isidi sacrificat ; unde causa & origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi. *De Morib. Germanor.*

(1) De orig. & progr. Idol.

take, penetrated to the very Source of the *Danube*, according to the Opinion of M. *Huet* (1), might not Gratitude have determined the People of that Country which he had visited, to deify him and his Spouse *Isis*, as well as other Countries where he had been, whence his Worship was even propagated throughout all *Germany*, the *Gauls*, and *Spain*? 'Tis true the Name of *Osiris* was unknown to the People whom I have now named, but they were no Strangers to *Belemus*, and the *Sun*, who were the same with that antient King of *Egypt*.

Tho' none of these Conjectures want Probability, for I take no Notice of that of *Aventinus*, who, in his Annals of the *Boii*, asserts, against the Authority of all the Antients, that *Isis* accompanied her Husband in his Expeditions, and travelled with him into *Almannia*, to see *Suevus* who reigned there at that Time; yet I am rather inclined to think the Worship of this Goddess might have been propagated to *Germany*, either by Means of *Sesostris*, who certainly penetrated not only into *Colchis*, where, according to *Herodotus*, he left a Colony, but even into *Thrace*, where he left another under the Conduct of *Mars*, as we learn from *Diodorus*; or rather by Means of the *Gauls*, who sent Colonies into *Germany*, and had themselves received the Worship of that Goddess, either from the *Phenicians*, who, in their Way to *Cadiz*, had often stopt upon the Coasts of the *Gauls*, if they were not even peopled by them, as *Bochart* maintains; or else from the *Carthaginians*, who, for a long Time, had Commerce with the *Gauls*, and introduced among them the Worship of *Saturn* and some other Divinities, as has been already said.

This last Opinion I take to be the most probable, and the Figure of a Galley, under which they worshipped this Goddess (*a*), proves that her Worship had been brought by Sea first immediately into the *Gauls*, then to them with the *Galic* Colonies.

Farther,

(1) Demon p. 4.

(a) Signum ipsum Isis in modum Liburnæ figuratum Ta-  
cit. ibid.

Farther, we need not be surprized that the *Suevi* represented this Goddess under the Figure of a Ship, since, as *Tacitus* observes, the antient *Germans* were not permitted to picture their Gods under a human Figure (*a*); yet they were allowed to have other Representations of them, as has been said. They took the Ship for the Symbol of *Isis*, to signify in what Manner her Worship had been introduced into the West: For I look upon as mere Conjecture, no wise probable, what some Authors alledge, that as the heavenly Bodies, those first Divinities, were believed to be carried forward in their Career in Vehicles like Ships; so *Isis*, taken physically for the Moon, must needs have had hers, assigning this, according to their Principle, as the Reason why the *Suevi* represented her under the Figure of a Ship.

The antient *Germans*, to be sure, were not so well skilled in Mythology as to give into this Refinement. I should rather think it was the Fable which imports that this Goddess had not only laid down Rules for Navigation, but improved that Art even to the Invention of Sails, which made Sailors put themselves under her Protection, and consecrate little Ships to her upon their Return from their Voyages, and deposite them in the Temples, it being certain that the *Egyptians* paid a religious Veneration to the Ship of *Isis*, as we learn from *Lactantius* the Mythologist (*b*); Circumstances too publick not to be known to those who embraced her Worship; I should rather be inclined, I say, to think that this is what induced the *Suevi* to choose a Ship for the Symbol of this Goddess rather than any other, they not being permitted to represent her under a human Figure.

To conclude, as we know not what Kind of Worship the *Suevi* paid this Goddess, *Tacitus* only saying that they offered up Sacrifices to her, all Conjectures here would be to no Purpose, and we must be content

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to

(*a*) Ceterum nec cohiberi parietibus Deos, nec in ullam humani oris speciem assimilari ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur. Ibid.

(*b*) Isis navigium Ægyptus colit. Lact. l. 1. c. 2.

to know as little about this Matter as the *Roman* Historian.

## C H A P. V. T U I S T O N.

**A**MONG the Gods of the antient *Germans*, *Tacitus* names *Tuiston*, the Son of the *Earth*, whose Descendants, by his Son *Man*, or *Mannus*, peopled a great Part of the Country (1). The *Allemand* Authors make no doubt but this *Tuiston*, who passed for the Son of the *Earth*, only because his Original was not known, had arrived in *Germany* from the first Ages. *Schædus* (2) is even of Opinion, that he was one of the Sons of *Noah*, and that he had introduced into *Germany* the Knowledge of the true God, and the Religion of that Patriarch.

He does not stop there ; but asserts, that it was he who communicated to that Country the Use of Writing and the Alphabet, a long Time before *Cadmus* had made the same Present to the *Greeks*. In fine, if we may believe him, he is the true Father of the antient *Germans* ; he governed them, gave them Laws, established their religious Ceremonies, and acquired so much Veneration among his new People, that he was deified after his Death ; which we may presume, says he, for he dares not affirm it, not to have happened till after a long Life. After having thus given his Opinion, *Schædus* quotes a long Passage from *Josephus* about the long Life of the Patriarchs, so lavish is this Author of his Learning. As *Tuiston*, says he, saw that nothing was capable of keeping his People within Bounds, he digested the Laws which he gave them into Verses, which they were obliged to sing both in Public and Private, that each having them always present to his Mind, it might not be possible to forget them.

*Mannus* succeeded his Father, and had three Sons, from whom, says *Tacitus*, descended three Nations,  
the

(1) De Mor. Germ. (2) De Diis Germ. passim.



the *Ingævones*, the *Herminones*, and the *Istævones* (a). He adds, many taking Advantage of the free Scope left to Imagination by a History of such Antiquity, assert that this God had other three Sons, whence descended the *Marſii*, the *Gambrivii*, the *Suevi* and the *Vandali* (b). In short, if Etymologies be sufficient to prove the Descent of those People from the Grandsons of *Tuiston*, the *German* Authors, and those of the neighbouring Countries will give us enough of them. They pretend too, that in all those Names are Traces of the *Teutonic* Language; and to say the Truth, some of their Conjectures are not quite without Foundation.

One of the principal Ceremonies of the Worship paid by the antient People of *Germany* to their Founder, and his Son *Mannus*, was to sing his Praises in Verse, which *Tacitus* says were very antient: *Celebrant carminibus antiquis Tuiſtonem Deum, terra editum, & filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque* (1).

As the *Germans* had the same Original with the *Gauls*, and were *Celtæ* as well as they, the Learned are persuaded that *Tuiston*, the Founder of the *German* Nation, was the same with *Pluto*, the Father of the *Gauls*; and indeed there is a Passage in *Cæſar* that puts this Conjecture out of Doubt. “The *Druids*,” says he, give out that the *Gauls* are come from *Dis* “or *Pluto*, who after his Death was worshipped by “both Nations as their Father and Founder, by the “*Gauls* under the Name of *Pluto*, and by the *Germans* “under that of *Tuiston*, and both of them erected “Statues to him in the Woods (c).”

#### C H A P.

(a) Manno tres filios assignant, quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones medii Herminones, cæteri Istævones vocantur. Idem, loc. cit.

(b) Quidam vero licentia vetustatis plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marſos, Gambrivios, Suevos Vandalos affirmant, eaque vera & antiqua nomina. Id. ibid.

(1) Id. ibid.

(c) Gallos se omnes a Dite Patre prognatos predicare, idque a Druidibus proditum dicere: Quem defunctum, tanquam familie patrem utriusque populi, Germani sub nomine Tuiſtonis, Galli sub nomine Ditis honorarunt, statuasque in lucis erexerunt. *De Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of some other Divinities of the Germans, and neighbouring Nations.*

**S**Amuel Grosser, in his History of *Lusatia*, has given the Figures of some Divinities of that Country, from whom *Montfaucon* has taken them in the second Volume of his *Antiquity explained* : *Schadius* had undoubtedly seen the like Figures, since he makes mention of all those Gods (1). Most of their Statues are very singular, as well as the Symbols that accompany them ; but one Glance of the Eye is better than the most minute Descriptions. Their Names bear no Manner of Resemblance to those of the other Gods of the Pagan World, and 'tis no easy Matter to find out their Significations.

## C H R O D O.

The first of these Figures, which bears the Name of *Cbrodo* \* (2), represents an old Man bare-headed, resting his Feet upon a large Fish. He is covered with a Robe that leaves nothing exposed but his Feet, and is girt about with a Scarf. In his left Hand he holds a Wheel, and in the right a Basket full of Fruits and Flowers. As this Statue, with its Pedestal, was found in the Fort of *Harsbourg*, formerly called *Salsbourg*, *Henninius* (3) and *Grosser* take it to be a *Saturn* ; but if it be so, the Mythology of the *Saxons* must have been quite different from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who never represented that God with such Symbols.

## P R O A O.

The second is the God *Proao*, who holds in one Hand a Pike, wrap'd about with a Kind of Flag, and in the other a Scutcheon not unlike to ours. *Gros-*  
*ser*

(1) De Diis German.

\* The same with the *Saxon* God *Seater*, from whom our *Saturday* is named.

(2) Ant. expl. T. 2. p. 184. (3) Remarks upon the Epistles of *Tollius*.

*ser* alledges, that this God presided over Courts of Justice, as also over the public Market, that every Thing might be sold there with Equity.

*T R I G L A.*

The third represents the Goddess *Trigla* with her three Heads; this undoubtedly was *Diana Trivia*, or *Hecate*: *Tria Virginis ora*.

*P O R E V I T H.*

*Porevith*, who is represented by the fourth Statue, is a very singular Idol. She has five Heads, and a sixth upon her Breast, much like that which *Minerva* bore upon her *Egis*; and round the Pedestal which supports the Statue of this Goddess, is a great Heap of Swords, Spears, Poinards, and other Arms; which makes some of the Antients think she had the Charge of the Spoils that were taken from the Enemy.

*S U A N T O V I T H.*

*Suantovith*, who is the fifth Statue, has four Heads, and is clad in a Cuirass. *Grosser* says, that he was the *Sun*, or *Apollo*; the principal Divinity of *Lusatia*; but we may also take him for *Mars*.

*R O D I G A S T.*

The sixth Figure is *Rodigast*, which bears an Ox's Head upon the Breast, an Eagle upon its Head, and holds a Pike in the left Hand.

*S I W A.*

The Goddess *Siwa* is represented in the seventh Statue; she is naked, her Hair falls down behind as far as her Knees, and in one Hand she holds a Bunch of Grapes, and in the other an Apple. She is taken for *Venus*, or for the Goddess of Health. For my Part, if the Figure be right designed, I reckon she is a rural Divinity, the *Pomona* of *Lusatia*.

*F L Y A S.*

The eighth is the Goddess *Flyas*; and she is represented in three Manners so different, that were it not for the same Name that occurs upon the three Statues, we should be at a Loss to know them to be the same Divinity. For in one she appears as a Man covered with a great Cloak, bearing partly upon her Head,  
and

and partly upon her Shoulder, a Lion whose Feet she supports with her left Hand, while in her Right she holds a burning Torch. Upon the second she appears under the Form of a Skeleton, half covered with a Cloak, with the Lion and the Torch. Lastly, upon the third, like a Man deformed, sitting upon a Chair, the Head crown'd, the Feet monstrous, and the burning Torch in the left Hand.

#### L A T O B I U S.

To conclude, we find in *Groffer* Inscriptions dug up in *Carintbia*, whereon is Mention made of the God *Latobius*; and by these same Inscriptions, it appears that he was invoked as a God of Health: He was the *Esculapius* of the *Carinthians*. Another Inscription of the same Country makes mention of *Epon*. Two others found in *Swisserland* mention the Goddess *Aventice*; but of these and some other Goddesses we know nothing but the Names.

#### C H A P. VII.

*Of some Heroes of the antient Germans, and Cities consecrated to the Gods.*

EVERY Country having had its Heroes and great Men, who were promoted to divine Honours by their Fellow-citizens, we may well suppose that such would not be wanting in Warlike *Germany*. She had first *Hercules*; for in what Country is not he to be found? and we have seen that *Tacitus* reckons him among the principal Divinities of the antient *Germans*. This *Hercules*, we are told, was called *Allemannus*: He was King of the *Boii*, who always reckoned him the Father and Founder of their Nation. If we may rely on *Aventinus* (1), he is the last King of *Germany* that *Berosus* mentions. We know not in what Period of Time he lived; but we are told by *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, that he is the most antient *Hercules* of all. Be that as it will, this Prince was truly heroical and courageous, and had therefore taken

(1) Annal. Boio, l. 12.

ken the Lion for his Symbol, wherein he hath been imitated by several Kings of the Country. His Subjects deified him after his Death, look'd upon him as the God of War, and invoked him always from that Time, before they gave Battle, making the Army resound his Praises, which they sung with great Solemnity.

The other *German* Nations had also each of them their Heroes : *Irminful* was the Heroe of the *Saxons* ; *Radagaisus* of the *Heruli*. This is that warlike *Radagaisus* who invaded *Italy* with a formidable Army, and was defeated by *Stilicon*. *Bastin* King of the *Franks* is reckoned among the Heroes, and was promoted to divine Honours after his Death.

Among the Cities of *Allemannia* consecrated to some particular Divinity, is reckoned *Hambourg*, which is thought to have been consecrated to *Jupiter Hammon* ; *Maspurg*, or the Town of *Mars*, as also *Aresbourg*. *Lunebourg* plainly bears the Name of the *Moon*.

Besides these Cities which were called after the Names of the Gods that had been taken for their Protectors, there were others, as also particular Provinces, where some God was chosen preferably to others : Thus the *Nabarvales*, as has been said from *Tacitus*, gave particular worship to *Castor* and *Pollux* ; the *Suevi* to *Isis*, the *Boii* to *Hercules*. *Venus* was especially worshipped at *Magdebourg* ; *Trigla* or *Diana Triformis* among the *Vandals*, who in honour of her bred up a black Horse, which the Priests, to whose Care he was committed, led forth to the Field of Battle, to prognosticate by his Means. The same People paid divine Honours to *Belbuck*, and to *Zeomebuck*, whom they looked upon as the good and bad Genii ; for the Names of those two Genii signify, the one the *white God*, the other the *black God*.

In short, as these People with other Pagan Nations, had their particular and topical Gods, so they had common ones who were worshipped in all the Country, such as the *Sun*, and those others whom *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* mention.

But

But it would be a Loss of Time and an Abuse of the Patience of my Reader, to lead them farther into the Northern Countries. Here therefore I shall close my Researches : For in short, what would we find in those remote Northern Countries, but an Idolatry which has a modern Aspect, and had come in the Place of the more antient System, and for the Sake of which those People seem to have abandoned the Gods of their Fathers; that is, the Stars and Elements, which were the general and universal Objects of Worship to all the Pagans, devoting themselves to nothing but foolish Superstitions, to that odious Magic whereof they make public Profession, to all Sorts of Charms and Enchantments; some of them, as those who inhabit the Coasts of *Norway*, even pretending to have the Winds at their Disposal, to be able to with-hold them when they have a mind from raising Storms and Tempests; and even selling them to Sea-faring People, more credulous to be sure than those who carry on that public Commerce.

Should we next take a Survey of the immense Coast inhabited by the three Sorts of *Laplanders* and *Siberians*, we should see People who fancy themselves eternally infested by evil Genii, always endeavouring to blast their Hopes in Hunting and Fishing, to bewitch their Children, and to disturb the sad Repose which they enjoy in their Grotts and Dens; and who are therefore always striving by Prayers and Sacrifices to appease their Malice and render them propitious : In a Word, who have no other Oracle nor other God but the Spirit of Darkness and Delusion.

Lastly, if we enter into those vast Plains possessed by the several *Tartarian* Nations, we shall there find either the Populace groaning under the Weight of an Idolatry equally gross and ridiculous, or Pretenders to more Discernment who follow the Dreams of their *Bonzes* and of the great *Lama*; an Idolatry which leads us back to the Article of the *Theogonies* of the several Nations of the Earth, which I have  
treated

reated fully enough at the Beginning of this Mythology (1); and in fine, which leads us to that Truth attested by the sacred Books, *omnes Dii Gentium Dæmonia.*

'Tis true, there are dug up from Time to Time Idols in those vast Climates, and *Mantfaucou* received a considerable Number of them from M. *Chamaquer*, Librarian to the late Czar *Peter the Great*, whereof he has given the Figures in his *Antiquity explained*, but he has thought fit to give no Explanation of them. For what could one make of those Figures which are more fantastical than the Monsters of whom *Old Egypt* glorified herself, dug up in a Country where the most profound Ignorance reigns; what could one make of them, I say, but offer some random Conjecture without Foundation, and without any certain Rule to direct our Conduct?

However, if there are any curious to be more particularly acquainted with the Idolatry of those People in the Extremities of the North, 'tis but reasonable I should direct them to what Authors they are to have Recourse. For the People of *Sweden* and the adjacent Countries, they may read the Volume of *Rudbekius's* *Atlantic*, intituled *Manheim*, guarding however against the systematic Spirit that prevails too much in that Work. For the other Northern Antiquities, I refer to the Works composed upon that Subject by the ingenious M. *Keisler*, *Meibonius*, and others. For the Gods of *Iseland* and the adjacent Islands, the Mythology in 4to by *Snorron-Sturl* or *Sturleton*, reprinted by *Resenius* in 1665. For the *Laplanders*, *Scheffers Lapponia*, not forgetting the Historians of those several Countries. But whoever has this Curiosity may be assured before hand, that he will meet with nothing in those Works but the History of a Religion extremely gross, without either Principles, System, or Connection; and People groaning under the Tyranny of the Spirit of Darkness, who as to them is not yet in Chains: In short that he will find

(1) Vol. I. B. 2.

find nothing therein to lead him back to true and valuable Antiquity, and to the Understanding of any Author of the better Ages; which were the principal Motives that induced me to undertake this Mythology.



## A PRELIMINARY.\*

**H**AVING in the former Volumes given the History of the Pagan Gods, and explained the Fables wherewith it was embellished, I am in this Volume to treat of the Heroes or *Demi-Gods*, towards whom Superstition had also established a religious Worship, though subordinate to that of the Gods; and as the *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, knew neither Heroes nor *Demi-Gods*, and consequently had no Worship that referred to them, Heroism having properly taken its Rise in *Greece*; 'tis in the History of that Country we must trace its Original.

But before I go farther, 'tis proper to reflect on the celebrated Division which *Varro* made of antient Times, preserved to us by *Censorinus*; for the Work of that learned *Roman* wherein it was inserted is now lost. “ In antient History, says *Censorinus* (1), we  
 “ are to distinguish three Periods of Time. The first  
 “ comprehends whatever passed from the Beginning  
 “ of the World to the first Deluge, and this Period  
 “ is called *obscure*, or *unknowen*, *ἄδηλον*. The second  
 “ contains a Series of Events from that Deluge to the  
 “ *Olympiads*; and as in this we meet with Numbers  
 “ of

\* Here begins Vol. VI. of the Original.

(1) De Die Nat. c. 25.



“ of Fables, it has therefore got the Name of *fabulous*, μυθικόν. Lastly, the third Period of Time from the *Olympiads*, being more known and certain, goes under the Name of *historical*, ιστορικόν (a).

For the better understanding of this Division, I shall subjoin a few Reflections upon it. One is, that by that first Deluge whereof *Varro* makes mention, the *Greeks* understood that which happened under *Ogyges*; for they knew nothing of their own History prior to the Reign of that Prince. A second is, that as the History of the Gods related to the unknown Times, so that of the Heroes or Demi-Gods belongs to the fabulous Age, which was therefore known also by the Name of *the Age of Heroes*. The third Observation which I have already made in the Preface to this Work, is, that this Division respects *Greece* alone, *Asia* having had its Kings, established Monarchies, and a consistent History in those very Times which the *Greeks* called *unknown*, and when they had not so much as the Use of Letters. It has been objected, that in order to give some Probability to this Reflection, I ought to prove that *Varro* was a Stranger to the Antiquities of the People of *Asia*; but the Fact proves itself, and there needs no more but this simple Dilemma to demonstrate it. Either *Varro* was acquainted with those Antiquities, or not; if he was not acquainted with them, I had good Reason to say that Division related only to *Greece*; if he was acquainted with them, then he could not give the general Appellation of the unknown Times to those which were not unknown with respect to the *Asiatics*.

From what has been now said it appears that what remains to be the Subject of this Mythology is the

VOL. III.

Z

Heroic

(a) *Varro* tria discrimina temporum esse tradit, primum ab hominum principio ad cataclysmum priorem, quod propter ignorantiam, vocatur ἀδύλον. Secundum a cataclysmo priore ad Olympiadem primam, quod, quia in illo multa fabulosa referantur, μυθικόν nominatur. Tertium, a prima Olympiade ad nos, quod dicitur ιστορικόν, quia res in eo gestæ veris historiis continentur. *Cens. loc. cit.*

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Heroic or fabulous Age. Here consequently disappears that dark Period of Time in which the Gods lived, and at the same Time a new Field presents itself, less difficult to be filled up, and more entertaining than the former. Not but there are Fables here in great Plenty; but they are less absurd and easier to be explained, than those wherewith it was thought proper to set off the History of the Gods. From this Age, fabulous as it is, there arises a faint historical Light, which serves to unvail its Fictions. Here we meet with Tombs that by coherent Traditions recall the Memory of the great Men whose Ashes they contain. There, a heroic Monument, where annual Ceremonies exhibit to our View the History of him in whose Honour it had been raised. Sometimes again we have Games celebrated at set Times, and mostly instituted by those Heroes themselves, to eternize their Memory. By these Means I have been furnished with better Helps for this last Part of my Work: Accordingly this Volume will contain more History, and fewer Disquisitions than the former.

That I may keep to some Order therein, I divide it into two Parts: The first will contain all that has a Relation to the *Greek* History during the fabulous Age to the Return of the *Heraclide*; and the second, the Explanation of such Fables as stand by themselves, and are not connected with the Incidents I shall have before mentioned: Being careful however to insist less upon those which *Ovid* has collected in his *Metamorphoses*, and whereof I have given the Explication along with my Translation of that Work, than upon those that are in *Hyginus*, *Antoninus*, *Liberalis*, *Conon*, *Palephatus*, and some other Mythologists.



## PART FIRST.

*Containing the History of the fabulous Age.*

**B**EFORE I enter into the Detail of this History, I am to consider some preliminary Questions that prepare the Way for our better understanding of it.



## BOOK I.

*Preliminaries to the History of Greece.*

**I**N the first Place I examine, 1. What was the Chronology of the antient *Greeks*, and their Manner of computing Time. 2. How long the Heroic Age continued. 3. The State of antient *Greece*. 4. The History of its first Inhabitants and their Manner of living. 5. Lastly, that of the Colonies who came and settled among them, and at what Time they arrived.

Nor let the Reader imagine, that this Part of the *Greek History*, because it is traced from so remote a Period of Time, will be the less entertaining and instructive; for first we have a natural Curiosity to be acquainted with the Original of a People who have acted a great Part on the Theatre of the World, and whom we have seen from the smallest Beginnings, rise by Degrees, form several Monarchies, and especially signalize themselves by cultivating Arts and Sciences, and by carrying Poetry and Eloquence, Architecture and Statuary, to the highest Pitch of Perfection

fection they were capable of, so as to have left us imitable Models in all these Kinds. Secondly, 'tis in this Part of their History that we see the *Greeks* pass from a State of Barbarity wherein they were plunged, to a more social Life, and quitting their Dens, the Cavities of Trees, and the other wild Places which they had by Way of Retreat, to come and live under the Conduct of one of their own Number, who was somewhat more polished than the rest, first in Cottages, then in Villages and Cities. Thirdly, 'tis within this Space of Time that the several Colonies of civilized People arrived in *Greece*, who brought thither Arts and Sciences, Laws and the Worship of the Gods; founded therein Cities, where they gathered those into one Body, who were yet dispersed through the Fields, and formed them into several Kingdoms.

Follow next in Order, but still in the same Interval, those celebrated Heroes of Antiquity, *Perseus*, *Bellerophon*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Ajax*, *Achilles*, and the rest, whose immortal Atchievements have been sung by the greatest Poets, and often represented on the Stage. In fine, it was in this same heroic Age that those Games were instituted, and frequently by the Heroes themselves; those Games, I say, that have made *Greece* so famous; Games consecrated by Religion, and where the greatest Poets have reckoned it their Honour to celebrate those who had gained the Victory in them. This in general is the History of those fabulous Times, whereof I am to explain the several Parts in this Volume, assign their just Bounds, explain Fables that belong to them, so as to leave to the Heroes, whose History they have disguised, in Proportion as they embellished it, the just Share which they had in the Glory that has immortalized their Names.

## C H A P. I.

*Of the Chronology of the antient Greeks.*

**W**E must not imagine that the antient *Greeks* had a very certain Way of computing Time, since they wanted one Branch of Knowledge essential to good Chronology, I mean the Knowledge of the Heavens and their Revolutions, which is absolutely necessary to that Study : 'Tis this Knowledge that enables to settle Periods and Cycles that serve to fix Time to certain *Æras*. They attained to it however at length, though very late, by the Commerce which they had with the *Egyptians*, and some People of *Asia*, whose Chronology was built on a certain Foundation. In the mean Time, as the most barbarous Nations have always had some Method of calculating Years, were it but by Knots cast upon Cords, as is the Manner of the *Peruvians*; the first *Greeks* had also a Kind of Chronology of their own, less certain, 'tis true, than the technical Chronology which has been in Use for these many Ages past, yet far from being so gross as that of the People now named, which perhaps at Bottom only appeared so to the *Spaniards*, because they were not let into the Secret of it.

The *Greeks* then computed their Years, either by Means of several Games which they celebrated at set Times, such as the *Pythian*, the *Olympic*, the *Istmian* Games, &c. or by the Priesthood of the Priestesses of *Argos*, or by Reigns; but more generally, by Generations.

The Learned have great Disputes about the Duration of each Generation; some extend it even to the Length of 50 Years; but the greater Number confine it within the Space of between 27 and 33 Years. *Herodotus* reckons 33 Years to each Generation, or three to a hundred Years; and to his Opinion, which is the most generally followed, I shall conform myself in the Sequel.

As for Reigns, they not being usually so long as Generations,

nerations, we may fix them to 22 or 25 Years one with another, though some Authors, and among others Sir *Isaac Newton*, assign to them a shorter Duration.

I shall settle the most considerable *Æras* of this Period of Time, the first by the Arrival of the Colonies in *Greece*, and the rest by Generations. In the mean Time, to enable my Readers with more Facility to call to mind the several Events, I shall subjoin here two Tables; the one composed by a learned *German* (1), which giving a Duration of 1250 Years to the fabulous Age, distributes them into 25 Epochas, each consisting of 50 Years. The second, taken from different Passages of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, beginning with *Inachus*, contains forty Generations of thirty Years each.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Egialeus</i> , King of <i>Sicyon</i> , 2180 Years before <i>Christ</i> . | 14. <i>Perseus</i> .   |
| 2. <i>Telcbines</i> , second King of <i>Sicyon</i> .                           | 15. <i>Jason</i> and the <i>Argonauts</i> .                            |
| 3. <i>Inachus</i> , the first King of <i>Argos</i> .                           | 16. <i>Theseus</i> .   |
| 4. <i>Ogyges</i> .   | 17. The War of <i>Troy</i> :   |
| 5. <i>Apis</i> .   | 18. <i>Orestes</i> .   |
| 6. <i>Minos</i> .  | 19. The Return of the <i>Heraclide</i> into <i>Greece</i> .            |
| 7. <i>Criasus</i> .  | 20. <i>Codrus</i> the last King of <i>Athens</i> .                     |
| 8. <i>Cecrops</i> .  | 21. <i>Acastus</i> , the <i>Archon</i> .                               |
| 9. <i>Deucalion</i> .  | 22. <i>Thersippus</i> .  |
| 10. <i>Amphion</i> .   | 23. <i>Thersites</i> .   |
| 11. <i>Cadmus</i> .  | 24. <i>Caranus</i> .   |
| 12. <i>Pandion</i> I.  | 25. <i>Corebus</i> , or the Re-establishment of the <i>Olympiads</i> . |
| 13. <i>Pelops</i> , from <i>Phrygia</i> .                                      |  |

#### The Second Table.

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Inachus</i> , the first King of <i>Argos</i> , the Son of the | <i>Ocean</i> , that is come by Sea. |
|   | 2. <i>Pho-</i>                      |

(1) *Læquer* in a Work intituled *Ion*.

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2. *Phoroneus*, the first King of *Peloponnesus*.
3. *Lycaon* I.
4. *Pelafgus* I. the Son of *Lycaon* I. and *Niobé* the Daughter of *Phoroneus*.
5. *Lycaon* II. the Son of *Pelafgus* and *Dejanira* the Daughter of *Lycaon* I.
6. *Oinotrus* the Son of *Lycaon* II.
7. *Pelafgus* II. the Son of one of the Children of *Lycaon* II.
8. *Lariffa*, the Daughter of *Pelafgus* II.
9. *Pelafgus* III. *Acbaius* and *Pbtius*, Sons of *Lariffa*.
10. *Pbraſtor*, the Son of *Pelafgus* III. and of *Menippe* the Daughter of *Peneus*.
11. *Amintor* the Son of *Pbraſtor*.
12. *Teutamides*, the Son of *Amintor*.
13. *Nanus*, the Son of *Teutamides*.
14. *Deucalion*, the Son of *Prometheus* and *Clymene*.
15. *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion*.
16. *Amphiffion*, the Son of *Hellen*.
17. *Dardanus*, the Son of *Electra* the Daughter of *Atlas*.
18. *Erichthonius*, the Son of *Dardanus* and *Batea* the Daughter of *Teucer*.
19. *Tros*, the Son of *Erichthonius*, and *Callirhoe*, the Daughter of *Scamander*.
20. *Affaracus*, the Son of *Tros*, and *Acalis* the Daughter of *Amedès*.
21. *Capys*, the Son of *Affaracus*, and of *Chytodora*, Daughter of *Laomedon*.
22. *Anchifes*, the Son of *Capys* and *Nais*.
23. *Aeneas*, the Son of *Anchifes* and *Venus*.
24. *Ascanius*, the Son of *Aeneas* and *Crenſa*, *Priam's* Daughter.
25. *Sylvius Poſthumus*, the Son of *Aeneas* and *Lavinia*, *Latinus's* Daughter.
26. *Aeneas* II. the Son of *Poſthumus*.
27. *Latinus* II.
28. *Alba*.
29. *Capetus*.
30. *Capys* II.
31. *Capetus* II.
32. *Tyberinus*, ſlain near the *Tyber*, ſo called after his Name.
33. *Agrippa*.
34. *Alſadius*, a Tyrant, who was Thunderſtruck.
35. *Aventinus*, from whom Mount *Aventine* was named.
35. *Procas*.
37. *Amulius*, who uſurped the Kingdom from his Brother *Numitor*.
38. *Numitor*.

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38. *Numitor*, re-instated by his Grandson *Romulus*. *Numitor*, Mother of *Romulus*.  
 39. *Ilia*, the Daughter of *of Rome*.  
 40. *Romulus*, the Founder of *Rome*.

This Table goes farther than the former, since it includes the List of the *Latin Kings*, and extends from *Inachus* to *Romulus*, who founded *Rome* in the Year 753 before *Christ*, and comprehends the whole fabulous Age in its greatest Extent; and as I also carry my Enquiries through the Successors of *Æneas* down to the same Epocha of the Foundation of *Rome*, this Table may be of good Use to those who would retain the Events I am to speak of. Only we must observe that all the Generations are not direct, but some of them collateral(*a*); and that in this Table the Epochas are at thirty Years Distance from one another; which however will not hinder me from examining the Chronology still more exactly as I go along.

I was willing to set down these two Tables for the Sake of those who don't seek after great Precision in these Matters. For my own Part, in the Details which I shall sometimes be obliged to make, I shall follow the Method of *Herodotus*, who reckons three Generations to a hundred Years.

But in order to reconcile the Chronology of profane History to Scripture, 'tis fit we likewise subjoin here the principal Epochas thereof.

The first Epocha, *Adam*. It reaches down to the Deluge in the Year of the World 1656.

The second, *Noah*, or the Deluge: Containing the Space of 426 Years, that is to *Abraham*.

The third is *Abraham*, 1917 Years before *Christ*, and comprehends 430 Years to *Moses*.

The fourth is *Moses*, including the Space of 480 Years, to *Solomon*, or the Year before *Christ* 1483.

The fifth is *Solomon*, or the Building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, containing 576 Years to the *Babylonish* Captivity, in the Year before *Christ* 1012.

The

(a) See the Dissertation of M. *Baivin* the Elder. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Bel. Lett.* Tom. II. p. 399.



The sixth is the Return of the *Jews*, in the Year before *Christ* 532, and reaches down to the Christian *Æra*.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Duration of the Heroic Age.*

**B**OOTH Antients and Moderns are equally agreed, that the Heroic or Fabulous Age reaches down from *Ogyges* to the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads*, when the Historical Age begins; but they are not so unanimous as to the Duration of this Period. Two Writers of the last Age, *Conringius*, and the celebrated *Newton*, have contracted it a great deal, and brought it nearer to the Vulgar *Æra* than it had been before by about 500 Years. Almost all other Authors assigned to it a much longer Duration, and made it consist of 1600 Years, reckoning 400 Years from *Ogyges* to *Inachus*, 400 from *Inachus* to *Cecrops*, nearly the same Space of Time from *Cecrops* to the taking of *Troy*, and somewhat more from that *Epocha* to the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads*. The Marbles of *Paros*, the most authentic Monument of antient Chronology, serve indeed for a Guide from the *Olympiads* tracing back to *Cecrops*, with whom the Authors of this Chronicle begin their *Epochas*; but as they go no higher, the Chronology from the Arrival of that Prince in *Greece* to *Inachus*, has always been perplexed and intricate. The late M. *Boivin* the elder, has given some Light to it, by restoring a Passage of *Censorinus*, as may be seen in his Dissertation printed in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1). After the following Manner, according to that Academic, an Interval of 400 Years between *Cecrops* and *Inachus* may be settled; S. *Justin*, *Tatian*, and in general, all the Fathers of the Church before *Eusebius*, made *Inachus* Contemporary with *Moses*. Now *Porphyry*, as *Eusebius* understands him, supposed that *Moses* lived in the Time of *Semiramis*, whom the same *Eusebius* makes

(1) Tom. ii.

makes to have reigned 800 Years before the *Trojan War*: *Inachus*, Contemporary with *Moses*, lived therefore 800 Years before that *Epocha*, and consequently 400 Years before *Cecrops*, who, according to *Censorinus*, the Chronicle of *Paros*, and all the Chronologists, reigned 400 Years before the taking of that City. As to the 400 Years from *Inachus* to *Ogyges*, they are clearly made out from *Censorinus*. Here then is the Duration of the Heroic Age determined to 1600 Years. But how can so great Antiquity be assigned to *Ogyges*? The taking of *Troy*, which is the best established *Epocha* of all the fabulous Times, falls, according to the best Chronologists, in the Year 1183 or 1184 before the Christian *Æra*; if *Ogyges* was in the World 1200 Years before that *Epocha*, he must then have lived 2383 Years before *Christ*; and consequently, in the System of Chronology abridged, almost in the very Time of *Noah's Deluge*; which is not tenible, unless we make him to have been the same with that Patriarch, and the Deluge, which happened under his Reign to have been the same with that mentioned in Scripture.

In the first Place then, I cut off from the Duration of the Age now in question, those 400 Years that make *Ogyges* to have lived even in the Time of *Inachus*, or of *Phoroneus* his Son.

Again, 'tis impossible to allow of a Space of 400 Years between *Cecrops* and the *Trojan War*, in which *Mnestheus* the eleventh King of *Athens* assisted, who had even begun to reign but a few Years before. Now ten Reigns, and the Beginning of an eleventh, are far from containing so long a Space of Time, according to the ordinary Course of Nature. Reigns are even shorter than Generations. Thus there remain about 1200 Years for the fabulous Age; but as I find Fables end almost with the Return of the *Heraclide* into the *Peloponnesus*, that is, fourscore Years after the taking of *Troy*, and more than 300 Years before the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads*, I carry my Researches no farther than this Return. For though there are some  
Fictions

Fictions to be met with in the rest of this Period, they rather stand by themselves, and are not interwove with the Lives of the great Men who lived then; and the Explanation of them I reserve for the last Part of my Work.

In fine, the Number of Generations which the Antients have transmitted down to us, has obliged me to reduce to a shorter Duration, the Events of the Age that preceded the Destruction of *Troy*, I mean the Fight of the *Centaurs*, the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, the Hunting of *Calydon*, the War which followed it, and the two Wars of *Troy*. For how can those Events be removed to so great a Distance from one another, as they are by most Chronologists, and particularly by the Commentators on the *Parian* Marbles, however knowing in other Respects, since it was mostly the same Persons or their Sons, and but few of their Grandsons who were the Actors therein? What other Method have we of calculating those remote Ages, but by the Number of Reigns and Generations, after the Example of the Antients themselves. It may perhaps be said, that the whole Number of Generations has not been transmitted down to us, and that several of them are wanting in *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, and other Antients; but as this is but mere Conjecture, I may be allowed to use the Manner of Computation followed by the Antients, till it be demonstrated, by any possible Means whatever, that some Reigns or Generations have actually been omitted.

### C H A P. III.

#### *The State of antient Greece.*

THE Country which is known at this Day under the Name of *Greece*, had not always the same Extent as when it fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, and it very often changed its State: I leave other Things to be discussed by Geographers, being to consider in this Mythology only the State it was in during the Heroic Age. We are also to observe, that it  
often

often changed its Name. The *Hebrew* Text of the Bible seems not to assign any Name to it; only Mention is there made of *Javan*. *Isaiab* says, according to the *Hebrew*, and towards Tubal and Javan, and in the remote Isles: The Vulgate has, in *Italiam & Graciam, ad Insulas longe*. In like Manner, it renders *Javan* by *Greece*, in *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* and *Zechariah*: The *Hebrew* throughout has *Javan*; but the *Septuagint* translates it by *Hellas*, which, as we shall see in its own Place, was one of the Names of *Greece*, or by *Hellenes*, one of the Names of the *Greeks*; and our Vulgate has imitated them, by rendering the Word always *Graci* or *Gracia*. 'Tis remarkable that the Name of *Javan*, in *Hebrew*, not having any Points to determine the Pronunciation, is the same with *Ion*; and we find the first *Ionians* that are known, were in *Greece*. There is even Reason to believe, that they were its first Inhabitants; tho' they were not there alone for any considerable Time. The *Phenicians*, who had always been great Sailors, came thither and settled Colonies among them. For the Sake of their Commerce they taught the natural *Greeks* Navigation, Commerce, and especially Writing, the Invention whereof is ascribed to them. The *Egyptians* were not the last who helped to people that Country. They again communicated to them a Taste of Arts and Sciences; and infecting them with their Idolatry, gave them not only Kings, but Gods.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the first Inhabitants of Greece.*

IT must be owned, in the first Place, that as nothing is more perplexed than the Origin of antient Nations, we are not to be surprized if we meet with the same Obscurity in the antient History of the *Greeks*. We ought not to appeal to the Authors of that Nation for their Antiquity; for besides that we have not now most of the Works of those who would have been able to inform us herein, and those now extant are mere  
Moderns

Moderns with respect to the Facts which they relate ; it is every where to be observed in their Books, that being disposed in their Histories to gratify the Humour of *Greece*, always fond of the Marvellous ; and having only undigested Memoirs of those early Times, they have contented themselves with putting them into an agreeable Order, without being greatly concerned about the Truth. Further, the *Greeks* were really ignorant of the Antiquities of their own Nation, as they are reproached by several Authors, among others, by *Aristotle*, and *Josephus*, who in his first Book against *Appion*, demonstrates to them plainly, that it was very late before they had the Use of Letters, and that consequently they must have been quite ignorant of antient History : And what is carefully to be observed, the *Jewish* Historian reproaches them thus, at the very Time when they had several Authors which are since lost, and who pretended to be well acquainted with Antiquity, such as *Varro*, *Castor*, *Nicolas of Damas*, *Julius Africanus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and Numbers of others, often quoted by the Historians now extant, as Authors very knowing in earliest Antiquity.

Again, what undeniably proves the Ignorance of the *Greeks* as to their own Original, is, that so soon as they carried their Researches pretty far back, finding themselves lost in the Darkeness of earlier Ages, they were forced to say their Ancestors had sprung from the Earth, or from the Oaks of the Forest of *Dodona* ; and when they attempted to trace out their Genealogies, after having gone back to *Deucalion*, still *Jupiter*, or some other God was at their Head. What obliged them to assume the Name of *Autochthones*, or the original Inhabitants of that Country, was, that they piqued themselves on great Antiquity, and scorned to be thought descended from any People. They carried their Vanity so far as to be fond of having it believed that their Ancestors were the Founders of other Nations, which they had peopled by their Colonies ; whereas 'tis beyond Doubt, that their Country was originally planted by Foreigners, who came and settled there.

there. However, if we will believe them, the *Perfians* were descended from *Perfeus*, the *Lydians* from *Lydus*, the *Medes* from *Medus*, *Medea's* Son, the *Cilicians* from *Cilix*, the *Armenians* from *Armenus*, and the *Ionians* of *Asia Minor*, not to mention others, from *Ion* the Son of *Xutus*, and Grand-Son of *Deucalion*. 'Tis true, *Greece* sent Colonies into *Asia* and *Italy* (a), but those Transmigrations happened very late, and when the Country was overstocked with Inhabitants by the frequent Colonies that had arrived there from *Egypt* and *Phanicia*.

But to trace this Matter up to its Source ; first, 'tis not to be doubted that all the Countries of the World were peopled by the Descendants of *Noab*, who, after the Division of his three Sons, settled in different Places. As the Bible says little or nothing of those first Founders of Empires, and as it often calls the Countries where the first Men who lived after the Deluge fixed their Residence by Names which have long since been extinct, 'tis very difficult to clear up this Subject ; infomuch that whatever Pains the Interpreters of Scripture have taken, we may affirm that the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, containing the History of the first Settlement of Nations by *Noab's* Posterity, will always be a stumbling Block to the Learned. *Josephus* says little more upon this Head than *Moses* ; and as to the oriental Historians, besides that we have now but some Fragments of the more'antient ones, those that remain are generally stuffed with Fables.

What we know with Certainty is, that *Javan* the Son of *Japhet*, known to the *Greeks* under the Name of *Japetus*, had the West for his Division. This is what *Moses* says of him ; *Filii Japhet Gomer & Magog & Javan, &c. Filii autem Javan, Elisa, & Tarfes, & Cetbim, & Dodanim. Ab iis divise sunt Insula Gentium, in regionibus suis* (1). Him therefore we are to look upon as the Father of the *Ionians* and other *Greeks*.

(a) See *Herodotus* and the other Historians who speak of these Colonies.

(1) *Genesis*, c. 10.

*Greeks.* Few Authors now-a-days call this Truth in question, which has been so fully proved by the learned *Bochart* (1), and Father *Kirker* (2), that we may now build upon it as a Certainty. The Text of *Josephus* says also the same Thing in so many Words. From *Javan*, says that Author, came the *Ionians* and all the *Greeks* (3). That antient Patriarch therefore led his Colony into the West, and we cannot but place the *Æra*. of that Transmigration after the Dispersion that ensued upon the Confusion of *Babel*. 'Tis no easy Matter indeed to determine precisely in what Country of the West *Javan* fixed his Residence. *Loerquer*, in a Book composed upon this Subject, intituled *Ion*, contends that he did not cross the Sea, but settled in *Asia Minor*, whence his Descendants went into *Greece*, probably by the *Thracian Bosphorus*, as the Place where the Sea is narrowest. This Author adds, that the *Ionians*, so well known upon the *Asiatic Coasts* of the *Ægean Sea*, are not descended from *Ion* the Son of *Katus*, and Grandson of *Deucalion*, but from *Javan*, from whom they were denominated *Jæonians*, as well as the *Greeks* of *Europe*, *Ἰᾶονες*, as it is in *Homer* (4), and by softening the Pronunciation, *Ionians*. 'Tis true, at the Time of *Herodotus*, the Name of *Ionians* was restricted to the *Asiatic Greeks* alone, insomuch that the *Atbenians* and their Neighbours would not go under that Name. It cannot however be denied, from the Testimony of *Homer*, *Strabo*, and *Hesychius*, that antiently it was common to all the People of *Greece*.

'Tis therefore in that Country we must look for the Settlement of *Javan*. *Elisba* led his Posterity into *Ephraim*; *Dodanim* settled in the Neighbourhood of the Forest of *Dodona*; *Cetbim* passed into *Macedonia*: For we reckon *Bochart* is mistaken in making that Patriarch have settled in *Italy*. *Tharses* fixed his Residence in *Silicia*, where he founded the City of *Tarsus*. *Thiras* chose to reside in *Thrace*, as *Josephus*, and after him *St. Jerom*,

(1) See his *Phaleg*. (2) In his *Tower of Babel*. (3) *Ant.* l. 1. 4. (4) *Iliad*. l. 13.

St. *Jerom*, and almost all the Interpreters, are agreed.

These, without Doubt, are the first Inhabitants of *Greece*; here we find the *Japetus* so famed in the Historians and Poets, who had but a very confused Knowledge of this first Transmigration.

The *Pelafgi* were, according to them, the original Inhabitants of *Greece*, and it cannot indeed be denied that they possessed it from the earliest Ages. *Herodotus* (1), as has been already remarked in the Beginning of the second Volume, makes them to have come from the Island of *Samothrace*, whence they set out and settled at first in *Attica*; and this perhaps is the best we have to say upon the Subject. However, as several other Authors have made Mention of those *Pelafgi*, I ought to quote their Testimonies. They tell us therefore, that those People, who often moved their Habitation, were denominated *Pelafgi*, because they were an unsettled wandering People. Accordingly we find of them every where, in the Isle of *Samothrace*, in several Parts of *Greece*, in *Asia Minor*, and lastly in *Italy*. They went at first from *Athens* towards *Dodona*, as we are told by *Herodotus* in the Place I have quoted (2). They possessed themselves of *Arcadia*, and *Hellonia* since called *Thessaly*. First the *Curetes* and the *Leleges*, and then *Deucalion*, having driven them out thence, they spread themselves through *Epirotis*, *Phocis*, *Beotia*, and *Euboea*. Some of them passed over into *Asia*, others into *Italy*; as to which you may consult *Strabo* and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*.

The Historians who are later than *Herodotus*, whose Information doubtless is not so good as his, differ from him as to the Original of the *Pelafgi*, in making them to have come from a foreign Country: They, on the contrary, take them to have been *Autochthones* (3); which was the Designation given to the Natives of the Country, or rather to all whose Original was unknown. But the Variety which is to be found among other Authors as to the Original of this People, is an Argument

for

(1) L. 2. c. 50. 51. (2) See what has been said of this in the Beginning of the second Volume. (3) Hesiod.



or our adhering to the Historian now named. For why, if we take *Apollodorus's* Authority, we must say, the *Pelasgi* derived their Name from one *Pelasgus* of great Antiquity. *Servius* is of the same Opinion with *Apollodorus* (1): *Pelasgi*, says he, *a Pelasgo terræ filio, in Arcadia est genius, ut ait Hesiodus*. *Eschyles* says only, that *Pelasgus* was an antient Inhabitant of the country, to whom he gives not the Name of *Autochthon*, it that of *Παλαίχθον*. The antient Scholiast on *Apollodorus Rhodius*, a Man well skilled in the Antiquities of Greece, makes *Pelasgus* to have been the Son of *Inachus*; and this is he who, according to *Hesiod*, was the Father of *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*. *Eustatbius*, after *Hellanicus*, names a third *Pelasgus*, the Son of *Phoroneus*, and consequently the Grandson of *Inachus*. There is a fourth, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, the first Mistress of that God, as we learn from *Acusilaus*, whose testimony is quoted by *Tzetzes* (2). *Hesychius* (3) mentions a fifth, the Son of *Arcas*, and Grandson of *Lycaon*. We read of another, who was the Son of *Asopus* and *Merope* (4). Lastly, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* names a Seventh, whom he makes the Son of *Cepione*.

According to *Pausanias* (5), *Pelasgus* was the first Man who appeared in the Country, a Man extraordinarily endued by Heaven, who surpassed others in Courage and Strength, in a goodly Aspect, and in all other Qualifications both of Body and Mind; which comes much to the same Idea given of him by the Poet *Hesiod*.

*Pelasgus* then having begun to reign, taught the *Arcadians* to build themselves Cottages to shelter them from the Rain, from Cold and Heat, in a Word from the Injuries of the Weather. He taught them also to cloath themselves with Boar's Skins, as is still the Manner of the Peasants of *Phocis* and *Eubœa*. Till then they had lived upon the Leaves of Trees, upon Herbs and Roots; whereof some, instead of being good for

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Food,

(1) On the second *Eneid*. (2) Upon *Lycoph.* v. 177. (3) In *Lexicon*. (4) *Pindar.* *Olym.* (5) In *Arcad.*

Food were of a pernicious Nature. He recommended to them the Use of *Accorns*, or rather of a Kind of Fruit which grows upon the Beech-tree ; and this Food became so common, that long after *Pelasgus*, the *Lacedemonians* coming to consult the Priestess *Apollo*, about the War which they were going to make upon the *Arcadians*, were answered, that a People who lived only upon *Accorns*, were terrible in War and not easily conquered.

We are told that *Pelasgus* gave his Name to that Country, and that it was denominated *Pelassgia*. His Son *Lycaon*, in some respects, was more wise and prudent ; for he built the City *Lycosura* upon Mount *Lycaeus*, established the Worship of *Jupiter* under the Name of *Lycean*, and instituted in his Honour Games that were called *Lycaia*.

Scarcely had three Generations passed from *Pelasgus*, says *Pausanias*, when the Country was already well stocked with Men and Cities. *Nyetimus*, the eldest of *Lycaon's* Sons, had succeeded his Father ; his other Sons having separated from one another, built Cities, some in one Place, some in another. *Pallantium* was built by *Pallas*, *Orestbasium* by *Orestheus*, *Pbigalia* by *Pbigalus*. The Poet of *Himera*, *Stebescoborus*, makes Mention of *Pallantium* in his *Geryon Jupiter*. As for *Orestbasium*, it was afterwards called *Orestea*, from *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*. *Pbigalia* in like Manner was named *Pbialia*, from *Pbialus* the Son of *Bucolion*. The other Sons of *Lycaon* were *Trapezeus*, *Deceartes*, *Mucareus*, *Helisson*, *Acacus*, and *Tochnus*. This last built the City *Tochnia*, and *Acacus* was the Founder of *Acacesium*. *Orchomenus* built *Methydrium*, and was the Father of the *Orchomenians*, a People so rich in Cattle that *Homer* distinguishes them by that Epithet. *Hypsus* laid the Foundations of *Melenae*, *Hypsus*, and *Thyrsea*, which still subsists. If we may believe the *Arcadians*, *Thyreas* a City of *Argos* had for its Founder *Thyreas*, who also gave his Name to the Gulf upon which it stands. *Mantinea*, *Tegae*, and *Menalus*, those Cities once so famous in *Arcadia*, owe their

their Original to *Menalus*, *Tegeas*, and *Mantineus*, who were likewise Sons of *Lycaon*. *Gromes* was built by *Gromus*, *Charisia* by *Charisius*. The *Tricolons* come from *Tricolonus*; the *Peretbeans* from *Peretbus*; the *Azeans* from *Azeates*; the *Lyceates* from *Lyceus*; the *Sumatians* from *Sumateus*; lastly, *Hereus* and *Aliphorus* built the Cities which bear their Names. As for *Oenobrus*, the youngest of *Lycaon's* Sons, he planted a Colony in *Italy*.

*Nyctimus* being dead, *Arcas* the Son of *Calisto* *Lycaon's* only Daughter, the same who was beloved by *Jupiter*, and transformed first into a Bear, then into a Constellation; took Possession of the Kingdom: Having been instructed by *Triptolemus*, he taught his Subjects to sow Corn, to make Bread, and to spin Wool for Stuffs and Cloaths, which last he learned from *Aristæus*. *Arcas* had by his Wife *Erato* three Sons; *Azan*, *Aphidas*, and *Elatus*, among whom he divided his Dominions. But *Elatus* left *Arcadia*, passed into the Country which at this Day is called *Phocis*; and there built the City *Elatea*. This Prince had five Sons, *Epytus*, *Peraus*, *Cyllen*, *Ischis*, and *Stymphbalus*. Upon Occasion of *Azan's* Death, funeral Games were celebrated for the first Time; it is at least certain, that Horse-Races were there; but what were the other Sort of Games, says *Pausanias*, I know not:

*Clitor* fixed his Residence at *Lycosura*; he was one of the most powerful Kings of his Time, and he built a City called after the Name of its Founder. *Aleus* took Possession of the Lands that had fallen to his Lot. As for the Sons of *Elatus*, *Cyllen* gave his Name to Mount *Cyllene*, and *Stymphbalus* gave his not only to a Fountain of that Country, but also to a City which he built hard by.

The Kingdom of *Arcadia* devolved upon *Epytus*; the Nephew of *Clitor*, who died without Issue; and he himself was killed by the Bite of a Serpent. *Aleus* succeeded him, and built the Temple of *Minerva Alea* in the City of *Tegæa*, which was the Capital of his Empire. After the Death of *Aleus*, *Lycurgus* ascend-

ed the Throne. His Son was *Anceus*, who distinguished himself in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, and in the Hunting of *Calydon*, in which he perished. *Lycurgus* having lost his Son, was succeeded by *Ecbemus*, under whose Conduct the *Acbeans* gained a signal Victory near the Isthmus of *Corinth*. *Agapenor*, Son to *Anceus*, who ascended the Throne after him, commanded the *Arcadian* Troops at the Siege of *Troy*. After the Destruction of that famous City, he was driven by Strefs of Weather upon the Coasts of *Cyprus*, where he settled.

These, according to *Pausanias*, were the first Inhabitants of *Greece*, especially of *Arcadia*; but that Country soon put on a new Face, by means of the Colonies that arrived there from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*.

## CH A P. V.

*The History of the first Kingdoms founded in Greece, by the Colonies that arrived there.*

AS the large and beautiful Country of *Greece* had not been sufficiently peopled by *Javan's* Posterity, and by the antient *Pelasgi*, several Colonies came thither at different Times, especially from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, which Countries being nearer to those where the first Descendants of *Noah* settled, were also more populous. The first and at the same Time the most necessary Arts of Life, which *Noah* had either preserved or invented, and which are always to be found in Countries where was the first Settlement of Mankind after the Deluge, were lost in Proportion as Men removed to a greater Distance; and thus they who knew them had to teach them anew to those among whom they settled. Accordingly they gradually revived in the West with the Arrival of the Colonies; who together with Arts and Sciences introduced thither their Customs, Laws, and Religion. Idolatry reigned at that Time in *Greece*, but it was so very gross, that the very Names of the Gods whom they worshipped were unknown,

unknown (1). Thus the first Inhabitants of *Greece*, made no Scruple to adopt the Divinities of the *Oriental*s, to whom they were indebted for their Politeness, and the civilized Life which they led afterwards.

Among those Leaders of Colonies, the most noted are *Inachus*, *Cecrops*, *Deucalion*, *Cadmus*, *Danaus*, *Pelops*, and some others: Of these several Colonies were formed the Kingdoms of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and the rest. The History of these several States, and the Explanation of the Fables that are intermingled with it, shall be the Subject of so many separate Articles.

# ARTICLE I:

## *The Kingdom of Argos founded by Inachus.*

The Beginnings of the Kingdom of *Argos* are somewhat confused. *Inachus*, who came from *Phœnicia*, arrived in *Greece* about the Year 1880 before *Christ*, where he founded that Kingdom, and settled in the Country, since called the *Peloponnesus*. This Epoch tallies to the System of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, who had himself followed that of *Eratosthenes*. This Author reckoned twenty-two Generations between that Leader of the Colony and the Destruction of *Troy*. Of those twenty-two Generations there were twelve to *Nanus*, contemporary with *Cecrops*, which make just the four hundred Years they reckoned between these two Princes. *Moses* was contemporary with *Inachus*, and not with *Cecrops*, as *Eusebius* would have it, having for that Effect abridged the Times, and departed from *Africanus*, *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Polybistor*, *Ptolemy* of *Mendes*, and many other Authors, as Father *Pezron* has fully proved in his Book of *The Antiquity of Time restored* (2); and this is a Truth controverted by few of the Learned at this Day. I refer to the Author now quoted for the Arguments in Support of this Opinion, though to speak the Truth, I don't believe that Period to be so long; but there is no Danger in following the Opinion of the two Antients now named.

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(1) See the Beginning of the second Volume. (2) Ch. 3 and 9:

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The Learned are not much satisfied with the Researches of the *Greeks*, who not knowing whence that antient Prince came, gave out that he was the Son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, the common Genealogy of those who came by Sea ; and several Moderns have puzzled themselves to unfold the Original of that antient King. Some will have him to have come from *Egypt* ; others make him the same with the famous *Anak*, or rather one of his Posterity. But *M. le Clerc*, after *Bochart* (1), maintains, with more Reason, that *Inachus* is not a proper Name, but an Appellative. The antient *Phanicians* were called *Ben-Anak* ; thus the Son of *Anak* was a Name, given to those who came from that Country and settled elsewhere ; and of that Name was formed *Inak* or *Inachus*, the Appellation given to the Leader of the Colony. For the same Reason did the *Greeks* give the Name of *Anaces* to their antient Divinities, of whom they had the Knowledge and Worship from *Phanicia*, and with a small Variation to their antient Kings. Farther, it was given out afterwards, that this *Inachus* was the God of a River, only because he communicated his Name to the River *Ampbilocheus*, for which he made a Channel be dug ; and after his Death, they fabled, according to the Custom of those Times, that he was become the tutelar Divinity of that River.

The Kingdom of *Argos*, founded by *Inachus*, enjoyed a long Succession of Kings : The nine first were called *Inachides*, namely *Inachus*, *Phoroneus*, *Apis*, *Argus*, *Cbryasus*, *Pborbas*, *Triopas*, *Stelenus* and *Gelaenor* ; the last was not long in Possession of the Crown, which was taken from him in the Manner I shall relate, after having spoke of the Kings of *Sicyon*.

### A R T I C L E II.

*The Kingdom of Sicyon, founded by Egialeus.*

There is no small Uncertainty and Obscurity in the antient History of *Sicyon*. This City was  
in

(1) Phaleg. l. i. c. 1.

... upon a Mountain in the Neigh-  
 Gulf of *Corinth*. *Pausanias* has  
 ... of those Kings, which precedes  
 ... by 200 Years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*  
 ... that of *Castor* the Historian, but not  
*Pausanias*. Authors justly remark,  
 ... are fictitious, and never had a real  
 ... the rather, that their Reigns don't  
 ... of the Kings of *Argos*, whose Histo-  
 ... a quite other Manner by the Antients :  
*Marshall*, so well skilled in the Know-  
 ... antiquity, to reject most of those Princes  
 ... Arguments he builds upon are the

... according to *Apollodorus* (2), is the Son  
 and Brother of *Phoroneus*, which undoubt-  
 Opinion we ought to follow. However,  
 ... of those antient Kings now remaining,  
 ... the Head of those of *Sicyon*, and conse-  
 ... ke him live 200 Years before his Father.  
 ... tenth King of that Dynasty, we are told,  
 ... to the City; but according to *Pausa-*  
*Pelops*, who did not live till long after  
 ... got the Name of *Sicyon*. 3. *Polypbilus*,  
 ... of those Kings, lived, if we may  
 ... antient Authors, at the Time of the tak-  
 ... Yet he is unknown to all the Authors  
 ... ven Account of the Siege of that City;  
 ... says expressly, that *Adrastus* was the first  
 ... 4. In the Enumeration which that  
 ... of the Captains who led Troops to *Troy*,  
 ... is made of the *Sicyonians*; which proves  
 ... to have been then subject to *Agamemnon*  
*scene*.

Arguments we may add, that the Proofs  
 ... afterwards, quite overthrow the Pre-  
*Sicyonians*. For how shall we reconcile  
 ... say of the Antiquity of *Argos* with  
 ... of theirs? *Pliny* tells us, upon the

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Authority of *Anticlides*, that *Pboroneus*, King of *Argos*, is the most antient King of *Greece*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says the same, upon the Testimony of *Acefilaus*, and he adds that *Pboroneus* was even the first Man. *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, knows nothing in the *Greek History* prior to that Prince; and *Syncellus*, from these Authorities, thinks that History ought to begin with *Inacbus*, the Father of *Pboroneus*. These are the Arguments of *Marsham*, who could not even believe that *Inacbus* was a Man, but a River.

*M. le Clerc*, and some other Authors, add to these Arguments, that the Name of *Egialeus*, which *Eusebius*, after *Castor*, puts at the Head of the Kings of *Sicyon*, appears to be fictitious. And indeed *Egialeus* imports one who inhabits upon the Coast, *Littoralis*; for which Conjecture, *Herodotus* furnishes these Authors with a Handle (1). The *Ionians*, says he, who inhabited the *Peloponnesus* before *Ion* the Son of *Xutus*, were called *Pelasgian Egialei*: Whence that Historian would seem to distinguish two Sorts of *Pelasgians* in the *Peloponnesus*, those who dwelt upon the Sea-coast, and those who inhabited the Inland Country, towards Mount *Cyllene*, where *Pelasgus*, according to the Testimony of *Asius* in *Pausanias* (2), had settled.

Notwithstanding these Authorities and Arguments, we may still adhere to the Authority of *Eusebius* and *Cedrenus*, who have adopted the List of those Kings given by *Castor* the Historian; for though the Word *Egialeus* signifies an Inhabitant of the Sea-coasts, and though this were not the true Name of the first King of *Sicyon*, yet he might nevertheless be a real King, and one of the Sons of *Inacbus*, who had got that Appellation to denote that he had left *Argolis*, which extended as far as the Sea, and established a new Kingdom near the Gulf of *Corinth*, in a Place at some Distance from that which he had left. However, I shall not set down that Canon here; for what would be the Use of giving a List of Kings almost unknown, and of whom we have hardly any Account in History?

It

(1) L. 7. (2) In Arc.



It suffices to know, that according to *Scaliger* (1), the two Dynasties of the Princes of *Sicyon*, that of the Kings, who are in all 26, and that of the Priests of *Carnæan Apollo*, to the Number of 17, lasted 893 Years, or, according to *M. Fourmond* (2), 992 ; that the Kingdom of *Sicyon* commenced 1351 Years before the first *Olympiad*, 927 Years before the *Trojan War*, about 2000 Years before the Christian *Æra* ; more Exactness is not here necessary. I refer the Reader to the Author of the Critical Reflections whom I have already quoted. As to *Pausanias*, what he says of these Kings being more full and instructive, I think proper to give it a Place here.

“ As for the *Sicyonians*, says he (3), this is the Account which they give us of their Original. *Egialeus*, say they, a Native of their own Country, was their first King ; under whose Reign, that Part of the *Peloponnesus* which is called at this Day *Egiale*, got its present Denomination. In that Country, he built in the open Field the City *Egialea*, with a Citadel which covered all the Ground whereon the Temple of *Minerva* now stands. *Egialeus* was the Father of *Europs*, of whom was born *Telchis*, whose Son was *Apis*. This last became so powerful, before the Arrival of *Pelops* at *Olympia*, that all the Country comprehended in the Isthmus, was called from him *Apia*. The Descendants of *Apis* were *Talxion* his Son, *Egyrus* the Son of *Talxion*, *Tburimachus* the Son of *Egyrus*, and *Leucippus* the Son of *Tburimachus*. *Leucippus* had but one Daughter, whose Name was *Chalcimia*, who bore a Son to *Neptune*. *Leucippus* took Care of this Son, and upon his Death bequeathed the Kingdom to him. The Name of this Son was *Peratus*, and he was the Father of *Plemnea*, of whom 'tis reported that when she could not bring up a Child, *Ceres* in Disguise offered herself to nurse the young *Orthopolis*. Or-

“ *thopolis*

(1) DeCr. Temp. (2) Ref. Crit. T. 2. p. 267. (3) In Corinth. c. 5 & 6, according to the Translation of the Abbé *Gedouin*, D. 1. p. 156.

“*Ithopolis* had a Daughter named *Chrysorta*, who had  
 “ by *Apollo*, *Coronus*; to him were born *Corax* and  
 “ *Lamedon*.

“ *Corax* having died without Issue, *Epopeus* from  
 “ *Thessaly* possessed himself of the Kingdom, and it  
 “ was under his Reign that an Army of Foreigners,  
 “ entered for the first Time into the Country.”

*Pausanias* relates the Cause of this War, which was  
 kindled upon Account of *Antiope*; but not to inter-  
 rupt the Succession of these Kings, we shall reserve  
 the History thereof for the Article of that Princess.

“ After the Death of *Corax*, continues *Pausanias*,  
 “ *Lamedon* his Brother ascended the Throne, and mar-  
 “ ried *Pheno* the Daughter of *Chytus* the *Athenian*.  
 “ Being attacked by two powerful Enemies, he in-  
 “ vited *Sicyon* from *Athens*, on whom he bestowed his  
 “ Daughter *Zeuxippe* in Marriage. *Sicyon*, after the  
 “ Death of his Father-in-law, took Possession of the  
 “ Kingdom, changed the Name both of the City and  
 “ Country, which from that Time was denominated  
 “ *Sicyon*. This Prince left a Daughter called *Ctono-*  
 “ *phyle*, who had two Sons, *Polybus* and *Andromas*.  
 “ It was under the Reign of the former of these  
 “ two Princes, that *Adraftus*, banished *Argos*, fled  
 “ for Refuge to *Sicyon*, and reigned there after him.  
 “ But being recalled home, he left the Crown to *Ja-*  
 “ *niscus*, the Grandson of that *Chytus*, who had given  
 “ his Daughter to *Lamedon*, as has been said. He  
 “ again had for his Successor *Phestus*, who having  
 “ gone over into *Crete*, was succeeded by *Zeuxippe*.  
 “ After her *Hippolytus*, the Grandson of *Phestus*, ascended  
 “ the Throne. *Agamemnon* declared War upon him,  
 “ and reduced him to Terms of Submission. He was  
 “ succeeded by his Son *Lacestades*: It was under his  
 “ Reign that *Phalces*, the Son of *Teminus*, at the  
 “ Head of a Troop of *Dorians*, made himself Master  
 “ of the City of *Sicyon*, and shared the Kingdom  
 “ with the lawful Prince. From that Time the *Si-*  
 “ *cyanians* were united with the *Dorians*, and began  
 “ to make a Part of the Kingdom of *Argos*.”

This,

This, to be sure, is a very circumstantiated History, which *Pausanias* had learned in the Country itself. I was willing, however, before I cited it, to enable the Reader to judge of it, by setting forth the Arguments of the Learned, who combat its Truth. If it be asked whence came this *Egialeus*, whose Original is not given, we may answer that he came from some Country of *Phœnicia*, as *Inachus*, or from *Egypt*, as *Danaus*, of whom we shall speak in the following Article.

### ARTICLE III.

#### *The Arrival of Danaus in Greece.*

The happy Success of *Cecrops's* Colony, probably induced *Danaus*, who was an *Egyptian* as well as he, likewise to attempt a Settlement in the same Country. Being forced to quit *Egypt*, he fitted out a Ship wherein he embarked his fifty Daughters, whom he had by several Wives, with all his Domesticks, and some *Egyptians* who were willing to accompany him. He stop'd first in the Island of *Rhodes*, where after having consecrated a Statue to *Minerva*, one of the great Divinities of *Egypt*, in Gratitude for his Successful Voyage, he re-embarked and arrived in *Greece*.

*Gelamor*, who had lately ascended the Throne of *Argos*, received the Stranger with Courtesy, which very soon became fatal to himself. The Beginning of *Gelamor's* Reign was full of Broils; of these *Danaus* took Advantage, and having made a considerable Party, dethroned his Benefactor, put a Period to the Reign of the *Inachides*, and became the Head of those who were called *Belides*.

His Brother's Sons, who were also fifty in Number, having got Information of their Uncle, embarked to go in quest of him, with a Design to marry their Cousins, and to make Settlements in that Part of *Greece* where *Danaus* reigned; but that Prince, who took Umbrage at every Thing, and was in continual Dread of being dispossessed of the Crown which he had usurped, having received them with all the Marks of sincere Friendship, and given them his Daughters

in Marriage, being alarmed with the Response of an Oracle, which foretold that he was to be dethroned by one of his Sons-in-law, enjoined his Daughters to kill their Husbands the first Night of their Marriage; and all of them obeyed him but *Hypermnestra*, who saved her Husband *Lynceus*. *Danaus* hearing of this Disobedience of his Daughter, intended to punish her; but coming to himself at last, he acknowledged *Lynceus* for his Son-in-law and Heir; thus having died after a long Reign, *Lynceus* ascended the Throne, which he possessed for forty Years; and had for his Successors *Abas*, *Prætus*, and *Acrisius*, who left an only Daughter named *Danaë*, of whom was born *Perseus*, who had the Misfortune to kill his Grandfather, as shall be fully said in the History of this Heroe; for here we do but transiently touch upon the principal Era. *Perseus* being guilty of this involuntary Murder, was forced to fly his Country, and to exchange his Dominions for those of *Megapenthes* his Cousin, King of *Tyrinthia*.

Thus the Kingdom of *Argos* lost the greatest Part of its Glory, and the rest of her Kings are little known until *Etbeocles*, the last of that Race, who died at the Siege of *Troy*. We find however one *Bias*, King of *Argos*, who by his Death left the Crown to his Son *Telams*, from whom it devolved upon *Adrastus*, who, according to *Pausanias*, being dethroned, retired to *Sigon*, and became the first King thereof, as we read in *Homer*; for this Poet seems to have known nothing about those fabulous Kings, as *Egialeus*, and others whom we find in the List of Kings of that City.

*Perseus*, grown sick of his Residence at *Tyrinthia*, removed to *Mycenæ*, and had also several Successors, who are as little known as those of the Kingdom of *Argos*, down to *Euristheus* the Rival of *Hercules*, and the last King of that Line, who died without Issue in the War which he had with the *Heraclidae*. When that Prince set out from *Mycenæ* for that Expedition, he left the Administration of his Kingdom to *Atræus* the Son of *Pelops*, who became Master thereof after him.

him. He was succeeded by *Agamemnon*, who was slain upon his Return from *Troy*, as shall be said afterwards (a).

*Orestes* next ascended the Throne, and put a Period to the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*. We have an Account however of some of *Orestes's* Successors; but their History is so uncertain, and their Reigns so short (b), that they have hardly a Place given them among the Kings of the *Peloponnesus*. The *Heraclide*, fourscore Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, re-entered into that Part of *Greece*, where they quite changed the Face of Things, and held it in their Possession for a considerable Time.

We may add, that to *Alceus* the Son of *Perseus* were born *Amphitryo* and his Sister *Anaxo*, who by her Husband *Electrion* had *Alcmena*, who married her Uncle *Amphitryo*, the Father of *Hercules*. Of *Mestor*, the other Son of *Perseus*, and *Sissidea* his Wife, was born *Hypothoos* the Father of *Taphius*, who dwelt in a City of *Cephalonia*, which he called *Taphos* after his own Name. After his Death *Electrion* invaded his Part of the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and his Sons coming to resume their Right, there ensued a Scuffle upon that Occasion, wherein they slew the Sons of *Electrion*, who gave *Alcmena* to *Amphitryo*, on condition that he would revenge their Death; but he having had the Misfortune to kill *Electrion* himself, was banished *Mycenæ* by *Sthenelus*, and retired to *Thebes*. There *Hercules* was born, who by this Means became a Subject of *Euristheus* the Son of *Sthenelus*, whose Kingdom belonged to him, the Race of *Perseus* being extinct by the Death of that Prince.

It will not be foreign to the Purpose, before I close this Article, to explain a Fable which we have in *Pausanias* with relation to *Inachus* (1). "The Greeks gave  
" out,

(a) Several of the Antients put *Plisphenes* between *Atreus* and *Agamemnon*, and even make the Latter to have been his Son.

(b) And indeed if *Orestes* reigned 70 Years, as we are told, there would remain but 10 for his Successors, for the Year of the Entrance of the *Heraclide* into *Peloponnesus* is fixed.

(1) In *Corinth*.

While *Phoroneus*, the Successor of *Inachus*, was in Possession of the Throne of *Argos*, *Ogyges* governed *Attica*, and a Part of *Beotia*. Under his Reign happened the Inundation known since by the Name of *Ogyges's* Deluge.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### *The Deluge of Ogyges.*

Nothing in the Antiquities of *Greece* is more obscure than the History of *Ogyges*, and of the Deluge which happened in his Time. Here are three Questions not in our Power sufficiently to answer : Whether this Prince was a Native of *Greece* or a Foreigner ; at what Time he lived ; and what Deluge it is that happened under his Reign. The *Greek* Historians tell us, that *Ogyges* reigned in *Attica* and *Beotia*, while *Phoroneus*, the Son of *Inachus*, governed *Argolis*, and that it was in his Time the Deluge happened which goes under his Name, whereof *Censorinus* fixes the Date about the Year 1200 before the *Trojan* War : But they quote no Authority in Proof of these Facts. The *Parian* Marbles say nothing of it, and that famous Chronicle begins only with the Arrival of *Cecrops* in *Greece*. There is as little Certainty in what the Antients say of the Deluge that happened under his Reign. *Strabo* alledges, it was owing to the overflowing of the River *Colpias* ; as if the Waters of that River could have swelled so high as to deluge *Beotia* and *Attica*. We may say with more Probability, that as *Beotia* is a Country environed with Mountains, the Middle thereof being a Valley, there was formed in this Valley a Lake, which had no Outlet but by Canals under Ground provided there by Nature, through which the Waters discharged themselves across Mount *Ptous* ; and that these Canals having been choaked up by the falling down of the neighbouring Lands, the Waters which came thither from the adjacent Mountains, and which perhaps were encreased by great Falls of Rain, or by the melting of the Snows, which considerably swelled the River *Colpias*, flowed back upon the neighbouring Fields and laid them under Water.

This

This I take to have been the most probable Cause of that Deluge; and the curious *Wæler*, who in his Travels through *Greece* had occasion to examine that Lake and its Outlets, agrees that it could not possibly have happened any other Way.

S. *Augustine*, who in his Book *de Civ. Dei* has preserved to us valuable Fragments upon the *Greek* Antiquities, says, the Deluge of *Ogyges* happened, as has been said, under the Reign of *Phoroneus* the second King of *Argos*; and he adds, that this was the Opinion of *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome*. *Orosius* places this Deluge 1040 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, near 2000 Years before the Christian *Æra*; but *Scaliger* thinks they are both in an Error.

I shall not quote here the Opinion of Sir *Isaac Newton*: That celebrated Author, we know, has greatly contracted the Antiquities of *Greece*, by placing the Date of this Deluge in the Year 1045 before our *Vulgar Æra*.

*Julius Africanus*, upon the Authority of *Hellanicus*, *Philochorus*, *Castor* and *Diodorus Siculus*, will have it that *Ogyges* lived more than 1020 Years before the first *Olympiad*, and consequently, near 1800 Years before *Jesus Christ*; which agrees to the Opinion of *Petavius*, who fixes the Deluge under that Prince's Reign to the Year 1796 before our *Vulgar Æra*.

*Sinſon*, in his *Origines Sacrae* (1), makes *Ogyges* the same with *Cadmus*; but M. *Fourmond* has by solid Arguments, which may be seen in his *Critical Reflexions*, proved that Author to be mistaken. The same M. *Fourmond* offers a Conjecture concerning *Ogyges* and his Deluge, which, if true, will cast a great Light upon *Balaam's* Prophecy. That Prince, says he, was the same with *Og*, *Agag*, or *Ogug*, who having left his own Country came and settled in *Greece*, where he perished by an Inundation. He was therefore an *Amalekite* Prince, who was forced to quit his own Dominions, being pursued by the other Princes of the Race of *Amalek*, who at that Time were

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actually

(1) L. 1. c. 1.

actually very powerful, and it was while he was in Greece that the Deluge happened in which he perished (1).

S. *Jerome*, in his *Latin* Version of the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, departs from his Author, and contends that it was not in *Attica*, as all the Antients alledge, but in *Egypt* that the Deluge of *Ogyges* happened; and as S. *Jerome* will have that Prince to have been contemporary with *Moses*, we may conjecture that this pretended Deluge was nothing else but the Event that happened in the *Red-Sea* at the Exit of the *Hebrews*.

To give my own Opinion upon this Subject, 'tis certain that *Ogyges* was not a Native of Greece, his very Name alone sufficiently proves him to have been a Stranger; but whether he came from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, or from the Country of *Amalek*, is more than I am able to determine. He went and settled at *Thebes* in *Beotia*, named frequently by the Antients *Ogygian Thebes*, and he also reigned over *Attica*. It was under his Reign the Inundation happened which I have been upon, which occasioned great Desolation in the Country, and went by the Name of the Deluge. That Prince had married *Thebe*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Jodamia* (2), by whom he had two Sons, *Cadmus* and *Eleusinus*, who built the City *Eleusis*, and three Daughters, *Alalcomene*, who is said to have nursed *Minerva*, who at that Time appeared upon the Borders of the Lake *Tritonis*; whence *Homer* has given to that Goddess the Epithet of *Alalcomenian*; the second of those Daughters was called *Aulis*, who communicated her Name to a Town in *Beotia*; and the third *Thesfinia*. These three Princesses, after their Death, were worshipped as Divinities, under the Name of the *Praxidican Goddesses* (2).

The two Sons of *Ogyges* reigned, the one in *Beotia* and the other at *Eleusis*; for no Credit is to be given to those who say that *Attica* was laid so much under Water by that Deluge as to continue a long Time

(1) See p. 231. & seq. (2) See Pausanias in Att. (3) Πραξιδικαί.



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Time uninhabited (1). Whether *Ogyges* perished in the Inundation or not, is what we cannot positively say. Among the three Daughters of *Ogyges*, *Alalcomene* was the most celebrated, from the Office she had given her, of being Nurse to *Minerva*, and from the Worship that was paid to her after her Death. She was reckoned the Goddess who brought Designs to a happy Issue, as is implied in the Word *Praxidice*. To her were offered in Sacrifice the Heads of Animals, as we are told by *Suidas* (2). *Pausanias* adds (3), that *Mœnelaus*, upon his Return home from the Siege of *Troy*, erected to her a Statue, as having by her Assistance put an End to the War which he had undertaken for the Recovery of *Helen* his Wife.

Whatever Diversity of Opinions we find as to the *Epocha* of the Deluge of *Ogyges*, I reckon it may be placed towards the Year 1796 before *Christ*. This *Epocha* is fixed in the Greek History. Accordingly *Julius Africanus*, cited by *Eusebius* (4), informs us, that all the Chronologists, and among others *Hellanicus*, *Philochorus*, *Castor*, *Tallus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are agreed in placing this Inundation 1020 Years before the first *Olympiad*. This *Olympiad* was undoubtedly that of *Chorebus*, celebrated about the Summer Solstice of the 776th Year before *Christ*. Thus, by necessary Consequence, this Deluge was in the Year 1796 before the Christian *Æra*. *Petavius* and *Marsbam* have made the same Computation, and we may rely upon the Judgment of those two learned Men: But after all, the Time when that Prince reigned is so uncertain and obscure, that we can embrace no Hypothesis which is not liable to vast Difficulties. Accordingly every Thing of dark Antiquity used to be called *Ogygian*.

We must not omit, that the Reign of *Ogyges* was remarkable for a strange Appearance in the Heavens, as we learn from *S. Augustine* (5), after the Historian

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*Castor* :

(1) *Eusebius* says it remained desolate 190 Years. (2) On the Word *Praxidice*. (3) In Lac. (4) *Præp. Evan.* l. 10. c. 9. (5) *De Civit. Dei*.

*Castor* : These are the Words of that learned Father of the Church. *Est in Marci Varronis libris, quorum Inscriptio DE GENTE POPULI ROMANI, Castor scribit, in stella Veneris . . . Tantum portentum extitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum; quod factum ita neque antea, neque postea sit. Hoc factum Ogyge Rege dicebant Adrastus Cyzicenus, & Dion Neapolius, Mathematici nobiles.* I shall not insist upon the History of this Phenomenon, which is said to have made the Planet *Venus* change her Diameter, Colour, Figure and Course, because M. *Freret*, who takes it to have been a Comet, the same that appeared in 1680, has composed a very large Dissertation upon that Subject, which the Reader may consult (1).

## ARTICLE V.

*The Kingdom of Athens founded by Cecrops.*

The Chronicle of *Paros* begins its first *Epocha* with the Arrival of *Cecrops* in *Greece*, and from that Time we have more Insight into the History of that Country. As a Work composed for the Use of all ought to contain Pieces of Knowledge which will be of little or no Use to the Learned, I think my self obliged to explain in a few Words what this Chronicle is, commonly called *The Parian Marbles* : I have already quoted it, and shall have Occasion, as I go along, frequently to cite the *Epochas* of it. 'Tis a Series of several Pieces of Marble, containing the Chronology of the principal Events of *Greece*, beginning with *Cecrops*, and ending with the Archonship of *Diognetus* ; that is, thirteen hundred and eighteen Years after. This Chronicle was compiled by public Authority for the Use of the *Athenians*, sixty Years after the Death of *Alexander*, in the fourth Year of the hundred and eightieth *Olympiad* ; and as in the Dates which it fixes, no Mention is made of the *Olympiads*, 'tis probable, that they were not then used in Chronology. It was not till five or six Years after, that *Timæus* of *Sicily* made Use of them in his History.

These

(1) Mem. of the Acad. of the Bell. Let. Vol. 10. p. 357.

These Marbles were dug up in the Island of *Paros*, and sold to the Earl of *Arundel*, who brought them over to *England*, where they are at this Day in the Library of the University of *Oxford*. They have the Misfortune to be very much damaged in several Places, and oft-times but a few Words are legible on some of the *Æras* which they contain.

Three learned Authors, *Selden*, *Lydiat* and *Prideaux*, have laboured to give Light to them, and to supply, as far as possible, the Text where it is defaced. They have also settled the Time of the last *Æra* of those Marbles; so that by tracing backward, we see the Distance from one *Æra* to another. Let us now begin the History of the Kingdom of *Athens*.

It was under the Reign of *Triopas*, the seventh King of *Argos*, that *Cecrops*, come from *Egypt*, settled in *Attica*. The Interpreters of the *Arundel* Marbles place this Event in the Year 1582 before the Christian *Æra*, and this *Epocka* agrees to the Chronology of *Censorinus*, and *Diomysius Halicarnassæus*, who make that Prince to have lived 400 Years after *Inachus*, and a little less than 400 Years before the Destruction of *Troy*: There is only the Difference of 26 Years between it and that of *Eusebius* (1). This Author, who agrees with the Chronology of those Marbles is to the Time that elapsed from *Cecrops* to the taking of *Troy*, has abridged the Period between that War and the first *Olympiad* by 26 Years. But both of them set the Arrival of that Prince in *Greece* too far back, as those do still more, who make him contemporary with *Inachus* or *Egialeus*; for by adding the Reigns of the Kings of *Athens*, from and including that Prince, to *Mnestheus*, in whose Time *Troy* was taken, there are only eleven Reigns and ten Generations, which computed at the Rate of three to a hundred Years, make but 330 Years from *Cecrops* to the taking of *Troy*; for we reckon not *Mnestheus*, who was but just come to the Crown.

*Cecrops* married the Daughter of *Aticus*, who com-

B b 3 municated

(1) See *Selden* Notæ Histor. ad Marmora, p. 94 & 95.

municated his Name to that Country (a), and with his Colony founded twelve Cities, or rather twelve Villages, whereof he composed the Kingdom of *Attens*, and established there both the Laws of his Country, and the Worship of its Gods ; he especially introduced thither that of *Minerva*, worshipped at *Sais* his native City, that of *Jupiter*, and the other Gods of *Egypt*. This Fact is attested by all Antiquity. *Eusebius* (1) says he was the first who gave *Jupiter* the Name of God, erected an Altar to him, and dedicated a Statue to *Minerva*. *S. Epiphanius* repeats the same Thing, as *Pausanias* had said so before (2).

If there is some Resemblance between the Laws which this Prince gave the *Albenians*, and those of the *Jews*, it may be owing to his having learned them from the *Israelites* who sojourned a long Time in *Egypt* ; and the Reason why the Poets call him *Diphyes*, as you would say, a *Man of a double Nature*, is probably that he having come with his Retinue from a foreign Country, and having the Command of two Nations, the one of them civilized, the other quite barbarous, was given out to be half Man half Serpent, as it is in *Apollodorus* (3) ; or perhaps for having spoke two Languages, the *Egyptian* and the *Greek* ; or lastly, because he regulated the Laws of Marriage which unite both Sexes : For all these three Interpretations are given by Authors. In fact, he polished the barbarous Manners of the *Pelasgi*, and habituated them by Degrees to those of the *Egyptians*.

It was the same *Cecrops*, if we may believe *Eusebius* (4), who first invoked *Jupiter*, erecting Statues and Altars to him, and offering Sacrifices in his Honour : *Primus Cecrops bovem immolans Jovem appellavit* (5), after the Manner probably of the *Egyptians*,  
whole

(a) The Country where *Cecrops* settled, as is remarked by the *Parian Marbles*, was formerly called *Attica*, from *Attus* ; or *Oggia*, from the Name of *Oggys* ; and that Prince changed it to *Cecropia*.

(1) *Præp. Evan.* l. 10. c. 9. (2) In *Att.* (3) *L.* 1. (4) *Idem.* l. 2. *Chron.* (5) *N.* 463.

whose Laws and Ceremonies he had learned. *Pausanias* (1) however remarks, that he offered in Sacrifice only Things inanimate, and that the Custom of animal Sacrifices was not introduced into *Greece* till after his Time.

As for the Policy and Order which this Prince established in his new Kingdom, it suffices to observe with *Strabo* (2), after *Philochorus*, that in order to secure his Subjects against the Irruptions of the *Carians*, who attacked them by Sea, and from the *Beotians* of *Aonia*, who infested them by Land, he collected them into twelve Villages, the Names whereof this Author has not preserved. *Theseus*, who afterwards ascended the Throne of *Athens*, reduced those twelve Villages to one City.

*Porphyry* (3) informs us, that *Cecrops* staid some Time in *Cyprus* before his Arrival in *Greece*, and that in the City *Coronis*, which *Cecrops* rebuilt, and which was since called *Salamis*, a Custom was established in Honour of *Aglauros* his Daughter, of sacrificing every Year a Human Victim. This Custom lasted very long; and after the Death of *Diomedes*, that Heroe had the Honour of the Sacrifice which was offered up before to that Princess. The unfortunate Victim, says the same Author, was conducted to the Temple; and after he had been led three Times round the Altar, the Priest transfix'd his Body with a Spear; and immediately had it laid upon a Funeral-Pile. *Demophilus*, the King of *Cyprus*, abolished this detestable Ceremony in the Time of *Seleucus*, exchanging the human Sacrifice for that of an Ox.

Thus *Athens*, the Inventress of Arts and Sciences, the Seat of Learning and Politeness, owes her Beginning to *Egypt*: Not that the Country was quite desolate when *Cecrops* arriv'd there, but its Inhabitants were mostly barbarous and savage, living in the Woods and Mountains, without Laws, Society or Discipline. This *Egyptian* Prince gathered into one Body all in his Neighbourhood, form'd them into a

B b 4

solid

(1) In Att. l. 8. (2) L. 9. (3) L. 2 de Abstin.

solid Establishment, and built the Fortrefs which from him was denominated *Cecropian*, as was also the whole Country.

*Cecrops* left three Daughters, *Aglauros* (a), *Herse*, and *Pandrosos*, who became famous under his Successors, by the Fables I am going to relate. After the Death of *Cranaus* who ascended the Throne after *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius* disputed the Crown with *Ambition*, who having gained the Victory, succeeded *Cranaus*, after whom reigned *Erichthonius*. 'Tis of this last that the *Cecropian* Fables have been published. This *Erichthonius* had an infamous Original given him: *Minerva* seeing him born lame and misshapen, hid him in a Basket, and gave the Care of it to *Aglauros*, forbidding her to look into it; but as Prohibitions serve but to raise that Sexes Curiosity, she opened the Basket, and found therein nothing but a Child with the Legs of a Serpent. *Minerva* punished that Princess's Indiscretion, by making her jealous of *Herse* her Sister, of whom *Mercury* was enamoured; and one Day as she was going to hinder that God from entering into the Appartment of his Mistress, he struck her with his *Caduceus*, and transformed her into a Rock. The Truth of this Fable is, that the Name of *Erichthonius* being compounded of two Greek Words which signify *Contest* and *Earth*, instead of saying he had been so called from the Dispute he had with his Competitor, they fabled, and *Strabo* (1) says it as well as others, that he was the Son of *Vulcan*, and of the *Earth*, who had conceived him at the same Time when *Minerva* resisted the Violence of that God; unless we choose rather to say with *S. Augustine*, that this Prince passed for the Son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, only because he had been exposed in a Temple consecrated to them.

As *Erichthonius* had really weak and distorted Limbs, so he invented the Use of Chariots, as most of the Antients

(a) The Greek Authors are not agreed that she was dead when her Father arrived at *Athens*.

(1) L. 9.

tients alledge with *Virgil* (a); or at least he added Wheels to a Kind of Dray which *Trochilus* had brought into Use before him; and he made so good Use of this new Invention in the Celebration of the *Athenaia*, where he won the Prize, and whereof he was the Founder, according to the tenth Epocha of the *Parian* Marbles, that after his Death he was advanced to the Constellation of the Charioteer, or *Bootes*, as we learn from *Hyginus* (b).

To the Fable now recited they add, that *Pandrosos*, the third Daughter of *Cecrops*, would not disobey *Minerva*; and that the *Greeks*, as a Reward for her Piety, built her a Temple after her Death near that of the Goddess, as it is in *Pausanias*: But *Herodotus* says *Aglauros* and *Herse* received the same Honour.

The Kingdom of *Athens* lasted upwards of 400 Years under 17 Kings; namely, *Cecrops*, *Cranæus*, *Amphibtyon*, *Erichthonius*, *Pandion*, *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops* II. *Pandion* II. *Egeus*, *Theseus*, *Mnestheus*, *Demophoon*, *Oxintbes*, *Apbidas*, *Tymoethes*, *Melanthes*, and *Codrus*, who devoted himself to his Country.

*Crænaus*, a Native of the Country, succeeded *Cecrops*, and reigned nine Years; his Reign would be very obscure, were it not for two Events which the *Parian* Marbles record to have happened in that Time. The first is the Judgment given by the *Areopagus*, founded by *Cecrops*, between *Neptune* and *Mars*, of which we have spoken at full Length in the History of those Gods. The second is *Deucalion's* Deluge, which the same Marbles refer to the fourth Year of this Prince's Reign.

After *Codrus*, perpetual Magistrates were elected, under the Name of *Archons*. The History of the first Kings of *Athens* down to *Demophoon*, is full of Fables,

as

(a) *Primus Erichthonius Cursus, & quatuor ausus  
Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insilire videtur.*

Geor. l. 3.

(b) *Alii Anguina crura habuisse Erichthonium dixerunt, eumque  
primo tempore adolescentiæ ludos Minervæ Panathenææ fecisse, &  
ipsum quadrigis cucurrisse: pro quibus factis inter fœdera dicitur col-  
locatus. Hygip. Cœl. Astro. l. 2.*

as we shall see in the sequel; but there are none of them whose Chronology is not ascertained; since the *Parian* Marbles mark exactly the chief Events of them, and fix their *Æras*.

The Kingdom of *Laconia* was founded during the Reign of the same *Cecrops* by *Lelex*, who gave it the Name of *Lelegia*. But as these Kings enter seldom into our Fables, we shall dwell no longer upon this Subject. All we shall observe here is, that the first Dynasty, answering to the Times we are now upon, includes twelve Kings; namely, *Eurotas*, who communicated his Name to the River that runs in the Country; *Lacedemon*, his Brother, after whom the Capital and Kingdom were called; *Amyclas*, who built a City of his own Name; *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, *Ebalus*, *Hippocoon*, *Tyndarus* the Son of *Ebalus* and Brother of *Hippocoon*; *Castor* and *Pollux*, the Sons of *Tyndarus*, and Brothers of *Helen*; *Menelaus* the Son of *Atræus*, who got the Crown by *Helen*; *Orestes*, the Son of *Agamemnon*, by his Marriage with *Hermione* the Daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helen*; *Tisamenes*, the Son of *Orestes*. It was under his Reign that the *Heracliæ* entered into the *Peloponnesus*, and made themselves Masters not only of the Kingdoms of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, but also of *Lacedemon*. *Euristhenes* the Son of *Aristodemus* ascended the Throne, and began the second Dynasty of the Kings of *Sparta*, denominated *Agidæ* from *Agis* his Son.

#### ARTICLE VI.

##### *The Arrival of Deucalion in Greece.*

We have said in the History of the *Titan* Princes (1), that *Prometheus* had been banished into *Scythia*, to the Confines of *Caucasus*. His Son *Deucalion*, who married *Pyrrha* his Cousin, the Daughter of his Uncle *Epimetheus*, weary of that melanchonly Retreat, and having probably found some favourable Opportunity, came and settled in *Thessaly* (2), in the Confines of *Phthia*, or rather, according to the *Parian* Marbles, in *Lycoria* near *Parnassus*. These Authors explain that

Chronicle

(1) Vol. II. B. 1. (2) Apoll. 1. 1.



Chronicle contrary to the Sentiment of *Pausanias* (1), who alledges, that *Lycoria* was not a Province, but a City, situated upon the Declivity of that Mountain. At Bottom there is no Contradiction between these two Authorities, since the City and the Province that depended upon it might both have the same Name.

The Æra of the Arrival of that Prince is well marked in the same Chronicle, and it was the ninth Year of *Cecrops's* Reign at *Athens*; that is about the Year 215 or 220 before the *Trojan War*, and about 1400 Years before the Christian Æra. Farther, every Thing concurs to justify the Æra of those Marbles, since 1. From *Cecrops* to *Theseus*, who died a short Time before the Siege of *Troy*, there are ten Reigns, whereof the first reached even to the Arrival of *Deucalion*. Now reckoning 22 or 23 Years for each, we will have the Date settled by the Chronicle. 2. By considering the Descendants or Generations from that Prince to the taking of *Troy*, as they are enumerated by the Antients, the Thing will be yet more certain, since we seldom find more than six or seven of them, which make about 200 or 230 Years. 'Tis true, in some of the Families of those Descendants we find sometimes to the Number of ten; but besides that they are more frequently only six or seven, we know that at the End of 200 Years, the Generations of two collateral Families are not always equal.

To conclude, nothing is more celebrated in the *Greek History* than *Deucalion*, who has been reckoned the Repairer of Mankind, since it was under his Reign that the Deluge happened which bears his Name, and he had a numerous Posterity who reigned in several Parts of *Greece*: Two Points upon which 'tis necessary to enlarge.

## ARTICLE VII.

### *The Deluge of Deucalion.*

Let us begin with the Fables relating to this famous Event. *Jupiter*, they tell us, seeing the Wick-

edness

(1) In *Phoc.*

edness of Man grow from Day to Day, resolved to extirpate the whole human Race (1). For that End he poured down such a Quantity of Rain as to drown the whole Earth : Even the highest Mountains were covered with Water, and frustrated the Hopes of those who fled thither for Refuge. Only Mount *Parnassus*, whose Top was not laid under Water, saved the pious *Deucalion* and his Wife *Pyrrha*. After the Waters were withdrawn, they went to consult the Goddess *Themis*, who delivered Oracles at the Foot of the Mountain (a), and there they learned that in order to repeople the World, they were to dig up the Bones of their great Mother. Their Piety was alarmed at so cruel an Oracle ; but *Deucalion* considering that as the Earth was their common Parent, her Bones might possibly signify the Stones contained within her Bowels ; they took some of them, and cast them behind their Backs, having their Eyes shut : Those which *Deucalion* threw formed Men, and those of *Pyrrha* Women. Let us see what this Allegory means.

'Tis obvious that this Narration contains many Fables ; but as the Substance thereof is true, it must be explained. In the ninth Year of the Reign of *Cecrops*, *Deucalion* came into *Greece*, and took Possession of *Leucoria* near *Parnassus*, where he reigned ; but not contenting himself with the petty State which he had seized upon, he made War upon his Neighbours, and made himself Master of Part of the *Lower Thessaly*, near the River *Peneus* ; the Name of the Province at that Time was *Phthiotis*, from *Phthius* of *Arcadia*, who had seized upon it 160 Years before, as we learn from *Pausanias* (2). As the Country before *Phthius's* Time

(1) See *Ovid's Met.* l. 1.

(a) *Ovid* in this follows the better Tradition ; for the Learned agree, that the Oracle of *Delphi* was not yet established in that Place, but that *Themis* at that Time delivered Oracles there. The Mythologists agree that there always was an Oracle in that Place : First *Terra*, or the *Earth*, gave Predictions there, then her Daughter *Themis*, then *Apollō*.

See the Article of the City of *Delphi*, and what we have said upon Oracles in the first Volume.

(2) In *Arc.*

Time was denominated *Hellas*, *Deucalion* thought fit, in order to gain the Good-will of his Subjects, to call one of his Sons *Hellen*; and he having ascended the Throne after the Death of his Father, and having made several Conquests, would needs have his Subjects take the Name of *Hellenians*, which was peculiar to them till what Time all the *Greeks* assumed it; which happened about the Beginning of the *Olympiads*, that is, about 775 Years before the Christian *Æra*. In the Time of *Homer* we know that none but *Deucalion's* Posterity were called *Hellenians*.

Most Authors are of Opinion that the Deluge which happened under the Reign of this Prince was occasioned by the River *Peneus*, whose Course was probably stopped by some Earthquake between Mount *Ossa* and *Olympus*, where is the Mouth of that River, through which it discharges itself into the Sea with the additional Water of five other Rivers: This, say they, together with a vast Quantity of Rain which fell that Year, laid all *Thessaly*, which is a low Country, under Water.

What *Herodotus* (1) says in his Description of that Province, sufficiently proves this to have been the Cause of that Inundation. “ ’Tis said that *Thessaly* once was nothing but a Lake, being environed on all Sides with Hills. The Country which lies between those Hills is what they call *Thessaly*, which is watered with Plenty of Rivers, the chief whereof are the *Peneus*, the *Apidanus*, the *Onschones*, the *Eripeus*, and the *Panito*. These five Rivers, falling down from the neighbouring Mountains, after having run through the low Country, disembogue themselves into the Sea by a very narrow Canal, where they all unite, and make but one great River, which retains the Name of *Peneus*. They tell us further, that before the Canal was made, these Rivers flooded the whole Country, and turned it into a great Lake; but that *Neptune* having formed that great Canal, all the Waters retired.”

In the mean time, as the *Parian* Marbles make *Deucalion* to have reigned not in *Theffaly*, but at *Lycor*, in the Confines of *Parnassus*, we must add to *Hercules's* Relation, that Part of the Inundation was owing to a Breach in the Bank of the Lake, which was the Bottom of *Parnassus*, and that *Deucalion*, to save himself from it, went up to the highest Top of Mountain: As to which, you may consult the *Troves* of *Spon* and *Wæler*, who have seen the Lake.

Some Time after, the Waters having retired, the Country was very soon re-peopled. The Children those who were preserved, are the mystical *Stones* whereof the Poets make so frequent Mention, this being having no other Foundation but a mere Quibble the *Phœnician* Word *Aben*; or *Eben*, signifying equally a *Stone* or a *Child* (1), and the Word *Laos* Greek a *Stone*, or a *People*, as is observed by the learned Scholiast on *Pindar* (2): Thus those who gave Account of this antient Fact, took one Signification for another, and vented a mysterious Fable. We may even add, that the Ferocity and Obduracy of those Men, by no Means belied their Original.

*Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,  
Et documenta damus qua sumus origine nati* (3).

To proceed. The Manner in which *Salmasius* relates a Passage in *Hesiod* in his Fragments, casts a great Light upon the Explanation of this Fable. The *Phœnicians* were antiently called *Leleges*, and they inhabited *Phocis*. That Poet says *Jupiter* gave them to *Deucalion* to re-people the World; and the Expression makes use of, according to the Correction of that Critic, signifies not that *Jupiter* gave him Men of *Stone* but come from a stony Country: *Erutos e terra ludum dedit Deucalioni*. In a Word, instead of saying the Men who were not drowned in the Deluge, came from a stony Mountain, they fabled that they were sprung from the very Stones of that Mountain.

*Pausani.*

(1) See *Bockart*. (2) See *Græc. Menil*, p. 532. (3) *Or. Met.* l. 1.

*Pausanias*, in his *Phocica*, says the Wolves, by the Howlings they made for fear of being drowned, warned those who run the same Hazard to get up to the Top of *Parnassus*; and that having built there a City, they called it by the Name of *Lycoræa*, from the Wolves; but the *Arundel-Marbles* overthrow this Tradition, since we see by them that *Deucalion* reigned at *Lycoræa* before this Deluge.

The Poets, in order to veil the History of this Fact under an ingenious Fiction, fabled that *Neptune*, by a Blow of his Trident, separated Mount *Ossa* from *Olympus*, to open a Channel for the River *Peneus*; but *Hesiodotus* is more rational in his Relation of this Fable (1). "The Opinion of those who made *Neptune* the Author of that Separation, says he, was not quite groundless: For all who are for ascribing Earthquakes to *Neptune*, and who will have all Openings that are thus made, to be the Works of that God, will have no Difficulty to believe that *Neptune* made this Canal, when they take a View of it." His Meaning is, that the Opening appeared so very surprising, as to be attributed to *Neptune*, according to the Custom of those Times. As to which it is observed (2), that the Festival of the *Peloria*, so famous among the *Thessalians*, where public Entertainments were prepared for Strangers, and even for Slaves, who were served by their Masters, came from this, that one *Pelorus* was the first who gave Intimation to *Pelagius*, that by Means of an Opening in the Valley of *Tempé* the Waters were removed; which gave that Prince so much Joy, that he regaled *Pelorus* in a magnificent Manner, and would needs even serve him at Table.

When the Waters were thus assuaged, *Deucalion*, according to the *Parian Chronicle*, went to *Athens*, where, in Gratitude to the Gods for having preserved him from the general Inundation of his Country, he offered solemn Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, in a Temple which he built to his Honour, and which was still subsisting in

(1) L. 1. (2) *Athenæus*, l. 14.

in the Time of *Pisistratus*, who rebuilt it at an infinite Expence. This is the famous Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, begun by this Prince, continued by his Sons, by *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and which was finished at last by *Adrian*. The *Albenians*, in Commemoration of the Deluge, sacrificed every Year in this Temple a Cake of Meal and Honey, on the first of the Month *Anthisterion*.

Antiquity is not agreed as to the King who reigned at *Albens* in the Time of that Retreat. *Eusebius* alledges it was under *Cecrops*, but according to the *Marbles* it was *Cranæus*; and we readily subscribe to what is contained upon that antient Monument, which appears to have been compiled by public Authority, and with great Exactness. Thus we must fix the *Æra* of the Deluge not to the Year 1557 before Christ, as the Commentators on this Chronicle alledge, but to the Year 1380 or 90 before that Epochæ, for Reasons given at the Beginning of this Article.

'Tis proper to remark, before we go farther, that the Tradition of the universal Deluge, which was carried even to the most distant Nations, had been very conducive to the Embellishment of the History of that of *Deucalion*; and this is what makes *Ovid* say, in giving the Description of it, that it had laid all the Earth under Water, and that the Waters overtopped the highest Mountains:

*Jamque mare & tellus nullum discrimen habebant,  
Omnia pontus erant, deerant quoque littora ponto* (1).

That of all the Inhabitants of the Earth there remained but one Man and one Woman:

*Et supereffe videt de tot modo millibus unum, &c.* (2).

The Poet *Lucan*, not to mention others, says much the same Thing (3), and *Diodorus* asserts that the Deluge had destroyed all the living Creatures that were then upon the Face of the Earth. But 'tis not only in this Idea that the Poets and Historians seem so conformable

formable to *Moses* in the History of *Deucalion's* Deluge. We discern so many in their Works, especially those of *Ovid*, that it would seem he had either read the *Genesis*, or learned what he says of it from Tradition still very lively. First he gives us a Description of the Disorders which abounded in the World; he mentions the Avarice, the Parricides, the Impurity, and other Crimes that reigned amongst Men; adding that Piety was sacrificed to the vilest of Passions.

*Virta jacet pietas; &c.*

He mentions the War of the Giants armed against Heaven; he makes *Jupiter* hold a Council to declare to the other Gods his Resolution of punishing all those Crimes, much in the same Manner as *Moses* makes God Almighty: *I will destroy all Flesh* (1). He says afterwards that *Jupiter's* first Design was to consume the World by Fire, but calling to Mind that Fate had fixed the Time of the general Conflagration, which was to burn up the whole Universe, he was content for that Time to bury the Earth under Water.

*Jamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras :  
Sed timuit - - - - -  
Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur, affore tempus  
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaue Regia Cæli  
Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa laboret.*

Lastly, the Poet remembers the Rainbow; and in one Word, the Manner in which he describes the Reparation of Mankind by two Persons of eminent Piety, proves that he had delineated *Deucalion's* Deluge from the Ideas of that of *Noah* (a).

All the other Poets, and several Historians speak in the same Strain, only substituting *Deucalion's* Name in Place of *Noah's*. *Lucian* (2), speaking of those antient People of *Syria*, among whom, according to themselves,

VOL. III.

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*Deucalion*

(1) *Delebo omnem carnem.* &c. Gen. c. 2.

(a) *Non illo melior quisquam, vel amantior æqui,  
Vir fuit, aut illa metuentior ulla Deorum.*

Id. ibi;

(2) De Dea Syria.

*Deucalion* lived, and who related the History of the Deluge, says: "The *Greeks* assert in their Fables, that " the first Men being cruel and insolent, void of " Faith, inhospitable and inhuman, were all destroy- " ed by the Deluge; the Earth discharging from her " Womb a vast Quantity of Waters, which swelled " the Rivers, and together with the Rains made the " Sea overflow, insomuch that all was laid under Wa- " ter. *Deucalion* alone remained, who saved himself " and Family in an Ark, and two of each Kind of " Animals, both wild and tame, who followed him " of their own Accord, without preying upon one " another, or doing any Harm. Thus *Deucalion* " floated till the Waters abated, then he repaired the " human Race."

*Stephanus*, and the Author of the *Etymologicon* say, this Vessel rested upon a high Mountain. *Berosus* and *Nicolas of Damas* even assert, that it was upon one of the Mountains of *Armenia*. *Plutarch* makes Mention of the Dove, and *Abydenus* of certain Fowls that flew out of the Ark, and returned twice, because they found no Place where they might take Rest. In fine, as the last Stroke of Resemblance, the Antients tell us, that *Deucalion*, a Man of Virtue and Piety, having gone to *Athens*, offered Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and built him a Temple. In like Manner the sacred Writings tell us, that *Noah*, after he came out of the Ark, offered Sacrifices of clean Beasts, in Gratitude to God for having saved him and his Family.

*Josephus* tells us (1), that the History of the Deluge and of the Ark had been wrote by *Nicolas of Damas*, by *Berosus*, *Mnaseas*, and some others; these are probably the Sources whence the *Greeks* and *Romans* took what they have inserted in their Works. In one Word, the Reason is, that the History of the Deluge was not peculiar to *Moses*; it was a History of Mankind, not easy to be forgot.

Before I finish what relates to *Deucalion's* Deluge, I shall make some Remarks. The first is, that we find  
in

(1) Ant. l. 1.



in the King's Cabinet, a Medal of the Inhabitants of *Apamea*, representing this Event; and what is singular in this Monument, the last Letters of the Legion *APAMEON* being reversed, instead of *EON*, we read *NOE*, and these three Letters being placed nearer to the Ark, which is represented there, it would seem their Intention was to exhibit the universal Deluge, unless it proceeded only from an Error of the Coiner. The second is, that the *Parian* Marbles, which fix the Date of *Deucalion's* Deluge, speak of it only as of an extraordinary Rain that flooded the Country. A third is, that the Author of the Book of *Meteors*, attributes this Deluge not to the Overflowing of the *Thessalian* Rivers, but to that of the *Achelous* (1). However, the most general Opinion is, that it flooded the Plain of *Lycoræa* in the Confines of *Parnassus*, a Country at a good Distance from *Acarnania* and *Etolia*, where that River runs. The fourth is, that though the Poets and Historians who have spoke of this Deluge, tell us there remained none upon the Earth but *Deucalion* and *Pyræa*, yet the Inhabitants of *Megara* had an antient Tradition, which imported, that *Megaros* the Son of *Jupiter* by a Nymph, was saved from this Deluge, by getting up to the Top of Mount *Geranim*, which had then another Name. For according to that Tradition, this *Megaros*, guided by the Noise of a Flock of Cranes which were flying that Way, swam up to the Top of that Mountain, which from that Event was called Mount *Geranim*, from the Cranes, in Greek Γέρανος (2). Again, *Pausanias* informs us, that within the Territory of *Olympian Jupiter* at *Albens*, there was to be seen an Opening of about a Cubit wide, through which, said the *Albenians*, the Waters had retired after *Deucalion's* Deluge; and he adds that it was customary to throw yearly into that Gulf a Kind of Paste made of Flower and Honey. This Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, according to that Author, was of very great Antiquity, and *Deucalion* himself was given out to be the Founder of it; and in Proof of *Deucalion's* having died

C c 2

at

(1) Meteor. l. 1. c. ult. (2) Pausan. in Att.

at *Athens*, his Tomb was shewn near the Temple. We may remark by the Way, that *Pausanias* is mistaken in making the Temple which *Deucalion* founded to have been consecrated to *Olympian Jupiter*. It was *Pisistratus*, by whom it was rebuilt, that dedicated it to *Jupiter* under that Name; whereas *Deucalion* had consecrated his to *Jupiter Pbryxius*, as much as to say, *Jupiter by whose Aid he was preserved from the Deluge*. That Prince, besides the Temple now mentioned, instituted also a Feast in Honour of those who had perished in the Deluge; and this Feast named *Ῥήσ-φορία*, lasted to the Time of *Sylla*, as may be seen in *Plutarch* (1).

*Cedrenus* and *John of Antioch Malala*, as has been said in the History of *Ogyges*, have asserted that *Deucalion* had left in *Attica*, the History of the Deluge which had obliged him to fly thither for a Retreat: But as we don't believe the *Greeks* had then the Use of Letters, 'tis better to say he left them a living History of it by the Temple and Feast which he instituted in Memory of that Event.

Lastly, I remark farther that *Xenophon* reckons five Deluges: The first happened under an antient *Ogyges*, and lasted three Months. The second, in the Time of *Hercules* (2) and *Prometheus*, was but of one Months Duration. The third, under another *Ogyges*, whereby *Attica* was laid waste. The fourth, under *Deucalion*, laid *Thessaly* under Water for the Space of three Months. The fifth and last happened in the Time of *Proteus*, during the War of *Troy*; this is that which was termed *Pharonian*, and that overflowed a Part of *Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions also a sixth Deluge that happened in *Samothrace* (3).

## ARTICLE VIII.

### *The Posterity of Deucalion.*

*Deucalion* having been saved from the Deluge, and re-peopled *Thessaly*, is therefore accounted by the Poets and Historians, the Repairer of the human Race, as

we

(1) In *Sylla*. (2) This is the *Phœnician Hercules*. (3) L. 5.

we find in *Justin* after *Trogus* (a). All Authors are agreed that this Prince was the Son of *Prometheus*, and married to *Pyrrha* his Uncle *Epimetheus*'s Daughter. The *Prometheus* here in Question, is quite different from him who in the Time of *Jupiter* reigned over the *Scythians* in the Confines of *Caucasus*, since *Deucalion*, whose Genealogy is so consistent, lived long after *Jupiter*; and it was perhaps this Difficulty in adjusting the Chronology, that led *M. le Clerc* (1) to take *Deucalion* not for a proper Name, but a Name compounded of two Words, *Digle-Ion*, *Vexilla-Ionum*, the Chief of the *Ionians*, that is of those who escaped the Deluge: And that of *Pyrrha*, according to the same Author, signifies *Earth*, or *Red*.

Let that be as it will, nothing is so famous in ancient Authors as the Posterity of *Deucalion*: They served to people a Part of *Greece*, and founded there several Kingdoms: And as we shall have often Occasion to speak of them in the Sequel, 'tis proper briefly to lay open their History.

*Deucalion* had two Sons, *Hellen* and *Amphiction*. The Latter, whose Line was of less Extent than that of his Brother, came and settled in *Attica*, where he reigned after having expelled from thence his Father-in-Law *Cranaus*. That Prince established his Dominion in the Confines of *Thermopylae*, and in the second Year of his Reign assembled the People of the Neighbourhood, and from his own Name called the Council of those who had the Regulation of Affairs, the *Amphictionian* Council. The fifth Epocha of the *Arundel* Marbles, marks the Institution of this Council.

Nothing is more celebrated in Antiquity, than the Council of the *Amphictions*, who assembled at the Charge of the Public twice a Year, in the Spring-Time and Autumn, in the Temple of *Ceres* at *Thermopylae*, near the Mouth of the River *Asopus*. No

Cc 3

private

(a) *Superfuerunt quos refugia montium receperunt; Et ad Regem Thessalæ Deucalionem ratibus aucti sunt; a qua propterea genus hominum conditum dicitur.* L. 11. c. 28.

(1) *Comp. Hist. Univ.*

private Causes were there determined (a), as of too small Importance to imploy so august an Assembly, but only such as concerned the Public, whether in Matters of Peace, or War, or Religion; and the Decrees of that Senate were to be signed by the High-Priest of *Delphi*, before they were engraved upon Marble Columns, in order to be preserved as authentic Monuments. We shall not dwell any longer upon this celebrated Court; referring the Reader to the learned Dissertation of *Van-Dale*.

*Heli-n*, *Deucalion*'s second Son, reigned in *Phthiotis* (1), and communicated his Name to the *Hellenians* (b), as we learn from the sixth *Æra* of the same Marbles. The Beginning of his Reign falls in the third Year of that of his Brother *Ampktion*.

This Prince had by his Wife *Orseis* three Sons, *Eolus*, *Deiur*, and *Xuthus*. *Eolus*, the eldest of the three Brothers, succeeded his Father, and gave the Name of *Eolians* to the People whom he had denominated *Hellenians*. Having married *Enarete*, *Deimachus*'s Daughter, he had by her seven Sons, *Cretheus*, *Sisyphus*, *Atthamans*, *Salmonesus*, *Deion*, *Magnes*, and *Perieres*; and five Daughters, *Canache*, *Halcione*, *Pisidice*, *Calyce*, and *Perimedes* (c). Let us begin with the Descendants of the Daughters.

*Calyce* married *Etlius*, and had by him the famed *Endymion*, who removed the *Etolians* from *Thessaly*, and settled them in *Elis*. *Etolus*, the Son of *Endymion* and *Nais*, retired to the *Curetes*, and called their Country *Etolia*. Of him and *Pronoe*, the Daughter of *Pborbas*, were born *Pleuren* and *Calydon*, noted for the Cities which they built in that Country. *Agenor*, the Son

(a) Except that of *Ephialtes*, who shewed *Xerxes* a Passage into Greece by Mount *Ossa*. Herod l. 2.

(1) This is a Part of the *Lower Thessaly*.

(b) Whatever relates to this Name of *Hellenians*, is to be found in *Lydiat's* Remarks upon the Marbles. p. 20, and upon the Notes ad *Marmora*, p. 134, 135, & seq.

(c) Consult for all the Genealogies, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias*, and among the Moderns, *Petavius*, and the Commentators on the *Arundel* Marbles.

Son of *Pleuron*, married his Cousin *Icarte*, the Daughter of *Calydon*, and had by her four Children, among whom was *Alibea*, who having matched with *Oeneus*, became Mother to *Meleager*, whom she devoted to the *Furies*. The same *Oeneus* after the Death of *Alibea* married *Peribea*, the Daughter of *Hipponous*, by whom he had *Tydeus*, who having married *Derpbile* the Daughter of *Adrastus*, had by her *Diomedes*, so famed in the History of those Times.

*Perimedes* married *Achelous*, and had by him *Hippodamus* and *Orestes*. *Pisidia* became the Wife of *Myrmidon*, who communicated his Name to the People about the River *Peneus*, whom his Uncle *Acbeus* had named *Acbeans*, and by him had a Son called *Astor*, who succeeded his Father; he having taken in Marriage *Egina* the Daughter of *Asopus*, who had already bore *Eacus* to *Jupiter*, had by her *Menetius* and several others, who being grown up, formed a Conspiracy to dethrone their Father: He discovered their Plot, expelled them the Kingdom, and married his Daughter *Philomela* (a) to *Peleus* the Son of *Æacus*, and left the Kingdom to him. It was of this Marriage that *Achilles* was born.

*Menetius* retired into the Country of the *Locrians*, whom he subdued. His Son *Patroclus*, forced to fly his Father's Kingdom for having slain *Cleonimus*, or *Orantes*, the Son of *Amphidamas*, came to the Court of *Peleus* his Kinsman, and contracted an inseparable Friendship with *Achilles*.

*Canache*, seduced by *Neptune*, had by him several Children, among others *Ipbimedia* who was married to the Giant *Aloeus*, and brought him the two *Aloides*, *Epbialtes*, and *Otus*, who, as we are told by *Pausanias* (1), built the City *Asera*, at the Foot of *Helicon*, a Mountain which they consecrated to the *Muses*: But because they served *Phlegyas* in the War which he waged against the People of *Delpbi*, the Poets have represented them as two Monsters of Impiety who attempted to dethrone the Gods.

CC 4

We

(a) We assign the Reason elsewhere why she passed for *Tbetis*, the Goddess of the Sea.

(1) In Beotic.

We know nothing of *Alcyone*, but that it was she, or at least her Daughter, who married *Ceyx*, the King of *Trachine*, distinguished by his Misfortunes. Let us now speak of the Sons of *Eolus*.

*Sisyphus* having built *Epbyre*, which was afterwards called *Corinth* (1), married *Merope* the Daughter of *Atlas* (a), by whom he had *Glaucus* the Father of *Bellerophon*, known by the Fables of the *Chimera*.

*Perieres* having destroyed the whole Race of *Polycaon*, who had reigned long over the *Messenians*, was declared their King; and having married *Gorgopbone*, the Daughter of *Perseus*, had by her *Aphareus* and *Leucippus*. The former having succeeded his Father, gave Reception to *Neleus* who had been banished from *Colchus* by his Father *Pelias*, and shared his Dominions with him. *Leucippus* had one Daughter, named *Arfinoe* (2), who was Mother to that *Esculapius*, whose Sons *Podalirius* and *Machaon* assisted at the War of *Troy*. The Children of *Aphareus*, *Lyncus* (3), and *Idas*, having died without Issue, the Kingdom of *Messene* devolved upon *Nestor*, the Son of *Neleus*.

*Magnes* established his Dominion in the Confines of *Oeta* and *Pelion*, upon the Confines of *Thessaly* towards the Sea, and communicated to that Country the Name of *Magnesia*, as well as to the City, which was the Capital of it. Having married *Nais*, he had by her *Alector*, *Pictus*, *Dictys*, and *Polydestes*. The two last retired into the Island of *Scriphus*; it was under their Reign that *Perseus*, persecuted by his Grand-father *Acrisius*, landed there, as shall be taken Notice of upon another Occasion, together with all the Histories, whereof I only give here a short Sketch, for the Sake of the Connection. *Pierus* reigned over that Part of his Father's Kingdom, which was since called *Pieris*, and his nine Daughters were often confounded with

(1) Pausan. in Corinth. Apollod. l. 1.

(a) This is another *Atlas* than he who was King of *Mauritania*, and contemporary with *Jupiter* the third.

(2) Others make him the Son of *Coronis*. See his Hist. Vol. V. p. 5. (3) So famed for his Quickness of Sight.

with the *Muses* (1). *Alektor* succeeded his Father, and his Great Grand-son *Prothous* passed into *Asia* after the War of *Troy*, and there built the celebrated Town of *Magnesia* (2).

*Salmoneus*, having dwelt some Time in *Thessaly*, retired into *Elis* (3), where he built a City of his own Name: His Impiety cost him his Life, as has been said (a). *Tyro* his Daughter (4), being brought up with *Cretheus* her Uncle, the King of *Argos*, had two Children upon the Banks of the River *Enipeus*, whose Father not being known, they were fathered upon *Neptune*; that is upon some *Sea-Captain*, or a Priest of that God. These two Children having been exposed, were found by Shepherds, who named the one *Pelias*, and the other *Neleus*. Having grown up, they were owned by their Mother, and put in Possession of their Dominions. *Neleus*, expelled by his Brother, retired into the Country of the *Messenians*, and there built the City *Pylos*. Not long after he married *Chloris* the Daughter of *Amphion*, by whom he had twelve Sons who were all put to Death by *Hercules*, except *Nestor*, famed at the Siege of *Troy* no less for his Wisdom than for his great Age. Those Princes had taken up Arms for *Augeas*, King of *Elis*, on whom *Hercules* made War, to be avenged on him for having cheated him of his Hire promised him for cleansing his Stables, as shall be said in the History of that Heroe; Thus *Hercules* victorious put them all to Death but *Nestor*, who being then too young to go to War, was still in *Gerania* where he had been brought up, and for this Reason *Homer* frequently gives him the Appellation of Γεράνιος. *Tyro* having afterwards married her Uncle *Cretheus*, had by him *Amibacx*, *Pheres*, and *Eson*,

*Cretheus*

(1) The Poets often call the *Muses Pierides*. (2) See *Eustathius* upon *Homer*. (3) *Apollod. Strabo, &c.*

(a) Here however it is to be remarked, that as *Homer*, *Odyss.* 1. calls him, ἀμύμονα. *inculpatus*, *Eustathius* considers this Imputation of *Jupiter's* Thunder rather as the Effect of his admirable Address, than of his Impiety.

(4) *Apollod.* l. 1.

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*Cretheus* being dead, was succeeded by *Pelias* in the Kingdom of *Colchus*; and the Oracle having warned him to beware of *Jafon* his Brother's Son, he sent him to *Colchis*, to the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*.

*Amitbaon* dwelt long at *Pylos*, married *Idomene*, the Daughter of *Pheres*, and had by her *Bias* and *Melampus*. *Bias* demanded in Marriage *Perone*, *Neleus*'s Daughter; but as that Prince had resolved to give her only to him who should bring him the Oxen of *Pbilacus*, which were kept by Maftives, he found a Way to come at them with the Assistance of his Brother, and married *Perone*. *Talaus*; his Son, took to Wife *Lyfsmache*, the Daughter of *Abas*; and among the Children whom he had by her, *Eriphyle*, the Wife of *Ampbiaraus*, who fignalized himself in the *Theban War*, is the most noted.

*Pheres* built a Town of his own Name in *Theffaly*, and had two Children, *Lycurgus* and *Admetus*. The first dwelt near *Nemæa*, and he is distinguished by the Misfortune of his Son *Archemorus*, who was devoured by a Serpent, while his Nurse was shewing the *Argive* Chiefs a Fountain, as they were conducting their Army to the *Theban War*. The second was the King of *Pheres*; and he is famed for his Wife *Alceftes*, the Daughter of *Pelias*, King of *Theffaly*, who was content to die to fave his Life.

*Athamas*, the fixth Son of *Eolus*, fettled in *Beotia*, and had by *Nephele* a Son named *Phryxus*, and a Daughter called *Hellé*. After the Death of his Wife, he married *Ino*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, by whom he had *Learchus* and *Melicerta*. This Step-Mother having a Mind to destroy the Children of the first Marriage, they were obliged to fly into *Colchis* with Part of their Father's Treasures; this was the *Golden Fleece*, which their Cousin went to recover, as fhall be faid in the Article of the *Argonauts*.

Laftly, *Deion*, or *Deioneus*, the laft Son of *Eolus*, reigned in *Pbocis* (a), and he was married to *Diomede*, his

(a) This is the Opinion of *Apollodorus*, from whom this Account is taken. Other Authors alledge that we muft read *Pbionis*.



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his Uncle *Xuthus's* Daughter, by whom he had several Children ; the most noted of them was *Cephalus* who was carried off by *Aurora*, and who unhappily slew his Wife *Procris*, without knowing who she was. Being exiled by the *Areopagus*, he retired into one of the Islands of the *Teleboans*, whereof he made a Conquest together with *Amphitryon*, and called it from his own Name, *Cephalenia*. He was succeeded by his Son *Celeus*, and he again by *Arcefius* the Father of *Laertes*, famed for his Son *Ulyffes* who led to the *Trojan War* the *Ithacians*, the *Zacintbians*, and the *Cephalenians* (a). The other Son of *Cephalus* was *Oeneus*, who had the Dominions of his Grand-father *Deioneus*.

Such is the Posterity of *Eolus* the Son of *Hellen* ; let us now say something of that of *Dorus* and *Xuthus*, his two other Sons.

The former settled first in *Esfiotis*, which made a Part of *Thessaly*, where his Father reigned (1), and he gave to it the Name of *Doris*, and to the People that of *Dorians* : But his Descendants having been expelled that Country, a Part of them retired into *Macedonia* to the Confines of *Pindus* ; and *Teuſſamus* his Son went to *Colchos* to his Father-in-Law *Cretheus*, where having drawn together a small Army, consisting of *Dorians*, of *Eolians*, the Subjects of *Cretheus*, and of some *Pelaſgians*, who had followed him from *Thessaly*, he equipped a Fleet, and passed over into *Crete* (2), and was the first of the *Greeks* who reigned in that Island. His Son *Asterius*, surnamed *Jupiter*, became famous for the Rape of *Europe*, and the Birth of *Minos*, the first of the Name. Those of the *Dorians* who had settled in *Macedonia*, again left that Country ; and arriving at the Foot of *Parnassus*, between *Phocis* and the *Oetean Mountains*, resumed their first Name of *Dorians*, and built several Cities. (3)

*Xuthus*, the third Son of *Hellen*, having seized upon his

(a) The People of three small Islands in the *Ionian Sea*, of which he was King.

(1) Herod. l. 1. Strabo, Apollod. l. 1. (2) Diod. l. 2. (3) Herod. l. 1. Strab. l. 8 & 9.

his Father's Treasures (1), was banished from *Theffaly* by his two Brothers. *Erechtheus*, the King of *Athens*, to whom he offered Assistance against the *Cbalcicians* of *Eubœa*, received him kindly, gave him a small Country, where he founded four Cities, *Oenon*, *Marathon*, *Probalynthus*, and *Tricostus*, and to crown all, gave him in Marriage, after a signal Victory he had gained over the Enemies of that Prince (a), his Daughter *Creusa*, by whom he had *Ion* and *Acchus*, from whom the *Acheans* and *Ionians* were afterwards denominated.

*Ion*, who was one of the greatest Captains of his Time, served his Father-in-Law in the War he had with *Enmolpus* and the *Eleusians*, gained a decisive Victory over them, and slew their Leader with his own Hand (b); which won him so much the Hearts and Confidence of the *Athenians*, that according to *Canon* in *Photius* (2), they made him King after the Death of *Erechtheus*. We seldom find *Ion* among the *Athenian* Kings. *Pausanias* asserts that after the Death of *Erechtheus*, his Children disputed the Crown; and having chosen for Arbiters *Xuthus* the Father of *Ion*, and *Acchus* his Brother, they gave Judgment in Favour of *Cecrops*. Perhaps *Ion*, proclaimed King by the People, was not able to support himself against the Factions of his Brothers-in-Law; and this may be the Reason why he is excluded from the Catalogue of the Kings of *Athens*.

Be that as it will, being banished *Attica* by his Competitors, he retired with his Father and Uncle into that Part of the *Peloponnesus*, to which *Acchus* gave the Name of *Achaia*; there he married *Helice*, the Daughter of the King of *Selinus*, and succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Achaia*, formerly denominated *Egiale*, which he changed to *Ionia*; there he built a City

(1) Pausan. in Achaic. Strab. l. 8, &c.

(a) Strabo l. 8. Pausan. in Att. Canon apud Photium Nar. 27.

(b) Strab. l. 8. Pausanias in Att. Arist. in Eleusina, &c.

(2) In Achaicis.

City which he called *Helice*, after the Name of his Wife, which was afterwards overthrown by an Earthquake, in the last Year of the hundredth and fourth *Olympiad* (1). But while he had Thoughts of extending his Dominion, the *Eleusians*, who esteemed his Valour, imploring his Assistance against the *Atbenians*, whom he had Reason to hate, chose him for the General of their Forces, and after several illustrious Atchievements, he died in *Attica*.

*Achens* his Brother at first passed into the *Peeloponnesus*, and gave the Name of *Acbaia* to that Part which his Brother had called *Ionia*, as has been now said; but not long after he retired into *Thessaly*, where, with the Assistance of the *Atbenians*, and of *Ion*, who was at their Head (2), he possessed himself of the Kingdom of *Phthiotis*, after the Death of *Eolus* his Uncle, and likewise gave the Name of *Acbaia* to that Part of *Greece* (a). His Descendants had several Adventures whereof we shall say nothing here.

Such was the Posterity of *Deucalion*, of *Hellen* and *Amphictyon*, his two Sons, who peopled the greatest Part of *Greece*, founded several Kingdoms, and derived their Names to the *Greeks*, who were called sometimes *Ionians*, *Acbeans*, *Hellenists*, sometimes *Dorians*, &c. Thus it is that the *Greek* Authors (b), *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, *Pausanias* after the *Arundel-matbles*, speak of the several People of *Greece*, to whom the Descendants of *Deucalion* communicated their Names, as well as to the different Dialects of their Language; and that at a Time when that Country was very little peopled, as appears from the

(1) Diod. l. 15. (2) Pausan. l. 7. Didym. in 1. Iliad.

(a) Scholiast. Apollonii ad l. 1. Eustath. Didymus, &c.

(b) Some Moderns, among whom are *F. Pezron* in his *Antiquity of the Language of the Celts*, and *Loerquer*, in a Book intitled *Ion*, say the *Greeks* derived the Name of *Ionians* from *Javan* their Founder, whence they were called *Javonians*, *Iaonians*, as *Homer* designs them, and afterwards *Ionians*. These Authors say the same of the Name of *Hellenians* and others; and *F. Pezron* adds, that *Deucalion*, to reconcile the *Greeks* to his Government, gave to his Sons the Names of *Hellen*, *Dorian*, &c. known in the Country long before him.

the Facility they found of settling in the Places whither they came.

This short History of *Deucalion's* Posterity I thought necessary for understanding what is to be said afterwards. And indeed, when we come to the Events of those fabulous Times of *Greece*, whereof we shall explain the Fables at great Length, we shall every now and then meet with Successors of this Prince, and the Reader may easily call to Mind what has been now said, especially if he will take the Trouble to cast his Eye upon the following Table \*.

## C H A P. VI.

### *The Arrival of Lelex in Greece.*

I Have now where read but in *Pausanias* (1) the History of the Arrival of this *Lelex* in *Greece*, nor does he say whether he planted a Colony there, or if he arrived alone. However, as he became King of *Megara*, where probably he was powerful enough to form a Party, and had some Successors; as he communicated his Name to the *Megareans*, and his History relates to the fabulous Times, I thought it deserved a Place in this History.

“ The *Megareans*, according to the Author now  
 “ quoted, reported that twelve Generations after *Ceres*  
 “ the Son of *Phoroneus*, *Lelex* came from *Egypt*  
 “ into their Country, and reigned there; that from  
 “ his Time they assumed the Name of *Leleges*;  
 “ which *Lelex* was the Father of *Clefon*, whose Son  
 “ was *Pylas*, of whom was born *Scyron*, who married  
 “ *Pandion's* Daughter. They add, that after this  
 “ Alliance he disputed the Kingdom with *Nisus* the  
 “ Son of *Pandion*, and that each of them chose for  
 “ Judge of their Controversy *Eacus*, who adjudged  
 “ the Kingdom to *Nisus* and his Heirs; but on Con-  
 “ dition that *Scyron* should have the Command of the  
 “ Troops: In fine, that after the Death of *Nisus*,  
 “ *Megareus*, the Son of *Neptune*, having married  
 “ *Ipbinoi*,

(1) In Attic.

\* See the Table fronting Page 398.

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“ *Ipbinoé*, that Prince's Daughter, succeeded to his “ Father-in-law.” This is all that we know of this *Lelex*; but this Relation requires some Reflections.

*First*, 'Tis easy to trace the Time when *Lelex* arrived in *Megaris*, namely, five or six Generations, or about two hundred Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, since his Great-Grandson, who was in the third Generation after him, was contemporary with *Eacus*, who lived two Generations before the same *Æra*. We also know the Time when *Nifus* his Competitor lived, since he was contemporary with *Minos* the II. who waged War with him, as shall be said in the History of this King of *Crete*.

*Secondly*, It appears that the Reign of *Lelex*'s Race ended with *Scyron*, and tho' he was to have the Command of the Troops, according to *Æacus*'s Decision, yet we hear no more of him from that Time.

*Thirdly*, We must distinguish this *Lelex* the *Egyptian* from another *Lelex* the first King of the Country, that has been since designed *Laconia*, and had been called *Lelegia* from him (1). This last was a *Greek* originally.

*Fourthly*, We are far less to confound these *Leleges* of *Greece* with those of *Ionia*, who, according to *Homer* (2) and *Strabo* (3), inhabited that Part of *Asia* which was upon the Banks of the *Satnion*, and over whom *Alces* reigned in the Time of the *Trojan* War, and kept his Court at *Pedafus*, the Capital of his Kingdom.

C H A P. VII.

*The Colony of Cadmus settled in Greece.*

THE Rape of *Europa*, the Flight of *Cadmus*, his Settlement in *Beotia*, the Misfortunes of his Family, the Conquests of *Bacchus* his Grandson, and his Deification, make a considerable Part of the History of the fabulous Age.

In the fourth Year of the Reign of *Hellen* the Son  
of

(1) In Lac. (2) Il. l. 21. (3) L. 13.

of *Deucalion*, 200 Years, or thereby, before the taking of *Troy*, and 1350 or 60 before the Christian Era, *Cadmus* came by Sea from the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, and the Confines of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, in quest of a Settlement in *Greece*. He possessed himself of a Part of *Beotia*, built the Citadel, which from him was called *Cadmea*, and there fixed the Seat of his Government. But then it was not without a great deal of Resistance from the antient Inhabitants of the Country, that *Cadmus* formed his new Settlement. The *Hyantes* especially made vigorous Opposition to it; but a decisive Battle obliged them to quit the Country, and to go in quest of a Retreat elsewhere. The *Anians*, grown wise at the Expence of their Neighbours, made a voluntary Submission to the Conqueror, who admitted them into the Number of his Subjects, and leaving them in the Possession of their Villages, united them into one People with the *Phœnicians*.

Such is the general History of this Colony; but as the *Greeks* always intermixed a Number of Fictions with their Antiquities, we must trace it up to its Source, and explain it from the most authentic Monuments left us by Antiquity.

*Jupiter*, as we read in *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, falling in Love with *Europa*, Daughter to *Agenor* King of *Phœnicia*, ordered *Mercury* to convey her to the Seashore, where that God having transformed himself into a Bull, took her upon his Back, and transported her into *Crete* (a).

*Palephatus* (1) takes the Foundation of this Fable to have been, that a Captain of *Candia* named *Taurus*, carried off that Princess, after he had taken the City *Tyre* from *Agenor*: But *Echemenides*, who had wrote the History of *Crete*, says with more Probability, that

(a) ————— *Sceptri gravitate relicta,  
Ille Pater, Rectorque Deum, cui dextra trifidus  
Ignibus armata est, qui nutu concutit Orbem,  
Induitur Tauri faciem, &c. Ovid. Met. l. 2. Hyg.  
Tab. 178.*

(1) Lib. de Incredibil.

that some Merchants of that Island having arrived upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, and seen the young *Europa*, whose Beauty struck them, carried her off for their King *Asterius*; and as their Ship bore upon the Fore-castle a white Bull, and that King of *Crete* had assumed the Name of *Jupiter*, hence it was fabled that the God had transformed himself into a Bull to carry off this Princess.

*Herodotus* in the Beginning of his History, agrees with *Ecbemenides*, that it was by *Cretians* the Daughter of *Agenor* was carried off; but then he adds, it was done by way of Reprizals, the *Phœnicians* having before bore away *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus*. These Testimonies are positive, and I know not why *Bochart*, not quite satisfied with either of the Explanations I have given, and imagining he has a Right to expect in the Equivocations of the *Phœnician* Language the Solution of a *Phœnician* Fable, says after *Fullerus*, that this Fable had taken its Rise from the double Signification of the Word *Alpha* or *Ilpha*, which signifies either a Bull or a Ship. He adds, that the *Greeks* not fully understanding that Language, when they met with that ambiguous Expression in the Annals of that People; instead of saying *Asterius* had carried off *Europa* in a Ship, fabled that *Jupiter* had transported her into *Crete* (1).

Be that as it will, 'tis certain from the Testimony of all Antiquity, that *Europa* was conveyed from *Phœnicia* into *Crete*, where she arrived by the Mouth of the River *Lethæ* which ran by *Gortyna*, as we learn from *Solinus* (a).

The *Greeks*, who carried the Fabulous to extremity, seeing upon that River Plane-trees always green, gave out that it was under one of those Trees *Jupiter* had carried on his first Amours with *Europa*; which gave Occasion to the Inhabitants of *Gortyna* to strike a Medal, where on one Side was *Europa* in some Distress,

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feated

(1) *Bochart* Can. 1. 1. c. 28. & 1. 2. c. 11.

(a) *Gortynam Lethæus amnis præter fluit, quo Europam Tauri versò Gortynii serunt vestitatem.*

seated upon a Tree half Plane and half Palm, at the Foot whereof is an Eagle from which she is turning away. The same Princess is represented on the other Side, seated upon a Bull, incircled with a Border of Laurel-Leaves, with the Legend, ΓΟΡΤΙΝΙΟΝ (1).

Authors are not agreed as to the Name of the Prince who carried her off. Some call him *Taurus*, as has been said; Saint *Augustine* names him *Xanthus*, and that Father adds he had several other Names besides (a). But the most common Opinion is that he was called *Asterius*, as we learn from *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, *Eusebius*, and several others; with this Difference that *Diodorus* alledges, that Prince being too young when *Europa* arrived in the Island of *Crete*, she had first by *Taurus*, *Minos*, *Sarpedon*, and *Rhadamanthus*; and that *Asterius* having married her afterwards, and not being able to get Children, had adopted them: Whereas others contend they were his own Off-spring.

*Asterius*, if we may credit the same *Diodorus*, was not a Native of *Crete*, and his Parents came from *Greece*. *Teuclanes* the Son of *Dorus*, having matched with the Daughter of *Cretheus*, took with him some *Pelasgians* and *Eolians*, the Subjects of his Father-in-Law, and having gone over with them into *Crete*, was the first who reigned there. After his Death, his Son *Asterius* ascended the Throne, and assumed the Name of *Jupiter*.

*Apollodorus* tells us who were the Parents of *Europa*. *Libya* had two Sons by *Neptune*, *Belus* and *Agenor*; the latter having removed into *Europe*, married *Telephassa*, by whom he had three Sons, *Cadmus*, *Phenix*, and *Cilix*, and one Daughter named *Europa*; though there are Historians, according to the same Author, who assert that this Princess was the Daughter of *Phenix* and Grand-Daughter of *Agenor*.

*Europa* having brought forth the three Princes now named,

(1) This Medal is in the King's Cabinet.

(a) Per eos annos a Rege Xanto Cretensium, cujus apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, & inde geniti Rhadamanthus, Minos, & Sarpedon, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Jovis esse vulgatum est. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 12.



named, gained the Esteem and Regard of all the *Cretans*, who worshipped her after her Death as a Divinity. They even instituted a Feast in her Honour, which *Hesychius*, after some Authors, names *Hellotia*; and as the *Greeks* changed the Names of those whom they took into the Number of their Gods, they called *Europa Hellotes*, a Name which the Author of the *Etymologicon* translates *Virgin*; which has puzzled *Bochart*: for what Probability, says he, is there, that they would call the Mother of three Princes a Virgin? This inclines him to think that the Word comes from the Phœnician *Hallots*, which imports an *Encomium*, or *Epithalamium*, and that it was designed to signify that the Arrival of *Europa* and her Marriage had been solemnized by Verses and Songs; which Solemnity probably was renewed every Year during her Life, and continued after her Death in the Festival instituted to her Honour, which retained the same Name *Hellotia*, or the *Epithalamium*, as well as the City *Gortys* where it was celebrated: *Itaque Hallots, vel Hellots Hellotia dici potuere a Cretensibus Europæ festa epithalamia, quæ renovabantur quotannis* (1).

Those who are not satisfied with *Bochart's* Conjecture, may adopt the following one which I am going to offer. *Minerva*, among several other Names, had that of *Hellotis*; which Name was given her upon the following Occasion. The *Dorians* having set Fire to the City *Corinth*, *Eurithion* and *Hellotis*, who were two Sisters, fled into the Temple of that Goddess, and died there. The Pestilence afterwards laying waste the whole Country, they consulted the Oracle, who answered that they were to appease the *Manes* of the two Virgins now named: Accordingly a Temple was built to *Minerva Hellotis*, and a Festival instituted to her under that Name. The *Cretans* having afterwards worshipped *Europa* as a Goddess, gave her the Surname of *Minerva*, and celebrated to her Honour the Festival which was consecrated to that Goddess among the *Corinthians*. What further confirms this Opinion,

Dd 2 the

(1) *Bochart. Chan. l. 1. c. 18.*

the *Sidonians*, to console *Agenor*, likewise deified that Princess, and confounded the Worship which they paid to her, with that of *Astarté*; which makes *Lucian* say, that they were both but one and the same Divinity.

We are farther to observe that several Authors were of Opinion *Europe* had taken its Name from that Princess; but the learned *Bocbart* believes with more Reason, that this Part of the World was so denominated from the Whiteness of its Inhabitants, as has been said in the Origin of Fables. We may however presume that had *Europe* been so called from its Whiteness, the Name should have extended to all that Part of the World whose Inhabitants are of that Complexion. As to what remains, that Princess must needs have been extremely white, since the Poets on that Occasion invented the Fable, importing that the young *Íngelo*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, had stole her Mother's Paint and given it to *Europa*, who made Use of it with such Success that she acquired a Complexion bright to the last Degree, as we learn from the Scholiast on *Theocritus*.

Upon the News of the Rape of *Europa*, *Agenor* her Father, King of *Phœnicia*, sent every where in search of her, and ordered his Sons to imbark, and not return till they found her. *Hyginus* (1) names the three Princes whom *Agenor* sent out to make the Discovery. The first was *Cadmus*, who fixed his Residence in *Beotia*; the second *Cilix*, who settled in that Part of *Asia Minor*, which goes since under the Name of *Cilicia*; and the third *Phœnix*, who passed into *Africa*. Thus the Poets and Mythologists relate this Fact; but *Conon* in *Phœtius* (2), says, the true Reason of *Cadmus's* Voyage, which is also to be understood of his two Brothers, was the Hope of making some Conquest in *Europe*, and of settling there a Colony, adding that the Rape of his Sister had only been a Pretext for his Voyage.

*Cadmus* having traversed a Part of *Greece* without any Information of her, thought fit to settle in *Beotia*, where

(1) Fab. 178. (2) Narr. 37.

where he built the famous City *Thebes*, upon the Model of that of *Egypt*, whereof he was a Native; or to speak more accurately, he built a Citadel which was called from his Name *Cadmea*, and only laid the Foundations of the City *Thebes*, built by his Successors, and inclosed with Walls by *Amphion*. There is nothing but what is natural in such a Settlement, and a Narration quite simple would have sufficed for transmitting the History of it down to us; but this was not the Manner in which the *Greeks* laboured for Posterity. This Relation they have interpersed with all the Marvellous they could think of. *Cadmus*, say they, having sent his Associates into a Grove consecrated to *Mars*, there to draw Water for a Sacrifice he designed to offer to the Gods, before he laid the Foundations of his new City, a Serpent which had the Keeping of that Place, devoured them, and *Cadmus* to revenge their Death, fought the Monster and slew him, sowed his Teeth, whence sprung up a Body of armed Men: They added that he threw a Stone among them; which put them into such Disorder, that they fought together and slew one another, all but five, who assisted him in building the City now named (a): Which cost him dear afterwards, as shall be said.

Those who have no Mind to dive into Subjects of this Kind, content themselves with saying after *Palephatus* (1), and some others (2), that the Serpent was a King of that Country, whose Name was *Draco*, a Son of *Mars*, that his mysterious Teeth are his Subjects, who rallied again after his Defeat; that *Cadmus* put them all to the Sword except *Echibonius*, *Edeus*, *Hiperenor*, *Pelorus*, and *Ecbion*, who joined with him. Or with *Heraclitus* (3), that *Cadmus* actually slew a Serpent which made great Havock in *Beotia*; a Thing

D d 3

usual

(a) *Martigenam ille aggressus Belluam  
Magnus Europæ quæstor, anguineo  
Repente hostes peperit seminis, & pugnata illa pugna  
Frater trudebat fratrem basta & galea.*

Plaut. *Amphit.* Act. 4. Ovid. *Met.* l. 3. Apollod. l. 3. &c.

(1) Lib. cit. (2) First Supplement to Velleius. (3) De reb. Incredibil.

usual enough in Countries where Colonies were settled. But *Bochart* (1), and after him *M. le Clerc* (2), take the Rise of the Fable to be a *Phœnician* Word, which signifies either a *Serpent's Teeth*, or *Javelins trimmed with Brass*, and that which signifies the Number *five*, likewise signifies *armed*. Thus the *Greeks* in writing the History of that Planter from the *Phœnician* Annals, instead of saying that *Cadmus* upon his Arrival in their Country had armed his Soldiers with Javelins trimmed with Brass, with Helmets and Cuirasses, which were then quite unknown in *Greece*, chose rather to take Advantage of the equivocal Meaning of the Word, and say agreeably to their own Taste, that he had five Companions sprung from the Teeth of a Serpent (a).

And to be sure, nothing can be a fuller Proof that this Fable had taken its Rise from a figurative Expression, than what we read in *Herodotus* (3) of *Psammetichus*, King of *Egypt*, who having been banished to the *Fenns*, sent to consult the Oracle of *Latona*, who told him he was to be re-instated by Men of Brass sprung from the Sea; which at first seemed to him a Chimera. However some Years after, a Band of *Ionians* who had been necessitated to land in *Egypt*, appeared upon the Shore with their Arms and Cuirasses of Brass, and those who perceived them told the King that Men armed with Cuirasses were pillaging the Country. Then that Prince comprehended the Meaning of the Oracle, and having made a League with them, regained the Crown by their Means. Further, those Men sprung from the Sea, and those others sprung from the Earth, are only the Soldiers who assisted *Cadmus* and *Psammetichus* to resettle their Affairs; and what confirms *Bochart's* Conjecture, *Cadmus* was he who introduced into *Greece*, or invented the Use of Cuirasses and Javelins, as we are told by *Hyginus*. However,

(1) *C. n. Pref. & ch. 19. l. 1.* (2) Upon *Hesiod*.

(a) The same Phrase which ought to have been rendered : *Conscribere exercitum virorum armatorum cuspidibus æneis*, was interpreted by this : *Facit exercitum quinque virorum armatorum ex dentibus serpentis*. *Bochart. lib. cit.*

(3) *L. 2.*

However, I am of Opinion that, without refining so much, we may very rationally take those Men who sprung out of the Earth and from the Dragon's Teeth, to have been the People of the Country, whom *Cadmus* found a Way to bring over to his Side, and who having assisted him to get rid of his Enemies, served him afterwards in building the Citadel which secured him against the Insults of his Neighbours.

According to the Fable told by *Ovid* (1), *Apollodorus* (2), and *Seneca* (3), the Oracle had informed *Cadmus*, that in the Place where he should find a Heifer, he was to build a City, which accordingly he did; and this was the Reason of his giving to the Country the Name *Beotia*, *Boeotia*, a *Bove*. But this Fiction has no other Foundation but either the Ignorance or Credulity of the *Greeks*, who did not know that *Cadmus* had assigned that Name to the Country where he settled, upon account of the Nature of the Soil full of Clay and Fens, as *Bochart* also remarks (4).

*Cadmus* having reigned a long Time in *Beotia*, with his dear *Hermione* (a), a Conspiracy was formed against him, which drove him out of the Kingdom. Being thus forced to retire with his Wife, and his Son *Polydorus* into *Illyricum*, he there led a very recluse Life (b); which perhaps gave a Handle to say that after his Death he was transformed into a Serpent, as we learn from *Ovid* (5) and *Plantus* (6).

The *Phenicians*, or rather the *Idumeans*, were anciently called *Achivians*, or *Heveans*, a Name which they always kept from their Settlement in *Greece*: Now *Chirva* in *Hebrew* imports a Serpent; and this is

D d 4

doubtless

(1) Met. l. 3. (2) L. 3. (3) In Oedip. (4) Chan. l. 1.

(a) She was the Daughter of the *Grecian Mars* of whom we have spoke. *Apollodorus* says, *Cadmus* had been eight Years a Slave to that Prince for slaying the Dragon.

(b) Yet *Apollodorus* says, Bib. l. 3. he commanded the Army of the *Illyrians*, who chose him afterwards for their King.

(5) Met. l. 3.

(6) - - - - - *Et nostræ auctorem gentis,*

*Cam Veneris filia, angues reppisse tellus*

*Illyrica vidis.*

*Plant. Amphit. Ac. 4.*

doubtless what gave a Handle to his Subjects, firnamed *Achivians*, who had nothing better to say of the obscure Life and Death of their Heroes, than to publish by Means of that Word, that *Cadmus* and *Hermione* had been transformed into Serpents (*a*) ; and to give more Countenance to the Thing, they even erected in *Illyricum* Serpents of Stone, as Monuments of the Supernatural Transformation of their Founder. Thus all those Ideas of Dragons and Serpents which we find scattered up and down in the Poets who speak of that Prince, derive their Original from thence. But if we chuse not to give Credit to the Author now quoted, we may account for this last Fable, from what *Aulus Gellius* says of the *Illyrians*.

According to that Author, the antient Inhabitants of *Illyricum* had two Eye-lids to each Eye ; and such a piercing Look, that if they fixed their Aspect upon any one, they killed him as a Dragon or Basilisk would have done. This Opinion, true or false, which was conceived of the *Illyrians*, a People otherwise rude and savage, made the *Greeks* probably call them Serpents and Dragons ; and consequently when *Cadmus* had retired among that People, they must have said he was become an *Illyrian*, a Dragon, a Serpent ; a metaphorical Expression, which was afterwards understood in the literal Meaning.

*Cadmus* had built a City in *Illyricum*, which he called *Lygnes* ; and *Bochart*, always ingenious and fruitful in Conjectures, produces a pretty probable one as to the Name of that City, and the Lake of the same Name in the Country of the *Ancheleans*, a People of *Illyricum*, among whom *Cadmus* retired. 'Tis probable, says he, that he gave it a *Pœnician* Name : Now as the Place where he built was very fenny, he called it *Lichnotb*, which is the Contraction of *Lecanotb*, which in that Language imports a Reed ;  
thus

(*a*) *Ptolomy Ephesion* is, I believe, the only one who says that *Cadmus* and *Hermione* was transformed into Lions.

The *Hebrews* said they had given a People of *Canaan* the Name of *Cbiwa*, because they dwelt in Caves, after the Manner of Serpents.

thus the City and the Lake were called from that Time by the same Name, unless you will derive this Original from the *Greek Language*, which however is not so probable, and say the Foundation of the Name was that the Lake abounded with Eels, whence it was thus denominated, as well as the People and the neighbouring City: *Ἐγχελύναι*, *Encbelavians*, *quasi Anguilares* (1).

'Tis not universally agreed that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*; some alledge he was but one of his Officers, and *Hermione* a Singing-Woman whom he had debauched, and that it was only to do him Honour that the *Greeks* made him the Son of that Prince. *Eubemerus*, as we have it in *Albenæus*, who has preserved the Fragment of that Author (2), says *Cadmus* was the King of *Sidon's* Cook, and that he fell in Love with *Hermione*; one of that Prince's Singing-Women, carried her off, and retired into *Greece*, a Circumstance which does no great Honour to *Bacchus* his Grand-Son, whom the *Greeks* enrolled among their Gods.

Others even alledge, that *Cadmus* is not a proper Name, but an Appellative, which signifies *Leader*, because in Fact he came from *Phœnicia*, not to go in quest of *Europa*, but to plant a Colony of *Heveans* in *Greece*; and *Bochart* contends that he was called *Cadmus*, only because he came from the East of *Phœnicia*, a Country which the Scripture calls *Cadmonim*, which imports *Oriental*, and from about Mount *Hermion*, which was the most eastern Part of *Phœnicia*, whence probably was derived the Name of *Hermione*, given to his Wife.

According to the Antients, it was *Cadmus* taught the *Greeks* the Use of Letters, which they knew not before. These Letters, which *Herodotus* calls *Cadmian* or *Phœnician*, were afterwards called *Ionian*: Which is to be understood in the Manner I am going to explain. There is no Ground to think that the Use of Letters, which is  
pro-

(1) See *Grant-Menil* in his *Greece*, c. 25. p. 207. (2) *Athen.* 948.

probably as old as the World (*a*), was unknown in Greece until the Time of *Cadmus*. But the Foundation of that Opinion, is, that he introduced into the Country a new Alphabet which the *Greeks* afterwards made Use of, instead of the *Pelasgian* which was there in Use long before. 'Tis however to be observed that this Alphabet had only sixteen Letters; *Palamedes* added to it four (1), and *Simonides* of *Melos* the other four (2). Thus was completed that Alphabet whereof the first sixteen Letters were *Phœnician*; which is so certain, that the old *Greek* Characters are entirely like those of the *Phœnicians*, as all the Learned are agreed.

'Tis beyond Doubt that Letters were not unknown in Greece before *Cadmus*, as has been now said: The *Pelasgians*, the most antient People of that Country, had the Use of them. My Author is *Eusebius*, who explaining the Epithet of Divine, *θεῖος*, which *Homer* gives the *Pelasgians* (3), says: *Homer* calls them Divine, because they alone after *Deucalion's Deluge* preserved the Use of Letters. *Pliny* (4) seems to confirm this Opinion, by saying: *Pelasgos in Latium Literas attulisse*. 'Tis true *Diodorus* (5) reckons the *Pelasgians* to have been the first who changed the *Phœnician* Characters of *Cadmus*, and that their Letters were therefore called *Pelasgian*; which would prove that those People had them not before. However *Vossius* (6) cannot be justified for saying *Se non legisse ullas fuisse in Græcia litteras Cadmæis antiquiores*, since he had read *Eusebius*, who says the Contrary. *M. de Grant-Ménil* in his *Greece* (7), gives a favourable Gloss to the Passage in *Diodorus*, by saying, he means that upon the *Cadmean* Letters being received in Greece, the antient Writing came to be called *Pelasgian*; and if this was not his Meaning he has contradicted himself, since he asserts elsewhere (8) that the *Greeks* had the Use of Letters before *Cadmus*.

But we shall not dwell longer upon this Article, as to which

(*a*) See Father *Kirker* in his *Obelisks*. Joseph. l. 1. Antiq. &c.

(1) ΘΣΦΧ. (2) ΖΗΨΩ. (3) Upon the 6. Books of the *Iliad*.  
(4) l. 7. (5) l. 3. (6) Art. Gram. (7) Ch. 9. (8) l. 5.



which I refer to *Montfaucon's Paleography*, & *Olaus Rudbeck* (1).

Besides the Alphabet which we have been speaking of, *Cadmus* introduced into *Greece* the Worship of most of the Divinities of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, as *Diodorus* and the most antient Authors inform us ; but especially that of *Osiris* or *Bacchus*. This Prince having travelled into *Samothrace*, got himself initiated into the Mysteries of the Gods *Cabiri* and of the Mother of the Gods, whose Worship was then famous in that Country ; and *Diodorus Siculus* informs us (2), that when he stopped in the Island of *Rhodes*, he there built a Temple to *Neptune*, to make that God propitious to him in the rest of his Voyage. 'Tis probable, to mention it by the Way, that the *Rhodians* had received the Worship of *Neptune* by their Commerce with the *Libyans*, who, according to *Herodotus* (3), worshipped him Time immemorial. Lastly, *Cadmus* is said to have taught the *Greeks* the Art of casting Metals, then unknown to *Greece*, to make it subservient to several Uses ; which agrees with what we have said of those Javelins of Brass whereof he was the Inventor.

The History of *Cadmus's* Family is preserved to us by the Antients, especially by *Apollodorus* (4), and we find it also conform to that Author upon a Fragment of the *Isiac* Table, conceived in these Terms : *Cadmus had by Hermonia four Daughters*, Ino, Agave, Autonoe, Semele, and a Son named Polydorus. *Aristæus and Autonoe had a Son Acteon*. *Athamas and Ino had Learchus and Melicerta*. *Echion and Agave, Pentheus*. *Jupiter had Commerce with Semele, and having burnt her with his Lightning, took out of her Womb Dionysus or Bacchus, and carried him in his Thigh, whence he afterwards brought him forth, and gave him to be nursed by Juno (a)*.

As

(1) Atl. v. 1. c. 38. (2) L. 5. (3) L. 2. (4) L. 2.

(a) 'Tis M. Bianchini has given a Draught of the Fragment where we find this Genealogy ; *Fabretti* knew nothing of it, when in 1683 he published the *Isiac* Table.

As this whole Family was extremely unhappy, it was given out, in order to support the Fable of the Rape of *Europa*, that the Jealous *Juno* had persecuted her Rival even in the Posterity of *Cadmus* her Brother; or that *Vulcan*, to revenge the Infidelity of his Wife *Venus*, gave to *Hermione*, whom she had by *Mars*, a Vestment dyed in all Sorts of Crimes, which had Effect to make all the Children of *Cadmus* wicked. Whatever be in that, 'tis certain that the greatest Crimes and Disasters were the Lot of this Family; *Ino*, who married *Arkamas*, died miserably with her Children, as has been said in the History of the Sea-Gods (1). *Agave* the Wife of *Ecbion*, saw her Son the unfortunate *Pentheus* torn in Pieces by the *Bacchanals*, for having attempted to oppose the Irregularities that entered into the Ceremonies of *Bacchus*; unhappy for not having profited by the Example of *Cadmus*, who was banished for that same Reason (a). Farther the Manner in which *Ovid* describes the tragical End of that unfortunate Prince, is but too historical; the *Bacchanals* having made Choice of a Day for celebrating the Feasts of *Bacchus*, whereof one of the principal Ceremonies was to run up and down all disheveled, as delirious, they went to the Palace of *Pentheus*, and most inhumanly tore him in Pieces. *Ovid* had taken this whole Relation from *Euripides*, who had employed it in the Tragedy of the *Bacchanals*; and it evidently appears that under the Veil of this Fiction they intended to transmit down to us the History of the Introduction of *Bacchus's* Worship into *Thebes*, and to inform us that *Pentheus's* Opposition, which succeeded that of his Grandfather *Cadmus* after he had been exiled, cost him his Life.

*Autonoe* the Wife of *Aristeus*, was so unhappy as to see her Son *Asteeon* transformed into a Stag, and torn in Pieces by his own Dogs, for having seen *Diana* in the Bath; and though this Catastrophe is expressed in a poetical

(1) Vol. II. B. 2.

(a) Here the Reader may reflect on what has been said to this Purpose in the History of *Bacchus*. Vol. II. B. 2.

a poetical Manner (1), 'tis not the less real; whether this Prince was slain by his Dogs turned mad, as some Authors will have it (2), or that having shewed some Disregard for that Goddess, he had been reckoned impious, as we learn from *Diodorus* (3) and *Euripides* (4), who adds that he was going to eat of the Meat that had been offered to her in Sacrifice, and with insupportable Pride had preferred himself to her; which *Ovid* describes under the Parable of a vain Curiosity. The Poet *Stesichorus*, as we read in *Pausanias*, added to this dismal Adventure, that *Diana* herself had covered *Alceon* with the Skin of a Deer, which provoked his Dogs to fall upon and destroy him; and that as a Punishment for having designed to marry *Semele*; a Circumstance not told by *Ovid*. In fine, *Semele* perished miserably, if we may credit the Poets, for her fatal Curiosity to see *Jupiter* in all his divine Majesty.

From all that we have now said, we may draw these Conclusions; 1. *Cadmus* was a foreign Prince, a Native of *Phœnicia*. 2. The Country which he inhabited before his Retreat into *Greece*, being upon the East of Mount *Hermon*, the *Hebrews* gave that Country the Name of *Quadmi* or *Quadmon*. 3. The People whom he brought with him, were named *Heveans*, whence came the Fable of the Serpents or Dragons, which *Bochart* has very well explained. 4. That the *Greeks* have made *Cadmus* the King of *Sidon's* Son, tho' he was only his Master-cook. 5. That the *Cadmoneans* and *Heveans* were but one and the same People, and that the first of those Names was given them only because they dwelt in the East. Accordingly we read in *Joshua*, and in the Book of *Judges*, that the *Heveans* were surnamed *Orientalis* and *Quadmonim*. 6. That from Mount *Hermon*, *Cadmus's* Wife *Harmonia*, or *Hermione*, had her Name. 7. That both of them were said to be transformed into Serpents, only from the Name of *Heveans* which they went by. 8. That

(1) *Ovid. Met.* l. 3, (2) *Pauf. in Beot.* c. 1. (3) *Lib.* 4.  
(4) In *Bacchis*.

8. That what gave a Handle to say that *Cadmus's* Soldiers were five in Number, was the Equivocation of the Word *Camest*, which signifies either *five* or *armed*: For the Sake of the Fable the first Signification was chosen preferably to the second. 9. That such another Mistake gave the *Greeks* a Handle to say, as we are told by *Hyginus*, that *Cadmus* was the Inventor of the Uses to which Brass was afterwards applied, and that he had found out the Stone for making Brass, named by *Pliny* *Cadmia*. 10. That *Cadmus*, banished from *Thebes* by *Amphion* and *Zetbus*, according to *Eusebius*, or by the People named *Enceblean*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, led a Part of his Colony into the Place of his Exile. The eleventh Inference is, that we may, and that we ought perhaps, entirely to detach the History of *Cadmus* from that of the Rape of *Europa*, tho' the *Greek* Authors have joined them together. The last Inference is, that by the Generations from *Thersander*, who lived at the Beginning of the *Trojan* War, tracing back to *Cadmus*, the Number whereof is preserved to us in *Herodotus*, *Pausanias*, and almost all the Antients who had Occasion to mention them, especially if with the Author of *The Critical Reflections* we join to them the History of the Kings of *Troy*, from *Dardanus* Contemporary with *Cadmus*, to *Priam*, we may fix the *Æra* of the Entry of the *Phœnician* Chief into *Beotia*, as well as that of *Dardanus* into *Pbrygia*, to the Year 200 before the taking of *Troy*. Accordingly, we find between *Cadmus*, and *Thersander*, who was slain by *Therlephus* in the first Year of the Siege of that City, only six Generations, *Cadmus*, *Pentheus*, *Polydorus*, *Labdacus*, *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Polynices* and *Thersander*, which, according to the usual Manner of reckoning, amount only to 200 Years.

We may remark, 1. That I name indeed eight Persons, which would make seven Generations; but *Pentheus* and *Polydorus* make but one, their Reigns, especially that of the first, having been very short. 2. It will be objected, that I mention neither *Amphion*,  
on,

m, nor his Uncle *Lycus*, who both reigned at *Thebes*, as well as *Creon*, after the Death of *Laius*, slain by *Oedipus*; but these three Princes who usurped the Crown, the two first from *Polydorus*, and the last during the Interregnum which followed upon *Laius's* Death, make no Addition to the Number of Generations in *Cadmus's* Family, which followed one another equally during the Space of Time that these three Princes reigned; and we are only to look upon them as precarious Reigns, which had it not been for the Misfortunes that befel that Family, might equally have been filled up by the Successors of *Cadmus*. But a short History of those Reigns will clear up what seems obscure in this Place.

*Cadmus* being dethroned, as has been said, *Pentheus* was substituted in his Place; but he being torn in Pieces by the Bacchanals, *Polydorus* ascended the Throne, whence he too was expelled for having attempted to reform the Worship of *Bacchus*, which was become very indecent. He was succeeded by his Son *Labdacus* (1), who married *Nyctis*, the Daughter of *Nycteus*, by whom he had a Son named *Laius*, who was but an Infant in the Cradle when his Father died; which induced *Lycus*, the Brother of *Nycteus*, to seize upon his Nephew's Crown.

Not long before the Death of *Nycteus*, his Daughter *Antiope*, who had hearkened to the Solicitations of her Gallant, whom she alledged to be *Jupiter* (2), had been obliged, in order to shun her Father's Displeasure, to retire to the Court of *Epopeus* King of *Sicyon*, who married her. *Nycteus*, upon his Death-bed, engaged his Brother *Lycus* to punish his Daughter and his Son-in-law, which he faithfully put in Execution; for having put *Epopeus* to Death, he brought away his Niece, who was delivered by the Way of two Sons, who were therefore called *Zeus* and *Amphion* (3). When *Antiope* was in a Condition to be transported, *Nycteus* delivered her to his Wife *Dircé*, who

(1) Apollod. l. 3. (2) Id. ib. Pausan. in Cor. &c. (3) That is, *quasi in Bivio nati*.

who for several Years treated her in the most cruel Manner possible ; but she at last having found a Way to make her Escape, went in quest of her two Sons to the Persons with whom she had intrusted them, who having entred *Thebes* Sword in Hand, slew *Lycus*, and bound *Dircé* to the Tail of a wild Bull, whereby she died a miserable Death, made themselves Masters of the City, and banished *Laius* from it, who did not recover the Kingdom till after their Death, as shall be said in resuming the History of *Thebes*, upon occasion of *Oedipus* the Son of the same *Laius*.

The Punishment of *Dircé* is represented in a fine Groupe which *Montfaucon* has published, where you see that Princess bound to the Tail of a monstrous Bull. Again, *Amphion* is he who built the Walls of *Thebes* during his Reign ; and the Poets fabled that he had built them by the Musick of his Lyre, by which Figure they give us to know, that besides his Skill in playing upon that Instrument (*a*), he had been so eloquent as to persuade a rude People to quit the Fields and Woods, where they led a wandering and unsettled Life, to repair into a City, and secure themselves by Walls both against their Enemies and the wild Beasts (*b*). For sure no Body will understand literally what *Pausanias* relates (*i*) of some Stones neither polished nor cut, that were to be seen near the Tomb of that Prince, and which were said to be the Remains of those which he had drawn after him by the Sound of his Lyre.

We may remark however, 1. That as the poetical Fables were invented at different Times, 'tis probable

(*a*) *Plin.* l. 7. c. 56. and after him *Pausanias* in *Beot.* c. 5. say that *Amphion*, *Tantalus*'s Kinsman, had taught the *Idæan* Musick, wherein he excelled, and introduced the Harmony thereof into *Greece*, having added three Strings to the four which the Lute then had. See the Notes of *M. Burette* upon *Plutarch's Dialogues of Musick.* *Mem. of the Acad. of the Belles Lettres*, Vol. 9.

(*b*) *DiEus & Amphion Thebanæ conditor arcis*  
*Saxa movere sono testudinis, & prece blanda*  
*Ducere quo vellet.* *Horat. de Art. Poet.*  
*Mania Phebeæ structa canore lyæ.* *Ovid. Met.* l. 6.

(*i*) In *Beot.*

probable that this is pretty late, and that it was not propagated till after *Homer*; since that Poet, so knowing in the Pagan Mythology, would not have failed to speak of it in that Passage of the *Odyſſey* (1), where he makes Mention of thoſe two Princes who fortified *Thebes* by ſeven good Gates, and raiſed Towers at proper Diſtances, without which, ſays he, however formidable they were, they could not have lived ſecure in that great City. But, as *Pauſanias* very well remarks (2), “ That Poet ſays not a Word “ of *Amphion*’s miraculous Voice, nor of the Walls “ of *Thebes* built by the Muſick of his Lyre.” It was probably the Author of the Poem upon *Europa*, mentioned by the ſame Author, that invented this Fable, ſince in that Work *Amphion* was ſaid to have learned from *Mercury* to play upon the Lyre, and by his melodious Muſick to have made the wild Beaſts and the very Stones to follow him.

Again, the Author of the Poem of the *Myniad*, whereof the ſame *Pauſanias* makes mention, is the only one of the Antients, ſo far as I know, who ſays that *Amphion* ſuffered in Hell the ſame Punishment with the *Thracian Thamyris*, and that for having ſlighted *Latona* and her Children (a).

2. That as theſe antient Hiſtories were not very conſiſtent, *Pauſanias* (3) relates ſomewhat differently the Hiſtory of *Antiope* and her Amours. *Antiope*, ſays he, the Daughter of *Nycteus*, was then famous through all Greece for her ſingular Beauty; ſhe was even ſaid to be the Daughter, not of that Prince, but of the River *Aſopus*, which waters the Lands of the *Plateans* and *Thebans*. Whether it was that *Epopeus* wanted to marry her, or being violently in love with her, was willing to gratify his Paſſion at any Rate, he committed a Rape upon her. The *Thebans* determined to avenge this Injury, marched directly againſt him;

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him;

(1) L. 2. (2) In Corinth.

(a) See what has been ſaid to this Purpoſe in the Hiſtory of *ſiab.* B. 1.

(3) In Corinth.

him; the Battle was bloody; there *Nycteus* received a mortal Wound, whereby *Epopeus* gained the Victory, but he too was wounded. *Nycteus* being carried back to *Thebes*, and perceiving he had but a short While to live, left the Administration of the Kingdom to his Brother *Lycus*, which by Right belonged to *Labdacus* his Pupil, the Son of *Polydorus* and *Cadmus's* Grandson. He also gave the Tutorage of the young Prince to *Lycus*; but at the same Time adjuring him to revenge his Death, by engaging *Epopeus* with stronger Forces, and to punish *Antiope*, if she fell into his Hands. In the mean time *Epopeus* was chiefly concerned to give Thanks to the Gods for the Success of his Arms, and to build a Temple to *Minerva*. When the Temple was finished, he prayed the Goddess to let him know by some Sign whether the Consecration of it was agreeable to her; and 'tis said, that immediately after his Prayer an Olive-tree was seen to spring up before the Gate of the Temple; notwithstanding, in a few Days after *Epopeus* died of his Wound which he had neglected. His Death put an End to the War, for *Laomedon*, who succeeded him, again delivered up *Antiope* into the Hands of *Lycus*: She was carried back to *Thebes*, and in the Way thither, not far from *Eleutherae*, she was delivered of her two Sons, upon which Subject *Apollon* the Son of *Amphiotelemus* made Verses to the following Effect.

*The charming Antiope, Daughter of Asopus, was Mistress to Epopeus, and to Jove himself: No Wonder then if she was the Mother of two Heroes, Amphion and Zethus.*

3. Tho' *Dirce* has been reckoned a very cruel Princess, because of the Evils she was the Cause of *Antiope's* suffering, yet as she paid singular Honour to *Bacchus*, that God espoused her Quarrel, by depriving *Antiope* of the Use of Reason (1). She was rambling thro' Greece like a Vagabond, when *Phorcas*, the Son of *Ornytion*, and Grandson of *Sisyphus*, having

(1) Pausan. in Boet.



found her by Chance, first cured, and then married her.

4. That the Transformation of *Dircé* into a Fountain is only one of those Embellishments that used to be superadded to the History of Persons distinguished either by their Birth or Beauty; and the Foundation of this Fiction is the Name of a Fountain it runs near *Thebes*, which in *Arabic* was called *Zar-* or *Zirca*, which imports *clear*, a Name which had been given to it to signify the Purity and Clearness of its Water; which *Statius* (1) expresses in this verse:

*Cæcula cum rubuit leoneo sanguine Dircæ.*

The *Greeks* changing the *Z* into a *D*, and softening the Pronunciation of the Word, made it *Dircé*; and to celebrate more magnificently the tragical End of the Wife of *Lycus*, who was dragged about that Fountain, they thought fit to say that *Bacchus* had transformed her into that Fountain round which she had been dragged (2).

5. That notwithstanding all the Misfortunes that befell *Cadmus's* Family, several of those who belonged to it, were advanced either to the Rank of Gods or demi-Gods. I have already mentioned from *Pausanias* the heroical Monuments that had been raised in Honour of that Prince, as also of the Worship that had been paid to *Aristeus* one of his Grandsons, and the unfortunate *Alteon*, who, according to *Pausanias*, was acknowledged for a Hero by the *Orchomenians*; to *Semelé* and *Ino* his Daughters; but an Altar, dug up lately near *Cologne*, and explained by an Academic of *Lyons* (3), informs us also, that the other two Daughters of *Cadmus* participated of the same Honours; the Inscription which is upon the Altar bearing, *DEÆ SEMELÆ ET SORORIBUS EYUS EABUS*, &c. (a).

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No

(1) Thebaid. (2) Bochart Chan. l. i. c. 78. (3) See the Journal of *Trevoux*, July 1738.

(a) See what has been said of them in the History of the Most-Goddeses, Vol. III. B. 6.

No Body hitherto questioned the Deification *Semelé Bacchus's* Mother, nor that of *Ino* the Niece of that God, and of this we have occasionally said enough: But as to their two Sisters *Autonoë* and *Agavé* little or nothing is known about them: O *Pausanias* tells us, that the first having left *Thebes* came and settled in a Town dependent upon *Megara* where her Tomb was to be seen; but as for *Agavé* the barbarous *Agavé*, the most zealous in exciting her Companions to tear in Pieces the unhappy *Pentheus* by what Means had she arrived at divine Honours? Perhaps it was for that same Zeal she had she showed for the Worship of *Bacchus*. Besides, she had contributed with her Sisters to the Education of that God and nothing more was necessary to intitle her to the same Honours with her Sisters; but it suffices that the Altar in question is an incontestable Proof that she shared therein.

We might further cite a Monument published by *Gruter*, on which are represented four Women, with this Inscription, *To the four Sisters*; but the Antiquaries are not all agreed that it relates to the Daughters of *Cadmus*. To make what I have said of the Personality of *Cadmus* the more intelligible, I here subjoin his Genealogy, and that of his Alliance with the House of *Nyctæus*.

# THE POSTERITY OF CADMUS.

*Cadmus* : sent *Polydorus* married *Laius*, dethroned *Oedipus* had *Antigone*, a Daughter,   
 by his Father *Nycteus*, Daughter *Labdacus*, by *Lycus* his Uncle and then slain ther, *Eteocles*, *Polymicus*,   
 in Quest of his of *Nycteus*, *Antenor*, who married *Aristeus*. *They killed one another.*   
 Sister *Europa*, *Antenor*, who married *Aristeus*.   
 built the City *Thebes*.   
*Ino*, the Wife of *Athamas* Son of *Eolus*.   
*Agave*, who married *Echion*.   
*Semela*, Mistress to *Jupiter*, Mother of the *Grecian Bacchus*.   
*Phoenix*, from whom the *Phœnicians* derived their Name, who were then very powerful in *Asia*. The Seat of his   
 Empire was at *Thebes* in *Egypt*.   
*Cilix*, who gave Name to *Cilicia*.   
*Europa*, ravished by *Jupiter*.

I said that *Laius* was dethroned by his Grand-Uncle *Lycus*, and the following Table will shew their Degree of Consanguinity.

## The ALLIANCE between the Family of CADMUS and of NYCTEUS.

Who was their Father is not known,	{	<i>Nycteus</i> , come from <i>Eubœa</i> with his Brother,	{	<i>Nycteus</i> , who married <i>Polydorus</i> Son of <i>Cadmus</i> ,	{	<i>Labdacus</i> .	{	<i>Laius</i> dethroned.
		<i>Antiope</i> , who had by <i>Jupiter</i> ,		<i>Zethus</i> , <i>Amphion</i> ,		Brought up by a Priest, they avenged the Injuries done to their Mother <i>Dirce</i> .		
		He had to Wife <i>Dirce</i> , and dethroned <i>Laius</i> .						
		He took <i>Antiope</i> his Niece, who had married <i>Egeus</i> . <i>Dirce</i> having used her very ill, she was avenged by <i>Zethus</i> and <i>Amphion</i> , who slew <i>Lycus</i> and bound <i>Dirce</i> to a mad Bull.						

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Arrival of Pelops in Greece.*

**T**O conclude : The last Foreigner who arrived in Greece before the Destruction of *Troy*, was *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*. This Prince, forced to fly his Country upon account of the War which *Tros* had waged with him, to revenge the Rape of *Ganymede*, retired into *Greece*, where he married *Hippodamia* the Daughter of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*, ascended the Throne after the Death of his Father-in-law, and communicated his Name to that Part of the Peninsula, which was from that Time called the *Peloponnesus*, or the Island of *Pelops* : Nor was his Dominion confined to that Count y, since he possessed himself of *Ætolia* from *Ætolus* the Son of *Endymion*, who was King thereof ; and by his vast Riches he became one of the most powerful Kings of *Greece*.

This Prince had two Sons, *Arcus* and *Thyestes*, famous for their mutual Hatred to one another. *Arcus* was the Father of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, who assisted in the *Trojan* War. I shall handle more particularly the History of *Pelops* and his Descendants, who reigned at *Mycenæ* until the Return of the *Hercules*, in speaking of *Agamemnon* and his Family.

The only Question here is to settle the *Æras* : Now that of *Pelops*'s Arrival in *Greece*, must necessarily fall about the 110 or 120 Year before the *Trojan* War. 'Tis true, between that Prince and *Agamemnon* who commanded the *Grecian* Troops at the Siege of that City, there are only two Generations, which would not require so great an Interval ; but on the Side of his Daughter *Lysilice*, who married *Mestor*, and of his Son *Pitheus*, who reigned at *Trezen*, there is a far greater Number. *Etbra*, the Daughter of this *Pitheus*, was the Mother of *Thescus*, who was born upwards of 60 Years before the War now in question : Thus, taking a just Medium between these several Generations, we ought to place the *Æra* of *Pelops*

*Pelops's* Arrival in *Greece* in the Time where I have now fixed it.

Such are the principal *Æras* of the History of the heroic Age. No doubt the Reader will have observed that I contract a little the Duration until the *Trojan War*; for as to the taking of that City, I always place it either in the Year 1183, or 1184 before the Christian *Æra*, according to the Opinion of *Eratoſthenes* and *Apollodorus*; and tho', in my other Works upon Mythology, I have followed another Chronology, I thought myself bound to alter it, for the Reasons which I am going to offer. Why then, in beginning with that which is better known to us, and tracing back from the taking of *Troy* to the Arrival of the Colonies in *Greece*, I have only found the Space of Time which I have fixed; namely, from the taking of that City to *Pelops*, only about three or four Generations, which yield only 100, or 120 Years: From the same *Æra* to *Cadmus* there are only six; so that we can fix that Interval only to about 200 Years. From *Deucalion* to the same *Æra* are only seven Generations; therefore I thought proper to reckon only two hundred and thirty Years Distance between the Arrival of that Prince in *Thessaly* and the *Trojan War*; the Succession of the Kings of *Athens* alone is Confirmation thereof. The Arrival of *Cecrops*, which gives Occasion to the first *Æra* of the *Parian Marbles*, can only reach back to two hundred and sixty Years before the *Trojan War*, since that City was taken under the Reign of *Mnestheus* his eleventh Successor, and we must even lengthen a little the Reigns of these Princes. The same Number of Generations from *Danaus* to the foresaid *Æra*, and that of *Inachus's* Descendants to *Danaus*, have served me for a Guide in determining the Time which elapsed from the Foundation of the Kingdom of *Argos* until my last *Æra*. I say nothing here of the Kingdom of *Sicyon*, because most Authors reckon fictitious the first Kings whom I have named from *Syncellus*, and since *Homer* makes the first of those Kings to have lived only about the Time of the *Trojan War*.

Of these different Colonies came the Heroes who gave Name to the Age under our Consideration in this Volume ; and as in after Ages they made *Greece* exceedingly famous, the Recital of their Actions is to make the most considerable Part of this History.



## B O O K II.

*Of the HEROES.*

THE Heroes, as we have already observed, were not known out of *Greece*, where their Names were synonymous with that of Demi-Gods. A very high Opinion was conceived of those illustrious Men, and they were considered as Persons signalized by their glorious Deeds, and as a kind of Giants, or at least Men of a Stature far superior to that of ordinary Mortals. This is the Idea we have of them from the Poets, from *Homer* especially, who makes them throw Stones which four Men of his Time could hardly have raised from the Ground. The Historians have sometimes described them like the Poets ; and *Pausanias* (1) says *Polydamas* was the tallest Man had been seen since the heroic Age. But before we speak of the Honours that were paid them, we must enquire into the Original of their Name.

## C H A P. I.

*The Original of the Name of Heroe, and what Kind of Worship was paid to them who acquired it.*

THE most known Names are often those whose Original is most obscure : Accordingly the Antients assign several Etymologies of the Name *Heroe*. Some derive it from the Word *Eros*, *Love*, to denote that the Heroes were the Offspring of the Love of the Gods for mortal Women, or of the Goddesses for Men ;

(1) In Att.

Men; for there were Heroes of both these Kinds. *Servius* is not far from this Opinion, since he says the Appellation of Heroe was given to those who sprung from the Embraces of Spirits under visible Forms with Women; and according to that Author, the Name was synonymous with that of *Demon* or *Genius*; but this Original cannot hold, since we find several Heroes who were the Sons of mere Mortals. *St. Augustine* (1) derives the Name from that of *Juno*, called in *Greek* *Hera*, whence, according to him, the Name of Heroe was given to one of her Sons (a). But as I know no Author names this Son of *Juno*, whom *St. Augustine* himself was not acquainted with, I reckon we are not to lay much Stress upon this Etymology; and I would rather adhere to the Opinion of those who derive the Name from the Valour and Courage of the Persons on whom it was conferred, *ἀνδρῶν Ἀρετῆς*.

*Herodotus* (2) and *Pausanias* (3) let us know the Distinction that was made between the Gods and the Heroes; and tho' I have said something of this in the very Beginning of this Work, I judge it proper to go deeper into the Subject. According to these two Authors, the Worship of the Gods consisted in Sacrifices and Libations, which, say they, are Honours due to the Divinity; whereas that of the Heroes was only a kind of Funeral Solemnity, wherein the Memory of their Exploits was celebrated; which makes the first of these Historians say in that Passage where he speaks of the Temple which the *Greeks* had erected in Honour of *Hercules*; "Wherefore methinks the *Greeks* have acted wisely in building Temples to *Hercules*, sacrificing to one of the two surnamed the *Olympian*, as being of an immortal Nature, and performing in Honour of the other, as to a Heroe, Funeral Obsequies rather than Sacrifice." *Pausani-*

as

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 10. c. 21.

(a) Heroum nomen ab Junone dicitur tractum, quod Græce Juno Ἥρα appellatur, & ideo nescio qui filius ejus, secundum Græcorum fabulas. Heros fuit nuncupatus.

(2) Lib. 3. (3) In Att.

as makes also the same Distinction, when he says, that to *Alexanor* were ascribed the usual Honours that belong to Heroes, and that after Sun setting; but to *Evemerion* divine Honours were paid. The same Author adds, that at the Dedication of Cities, Sacrifices were offered to the Gods, and that Heroes were invoked merely by Prayers. When *Epaminondas*, says he (1), was designed to re-establish the *Messenians*, and build them a City, after having consulted the Augurs, and upon their Report made Choice of the Place where it was to have been built, the *Arcadians*, the *Messenians* and *Thebans*, offered each to their own Gods private Sacrifices, then they all invoked the Heroes of the Country; especially *Messenus* the Son of *Triopas*, *Eurytus* and *Aphareus*, with their Children, and among the Descendants of *Hercules*, *Cresphontes* and *Epbytus*. Besides, they invoked *Aristomenes* in a particular Manner, and his Memory was more honoured than any other. But this Distinction did not always subsist, since the Heroe often became a God, as I have proved from the Authority of the Antients, in the third Book of the first Volume. Farther, I believe we may assert, that the due Promotion of Heroes to the Rank of Gods, was owing to the Doctrine of the antient Philosophy, which taught that the Souls of great Men were advanced even to the Stars, the Mansion of the Gods; and hence it was thought necessary to honour them like the Gods themselves with whom they dwelt. The *Stoics*, on the contrary, settled only the Habitation of the Heroes in a pure and serene Climate, which they believed to be above the Moon; which makes *Lucan* say, *That vast Expansion which is between Heaven and Earth, is the Mansion of the Demi-Gods* (a).

So firmly were they persuaded that the Heroes interested themselves as well as the Gods in the Affairs of this World, that they were believed to be the Avengers

(1) In Mess.

(a) *Quodque patet terras inter cœlique meatus  
Semidei Manes habitant.* Pharf. l. 9.v.6.



vengers of Impiety. The Examples of this, quoted by *Pausanias* (1), are very authentic. *Cleomenes*, says he, having corrupted the Priests of *Delpi*, to oblige her to declare, that *Demaratus* was not the legal Son of *Aristo*, and thereby to exclude him from the Crown, to which he had a Right, having stabbed himself in one of those Fits of Madness to which he was subject, his Death was looked upon as a Punishment from the Gods and Heroes. “ And indeed, says that Historian, it was not the first Instance of the Vengeance the Gods and Heroes had taken upon Men. *Protesilaus* who is worshipped at *Eleus*, and who in his Time was a Heroe no less celebrated than *Argus*, punished with his own Hand the *Persian Artacetus* (2); and ever since the *Megareans* presumed to appropriate to themselves and cultivate the Lands consecrated to the Divinities of *Eleusis*, they have never been able to appease their Wrath.”

This in few Words is what the Antients taught as to the Heroes and their Worship. We shall speak afterwards at more Length of those who by their Achievements attained that high Rank, which at Bottom was much the same with that of the Gods. But before we close this Chapter, 'tis proper to examine what the Antients understood by the Tomb of the Heroes *Ἡρώων μνημα*, an Expression which often occurs in *Pausanias*. The Abbé *Sallier*, who has treated this Subject in a Memoir which he read to the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, says, that by these two Words was understood the Tomb of a Heroe erected in a Place inclosed with a sacred Grove, and near which was an Altar, which they used to frequent at set Times, and offer upon it Gifts and Libations. In Proof of this Proposition, he quotes several Authorities from *Homer* and *Euripides*, which may be seen in his Dissertation (3), and he concludes with a Passage in *Virgil*, and with the Testimony of *Servius* his Commentator, which set the Matter in full Light :

*Solennes*

(1) In Lacon. (2) Herodotus relates the same Fact. (3) Mem. de l'Acad. Tom. V.

*Solemnes tum forte dapes & tristia dona  
 Ante urbem in lucu, falsi Simoentis ad undam,  
 Libabat cineri Andromache, manesque vocabat  
 Hectorum ad tumulum, viridi quem cespite inanem  
 Et geminas, causam lacrymis, sacraverat aras.*

Æn. l. 3.

Since in these Verses we actually find the three Things requisite to the Tombs of Heroes, the sacred Grove, *Lucus*, the Heroe's Shade; *Has tenent Herum animæ*, says the same Poet in another Place; and lastly the Offerings, *Libabat cineri Andromache*. Servius (1) in his Commentary upon this Passage of *Virgil*, says, the Poet never uses the Word *lucus*, but he means a Place consecrated by Religion (a). The heroic Monument was not peculiar to Heroes alone, since we learn from *Pausanias* that it was also erected in Honour of Heroins (2), as we shall see afterwards.

## CHAP. II.

*At what Time and in what Manner the Practice of worshipping Heroes was introduced into Greece, &c.*

**T**IS not easy to determine at what Time the Worship of Heroes commenced. The Antients, and *Pausanias* himself, who says so much of this Worship, give us no Account of its Original; but among the Moderns we have Men of Learning, who not discerning any Traces of this Worship before the Arrival of *Cadmus*, conclude from thence, that he had brought it from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*. From that Period, say they, commenced the Practice among the *Greeks*, of honouring the Funerals of their Relations by Festivals, Invocations, and Offerings; of erecting to them remarkable Tombs, whither they repaired, especially on the Day of their Anniversary, there to perform Libations.

(1) In 3. Æn.

(a) *Lucum nunquam ponit sine Religione, nam in ipsis habitant Manes piorum, qui Lares viales sunt.*

(2) In *Corinth*.

bations. To these Tombs very soon succeeded Statues, and afterwards Altars. Every private Person was permitted to pay his Respects to his Ancestors, but often their Fame reached no farther than their own Family. It was otherwise as to those on whom Cities or Kingdoms conferred Honours. As it was commonly to Persons who had done good Service to the State, and had signalized themselves by great Achievements, their Names became thereby exceeding famous, and were propagated every where. Thus we are to distinguish two Sorts of Heroes; some were so only in their own Families, and were as their Gods *Penates*: Others were so by public Decrees, and became the Heroes of a whole People. To the one were erected only Tombs of Stone which served for Altars, while those which were raised to others differed but little from the Temples of the Gods; and that the Homage paid them might be the more solemn, Mysteries were instituted in their Honour, with Ceremonies and Feasts; and a Succession of Priests destined to their Service.

As the Number of the Heroes and Heroins is almost beyond Reckoning, and it would be impossible to name them all, I shall collect into one Chapter the Names of all whom I know, reserving till afterwards what further Enlargements I have to make on those of them that are more illustrious.

### C H A P. III.

*The Names of the Heroes and Heroins worshipped in Greece,*

**F**IRST of all we find in the single Family of *Cadmus*, that Prince himself, *Europa* his Sister, and *Atymnus* his Brother, his four Daughters, *Melicerta* the Son of *Ino*, *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, *Aristeus* the Husband of *Autonoë*, and *Jafus* the Brother of his Wife *Harmonia*. In that of *Minos*, that Prince himself, *Rhadamanthus*, *Androgeos*, &c.

In the Family of *Inachus*, *Danaë*, *Perseus*, *Hercules*,  
*Alcmena*,

*Alcmena* his Mother, and many more. At *Athens*, *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, *Pandion*, *Theseus*, and *Hippolitus* his Son. The latter was even honoured as a God. *Diomedes*, as is thought, built him a Temple, and consecrated to him the Ground that encompassed it. This Heroe was reckoned the first who paid divine Honours to him. The Priests who had the Charge of his Worship, had it for Life, and the Festival of the God was solemnized every Year. Among other Ceremonies performed in his Honour the young Virgins before Marriage cut off their Hair, and consecrated it to him in that Temple. At *Eleusis*, *Triptolemus* and *Celeus*. In the Family of *Pelops*, this Prince himself, and *Hippodamia* his Wife, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen*, *Menelaus*, and *Agamemnon*. In that of *Æacus*, this Prince, *Peleus* his Son, and *Achilles*. In that of *Priam*, *Hector* and *Cassandra* his Daughter, and *Helelus*, one of his Sons. We may also reckon in the same Number the Soothsayer *Amphiaraus*, and his Son *Amphibolus*, *Phoroneus*, *Orpheus*, *Protefilaus*, *Arcas* the Son of *Callisto*, *Idomeneus*, *Emenones*, *Melampus*, *Adrastus*, *Iolaus*, *Macbaon*, his Son *Polemocrates*, and his Brother *Podalirius*, *Areotopotes*, or the great *Wine-biber*, honoured as a Heroe at *Munichia*, according to *Arbencus*, as *Alabandus* was in *Acbaia*, according to *Cicero* and *Asius*, if we may believe *Strabo*; *Amicleus* and *Apollonius Tyanicus* (1). *Calchas* the Soothsayer, so famous at the Siege of *Troy*, had a Temple, according to *Strabo*, at *Daunia* upon a Hill, and *Caystrius*, according to the same Author, an Altar near the River *Cayster*. The *Apotheosis* of *Homer* represented upon an antient Monument, explained by *Cuper*, leaves no Room to doubt of that Poet's having been worshipped at least as a Demi-God.

A Passage of *Pausanias* (2) gives us the Names of several Heroes; whom he calls *Eponymes*: A little above the Place where the Senate was held, are the Statues of these Heroes, from whom the Athenian Tribes took their Names afterwards; the first is *Hippocoon*, the Son of *Neptune*,

(1) Philost. Vita Apoll. Tyan. (2) In Att.

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Neptune, and Alope, the Daughter of Cercyon; *Antiochus* the Son of Hercules and Medea, is the second, and the third is Telamon the Father of Ajax. Among the Athenians is reckoned Leos, who by the Advice of the Oracle devoted his Daughter for the Safety of the State; Erechtheus (a) who defeated the Eleufians, and flew their General; Immarandus the Son of Eumolpus, Egeus who is well known, Ceneus the natural Son of Pandion, and Acamas one of the Sons of Theseus. I have seen in the same Rank, adds he, the Statues of Cecrops and Pandion. Cleodea, the Daughter of Hilus, Oebalus and Telechus had their heroic Monuments in Laconia (1): The latter was the Son of Archelaus King of Sparta. Eurylnus the Son of Menecceus, was worshipped in Oecbalia on the Day of his Anniversary (2). Theagenes of Thafos, who was so often Conqueror at the Olympic Games (b), received divine Honours; and as his Adventure is singular, I shall relate it. A Statue had been consecrated to him of Bronze (3), and as one of his Enemies was once a beating of it by Way of Revenge upon him, the Statue falling down suddenly upon the Fool, and crushing him to Death, his Sons sued it in Judgment, as being guilty of Murther, and the People of Thafos condemned it to be thrown into the Sea; so one of Draco's Law ordained. In the mean Time the Thafians being sore distressed with Famine, had Recourse to the Oracle of Delphi, who answered them that it would cease when they had recalled all those whom they had banished. They obeyed, but the Calamity still continuing, they sent a second Time to the Oracle, and the Priests answered, that their Theagenes it seems passed with them for a Cypher. Upon this they got the Statue fished up, and from that Time began to honour the Memory of that Heroe.

*Pyritibus,*

(a) Herodot. l. 8. makes also Mention of the Temple of that Prince which was in the Citadel of Athens.

(1) Id. in Lacon. (2) Id. in Messen.

(b) The ordinary Text of Pausani is bears that he had won 1400 Crowns, an exorbitant Number, which some Interpreters reduce to 400, which still appears very great.

(3) Id. in Eliac.

*Pyrithous*, *Oedipus*, and *Atræus*, as we learn from *Pausanias*, had their heroic Monuments in *Attica*; *Pallas* the Son of *Lycaon* had his in *Arcadia*, and *Pelops* had a Temple in *Alces*, and a Piece of Ground consecrated to him: For, as the same Author remarks, the *Eleans* set that Prince as far above other Heroes, as they set *Jupiter* above other Gods. It is thought to have been *Hercules* himself that consecrated that Piece of Ground to *Pelops*, from whom he was descended in the fourth Generation. They added (1), that he had sacrificed to him by the Side of a Ditch, where the *Archons* were wont every Year to offer Sacrifice before they entered upon their Office; and their Sacrifice had this Singularity in it, that no Part of the Victim was allotted to Divination.

*Telephus* received the Honours of Sacrifice at *Pergamus* upon the *Caicus* (2). *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, was too illustrious not to acquire heroic Honours; accordingly he had in *Alces* a Chapel built in Form of the *Rotondo*, where he had a Statue of Gold, by the Hand of *Leochares*. However ambitious his Son *Alexander* was to be taken into the Number of the great Gods, as has been said elsewhere, I know not if he ever attained even to Heroic Honours; at least if any Worship was paid to him, it was not very extensive. *Phylæus*, for having relieved the City *Delphi*, obtained a heroic Monument. *Polydorus* the Son of *Acamenes* the King of *Sparta*, received extraordinary Honours from the *Lacedæmonians* after his Death; but *Pausanias* has not told us whether he was reckoned a God or a Heroe (3).

*Deucalion* had Altars in *Greece*, and was honoured there as a Divinity. *Diomedes* was esteemed a God, and had a Temple and a sacred Grove at *Timæus*, according to *Strabo* (4). *Ergane* a Goddess had also her Altar. The Descendants of *Phidias* sacrificed to him, according to *Pausanias*. *Hermotimus* was worshipped as a God among the *Clazomenians*, and had there a Temple,

(1) In *Eliac*. (2) Id. in *Arcad*. (3) Id. in *Eliac*. (4) P. 146.

Temple, according to the Testimony of *Tertullian* (1). *Palamedes*, according to *Philostratus* (2), was honoured as a God. He had a Statue erected to him with this Inscription, *To the God Palamedes*. *Pandarus* (3) was worshipped in *Lycia*. *Pasithea*, says *Cicero* (4), had a Temple near *Lacedemon*: Others take her for *Pasiphae* the Wife of *Minos*. *Pboroneus*, as we learn from *Pausanias* (5), had one at *Corinth*, near that of *Nemean Jupiter*; and even in *Pausanias*'s Time they still celebrated the Anniversary of that Heroe. *Acefidus* and *Acefus* had also heroic Monuments in *Greece*, as we read in the same Author, as also *Acratus*, a Genius of *Bacchus*'s Retinue, and *Adrastus* the Son of *Talaus*, *Aethlius* the Son of *Eolus*, who was surnamed *Jupiter*; *Agamedes* and *Trophonius* his Brother, the same who had the famous Oracle; *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, and *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, participated of the same Honours, while *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* received them in the small Island of *Leuce*, where a particular Worship was also paid to *Achilles*. *Pyrchus* his Son was worshipped principally at *Delphi*. *Lycurgus*, if we may believe *Strabo* (6), had a Temple at *Lacedemon*.

*Pausanias*, who of all the Antients has enlarged most upon this Subject, having travelled over *Greece* which was full of heroic Monuments, makes Mention of those of *Alalcomedes*, the Foster-Father of *Minerva*, of *Alcathous*, *Alcimedea*, *Alcines*, *Aleon*, *Ambrissus*, *Anaxis*, *Minasinos*, *Aratus*, *Archemorus*, *Astrabacus*, *Atys*, *Aureas*; of the *Arcadian Aulon*, of *Baton* Squire to *Amphiaras*, of *Perseus*, *Thyestes*, whose heroic Monument was upon the Highway that led from *Mycenæ* to *Argos*; of *Bellerophon*, *Butes*, *Chilon*, *Cladeus*, *Cleodeus* the Son of *Hyllus*; of *Chiron*, so celebrated in the heroic Age, of *Cleomedes*, *Cleoneus*, *Cranius*. He makes also Mention either of the Temples or Statues of *Stemmu-tius*, of the *Curetes*, of *Tenes*, *Hyacinthus*, peculiarly honoured in *Laconia*, of *Jolaus* the Companion of

VOL. III. F f Hercules,

(1) Lib. de Anima. (2) Life of Apoll. Tyan. (3) Strabo, l. 14. (4) L. 1. de Divinat. (5) In Corinth. (6) L. 7. (7) L. 7.

*Hercules*, worshipped in *Sardis*; of *Ipbicles*, Brother to the same *Hercules*; of *Orestes*, *Lacedemon*, *Latius*, *Laphigius*, *Lycurgus*, *Melampus*, *Hippodan*, whose heroic Monument was at *Athens*; of *Perseus*, to whom heroic Honours were paid at the Time of the Festival of *Diana Lemnatis*, whose Statue he had carried off at *Sparta*; of *Prometheus* who had a Statue in *Phocis*, with a Chapel and Altar; Games were also instituted in Honour of him; of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, whom this Author reckons in the Number of the Heroes *Eponymes*; of *Sebrus*, *Alcimus*, *Enarephorus*, whom *Apollodorus* calls *Arcinus*, of *Dorycles*, and *Tebus*, whose heroic Monuments were in *Laconia*; of *Stinycerus*, the *Messenian* Heroe, of *Theras* the Son of *Autefon*, whose Anniversary was celebrated by the *Therans*, who derived their Name from him; of *Triptolemus*, whose Temple was to be seen at *Elenfis*; of *Zarax*, a Man of great Fame, who had learned Music from *Apollo* himself, and whom this Author reckons to have been not from *Athens*, but the Extremities of *Lacunia*, where was the City of *Zaraxa*, to which he communicated his Name.

This curious Traveller, after naming so many Heroes, has not forgot the illustrious Women who had attained to the same Honours; such as *Alexandra*, or *Cassandra*, the Daughter of *Priam*, who had a Temple in *Greece*; *Almena*, whose Altar was at *Athens* in the Temple of *Hercules* her Son; *Andromache*, who had a heroic Monument in the same Country; *Auxandra*, who had likewise an Altar there, as also *Apbea* and the *Trojan Aimené*; *Coronis*, the Daughter of *Phegyas*, and Mother of *Esculapius*, who was worshipped there with her Son; *Helen*, who had a Temple at *Lacedemon*; *Cynisea*, the Daughter of *Arebidane*, who gained the Prize at the Olympic Games. *Hilare* and *Plabea*, the Wives of *Castor* and *Pollux*; *Iodemia*, who though transformed into a Stone, had the Honour of an Altar; *Ipbimedeia*, *Lophria*, *Latria*, *Liona* the Mother of *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Manto* the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who professed the Art of Prediction like  
her



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her Father; *Meganira*, *Rhadina*, whose Tomb was honoured by unfortunate Lovers; and lastly *Ostavia*, whose Temple was in high Reputation.

These in general were the Heroes and Heroins, to whom *Greece* had destined Religious Worship; but as there were some among them who had signalized themselves more than the rest, in the Events which make the most considerable Part of the History of the Heroic Age, 'tis proper to give a fuller Account of them: This is what I shall do in the following Chapters, observing, as near as possible, the Order of Time.

As *Perseus* is one of the most celebrated, both for his Antiquity and Achievements, with him I shall begin.

C H A P. IV.

*The History of Perseus, Andromeda, the Gorgons, &c.*

THERE are few Histories of those Times more obscure and fuller of Fables, than that which is to be the Subject of this Chapter. 'Tis in several Parts of it quite inexplicable. However, let us try to clear it up as far as we are able; let us take for certain what Antiquity acknowledges, and for Conjectures only the Explanations of the Fables which are so closely interwoven into the real Adventures of that Prince.

*Perseus* was of the Blood of *Danaus*, who had usurped from *Gelanor* the Kingdom of *Argos*, by *Hypermetra* his Great-Great-Grand-Mother. *Acrisius* his Grand-Father, who had but one Daughter, named *Danaë*, having learnt from the Oracle, that one Day his Grand-Son was to bereave him of his Life and Crown, shut her up in a Tower of Brass, and would give Ear to no Proposal of Marriage for her. In the mean Time, *Proetus* his Brother, being desperately in Love with his Niece, found a Way, by Means of Money, to corrupt the Fidelity of the Keepers of the Princess; and having entered through the Roof into the Place where she was imprisoned, made her the Mother of *Perseus*.

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A Fable which *Ovid* has comprehended in this single Verse:

*Persea quem pluvio Danaë conceperat auro.* (1)

And which *Horace* has applied to a moral Sense, to demonstrate the Power of Gold over Mankind, among whom no Obstacle is to be found powerful enough to surmount its Force :

*Aurum per medios ire satellites  
Novit, &c.*

Those who wrote the History of this Adventure, to palliate the Disgrace which this Intrigue intailed upon the Royal Family, gave out, that *Jupiter*, enamoured of *Danaë*, had transformed himself into a Shower of Gold; which was the more probable, that *Prætus*, if we may believe *Vossius* (2), took upon him the Sirname of *Jupiter*, as has been already said in the History of that God (3).

Here is the whole Mystery, for the Ground of the Story is true. *Pausanias* (4) mentions that Tower, or rather that Apartment of Brass, in which *Danaë* had been shut up, and assures us that it subsisted till the the Time of *Perilaus* the Tyrant of *Argos*, who demolished it; adding that even in his Time some Remains were still to be seen of the subterraneous Palace whereof *Danaë's* Chamber made a Part.

To conclude, there is nothing very extraordinary in this Adventure; that a Prince affrighted by an Oracle (and we know how far they carried their Credulity for Oracles) being averse to the Marriage of his Daughter, because the Child to be born of her was one Day to dethrone and bereave him of his Life, kept her close confined; nor that a Man so powerful as *Prætus* his Brother bribed the Guards; and far less, that this Adventure, according to the Practice of those Times, was laid in *Jupiter's* Name.

The Commerce of that Prince with *Danaë* was kept very

(1) Met. l. 6. (2) De Orig. & Prog. Idol. l. 1. (3) Vol. II. B. 1. of the *Engliſh*. (4) In Corinth.

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very secret for a Time; but at Length the Princess being delivered of *Perseus*, *Acrisius* ordered her to be expoſed upon the Sea with her Child, in a pitiful Barge, which after being a long Time driven along at the Mercy of the Winds, ſtopped near the little Iſland of *Seriphus*, one of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* Sea. *Polydeſtes*, who was King of the Iſland, being apprized of it, gave a favourable Reception to the Mother and the Child, and took great Care of the Education of the young Prince. But afterwards falling in Love with *Danaë*, and afraid of *Perſeus* now grown up, he ſought a Pretext for diſmiſſing him. It was a very ſingular one he made uſe of. He pretended that he was courting one of the *Grecian* Princeſſes, and that in order to have the Marriage celebrated with more Magnificence, he deſigned to furniſh out an Entertainment upon that Occaſion with all the Rarities the World could afford. He actually invited the Princes of the neighbouring Iſles, begging each of them to bring with him to the Feaſt the beſt Things his Country produced. He even preſcribed to them what Things he was deſirous to have; and to make *Perſeus's* Expedition the longer, ordered him to go and fetch the Head of *Meduſa*, one of the *Gorgons*.

C H A P. V.

*The Explanation of the Fable of Meduſa and the Gorgons.*

**N**EVER did either Poets or Hiſtorians allow themſelves more Scope than in the Fable of the *Gorgons*. I begin with what the Poets ſay of them, then ſhall come to the Hiſtorians and Mythologiſts, and ſhall cloſe this Chapter with an Explanation of the Fable.

All the Method I here propoſe, is to range the Poets according to the Time when they wrote, that we may ſee with one Glance of the Eye the progrefſive Steps of this Fable, incomparably more ſimple in the firſt, than in thoſe who came after. As *Homer* is

the most antient, I ought to begin with him; but what he says of the *Gorgons* amounts to so little, that *Hejychius* makes no Scruple to assert, that this Poet had no Knowledge of them; but that Critic is in an Error, as we shall see. *Homer* in the Description of *Minerva's Ægis* (1) thus speaks: *In the middle thereof was to be seen the Head of the Gorgon, that frightful Monster, that enormous and formidable Head, the amazing Prodigy of the Father of the Gods.* He says elsewhere (2), that the same Head was engraved upon *Agamemnon's* Buckler, accompanied with *Terror* and his Retinue.

*Hesiod* enters into a much fuller Detail: I shall not quote what he says on this Subject in the fine Description he gives of *Hercules's* Buckler, which the *Abbé Massieu* has translated with so much Elegance, that I may come to the Theogony of that Poet, where he relates this Fable with all its Circumstances as they were known in his Time. “*Phorcus*, says he, had  
“ by *Ceto* two Daughters, *Pegebredo* and *Euryo*, who  
“ came into the World with gray Hairs—He had  
“ also by her the *Gorgons*, who dwelt beyond the  
“ Ocean, at the Extremity of the World, near the  
“ Regions of Night—The Names of those *Gorgons*  
“ are *Sibeno*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa*, so famed for her  
“ Misfortunes. She was mortal, while her two Sisters  
“ were subject neither to Old-age nor Death. The  
“ God of the Sea was captivated with *Medusa's* Charms;  
“ and upon the grassy Couch of a beautiful Meadow,  
“ adorned with all the Gay Flowers of the Spring, gave  
“ her convincing Proofs of his Love. She died afterwards an untimely Death: *Perseus* cut off her Head,  
“ and from the Blood that issued from it sprung the  
“ Hero *Cbrysaor* and the Horse *Pegasus*. *Cbrysaor* derived his Name from a golden Sword which he  
“ had in his Hand, at his Birth. He fell afterwards  
“ in Love with *Callirhoe* the Daughter of the Ocean,  
“ and had by her *Geryon*, the famous Giant with three  
“ Heads. *Pegasus* was so named, because he was  
“ born

(1) *Iliad*. l. 5. (2) *Iliad*. l. 11.

“ born near the Sources of the Ocean : He instantly  
 “ left the Earth, and winged his Way to the Man-  
 “ sions of the Gods. There he now resides, in the  
 “ Palace of *Jupiter* himself, whose Thunder and  
 “ Lightning he bears.”

*Eschiles* in his *Prometheus* has only copied *Hesiod* : But as the Fables still grew as they passed from one Poet to another, the former adds that the Daughters of *Phorcus* had but one Eye and one Tooth among all the three, which they made Use of one after another, and that the *Gorgons*, their younger Sisters, had Hair interwoven with Serpents, and killed Men with a single Glance of their Eye. The Scholiast on that Poet adds, that their Tooth was longer than the Tusks of the strongest Boar, and that their Hands were of Brass.

*Pindar* (1) goes farther than either *Eschiles* or his Commentator, since he heightens the Fable by three Circumstances unknown to his Predecessors. The first is that the *Gorgons* turned those into Stone whom they looked upon, and that it was by this kind of Death that *Perseus*, in presenting *Medusa's* Head, desolated the Island of *Seriphus*, whose Inhabitants he petrified, together with their King whom he surprized at Table. The second is, that *Minerva*, who aided *Perseus* while he was struggling with *Medusa*, being surprized with the Melody of the *Gorgons* Sighs intermingled with the Hissings of their Serpents, felt certain Charms in that mixed Composition of doleful Accents ; and to renew the Idea of the Harmony, she invented a Flute in Imitation thereof which she imparted to Men ; and in Allusion to its first Model she called the various Sounds it produced, a *Harmony with many Heads*. The third is, that the Horse *Pegasus* whom *Hesiod* makes to have taken Flight to the Mansion of the Gods, was afterwards broke by *Minerva*, and given to *Bellerophon*, who mounted him to combat the *Chimera* ; but that Heroe having attempted to ascend to Heaven on the Wings of that Horse, was thrown down to the Earth, and *Pegasus* placed among the Stars (a). As.

(1) *Pyth.* 12.

(a) See his third Olympiad, and the seventh *Pyth.*

As this Fable still grew in its Progress by passing from one Hand to another, *Apollonius Rhodius*, and *Ovid* add, that *Perseus* having taken his Flight over *Libya*, all the Drops of Blood that trickled from the fatal Head, were transformed into so many Serpents, and that hence came the prodigious Quantity of those venomous Animals, which have since infected that Country.

The *Latin* Poets, though faithful Copiers of the *Greek* ones, have yet loaded the Fable of the *Gorgons* with new Circumstances. *Homer* had said that the *Gorgon's* Head was engraved upon the tremendous *Aegis* of *Minerva*; *Virgil* adds, and upon her Cuirass too, in the Place which covered the Goddess's Breast.

- - - - - *Ipsamque in pectore Divæ*  
*Gorgona defesto vertentem lumina collo.*

*Æn.* l. 8.

The other Poets speak no more of the *Gorgons* after the Defeat of *Medusa*: *Virgil* says, they had their Residence near the Gates of Hell, with the *Centaur*s, the *Chimera*, and the other fabulous Monsters (a).

*Ovid* of all the Poets has most enlarged upon the Fable of the *Gorgons*, and he lets us know a good many Circumstances which are no where to be found but in his *Metamorphoses* (1). According to him, *Medusa* was a consummate Beauty, and kindled the Desires of many Lovers, who sought to marry her; but of all the Charms of her Person none was more attractive than her fine Hair. *Neptune* made Love to her, not in a Meadow, as it is in *Hesiod*, but in *Minerva's* Temple, with which that Goddess was so incensed, that she changed that Beauty's Hair into Serpents; and this is the Reason why among the three *Gorgons*, *Medusa* alone has her Hair interwoven with Snakes; though *Eschyles* had said long before him, that

(a) *Vestibulum ante ipsum* - - - -  
*Centauri* - - - -  
*Gorgones, Harpyiæque, &c.*

*Æn.* l. 6.

(1) L. 4. & 5.

her Sister's Locks were branded with the same De-  
 mity. That Poet goes on to relate after what Man-  
*Perseus* surprized the single Eye which we have  
 tioned, while one of the *Gorgons* was giving it to  
 other; after which he went to the Place where  
*Medusa* lay, whom he found fast asleep, and cut off  
 Head. Of the Blood which issued from it, came  
*Pegasus*, on whom he mounted; and flying  
 through the airy Regions, went into *Mauritania*,  
 where he transformed *Atlas*, who had given him a  
 Reception, into that Mountain which has since  
 his Name. From thence, continues he, he went  
*Ethiopia*, where he rescued *Andromeda* from the  
 monster that was ready to devour her, and punished  
*Neptune* his Rival, together with all those who had  
 conspired with him, by shewing them the *Gorgon's* Head,  
 which turned them all into Stones. This Poet adds  
 several other Fictions, which we shall endeavour to  
 explain as we go along.

Though the Mythologists and Historians have in-  
 addition to this Fable followed the Poets who hatched  
 it, yet they have altered some Circumstances in it,  
 and also give us some additional ones. *Pbericides*, and  
 others whom *Apollodorus* and *Hyginus* say, that *Mercury*,  
 as well as *Minerva*, had a great Hand in the Expedi-  
 tion of our Heroe, and that as the Goddess lent him  
 her Looking-Glass, so *Mercury* provided him with a  
 sword made in Form of a *Scythe*; that by the Ad-  
 vice of them both *Perseus* went to the Habitation of  
 the Nymphs, to borrow some Arms deposited with  
 them, among which were the winged Shoes, the Sandal  
 Helmet of *Pluto*; that this Helmet had the Pro-  
 perty to leave all Objects open to View, while the  
 person who wore it was himself invisible; that the  
 Looking-Glass of *Minerva* produced also the same Ef-  
 fect; in fine, that these were the Means of saving the  
 Heroe who appeared before *Medusa*, without being per-  
 ceived by her. The same Mythologists add farther,  
 that it was *Minerva* herself guided the Hand of *Perseus*  
 when he cut off the *Gorgon's* Head. Lastly, that  
 after

after this Victory the Heroe returned the Arms to those from whom he had them, reserving to himself *Medusa's* Head, of which after his other Expeditions he made a present to *Minerva*, who put it upon her *Aegis*.

When we lay together on one Hand, the little which History has left us in relation to the *Gorgons*, and on the other the numberless Prodigies told on that Occasion by the Poets, we cannot but imagine at first Sight that it is in vain to pry into this Fable. In the mean Time several Authors, both antient and modern, have undertaken to explain it; and I think myself obliged to give the History of their Sentiments before I offer my own (a). *Theopompus* (1) was of Opinion that the *Gorgons* were such ugly Women, that the very Sight of them turned those who looked upon them into Stones, so to speak, their Astonishment being so great. Others, on the contrary, affirm that *Medusa* was exceedingly handsome, until Debauchery rendered her hideously ugly. *Proclus* of *Carthage* said this same *Medusa* was one of those barbarous *African* Women who conducted the Troops, whereof *Perseus* by her Death made himself Master, and led them into *Greece*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very full upon this Subject, after observing that *Libya* antiently produced whole Nations of Women, who by their warlike Disposition and Courage were become the Astonishment of the World, adds that the *Gorgons*, who were of that Number, maintained a War against *Perseus*, where they signalized their Valour and Prowess exceedingly, under the Conduct of *Medusa* their Queen.

What *Pausanias* tells us of these Women, has a considerable Affinity to what the Author now quoted had said before. The *Gorgons*, according to him, were the Daughters of *Pborbus*; for thus that Name is read in the printed Copies and Manuscripts; tho' the Learned think it ought to be read *Pborcus*, since this is the Name given to the Father of the *Gorgons* by all the Antients.

Be

(a) See the curious Dissertation of the Abbé *Massieu*, *Mem. de l'Acad.* T. 3. p. 51.

(1) L. 17.



Be that as it will, after the Death of *Pborbus*, says the same *Pausanias*, *Medusa* his Daughter reigned over the People who inhabited in the Confines of the Lake *Tritons*. As she had a violent Passion for Hunting and War, she laid waste all the Lands of the neighbouring People; but at last *Perseus* having surprized her one Night, defeated the flying Camp wherewith she was escorted, and killed herself in the Encounter. The next Day he was desirous to view her, and dead as she was, she appeared so beautiful, that he cut off her Head, and carried it into *Greece*, to make it a Spectacle to the People, who could not behold it without being struck with Astonishment.

*Alexander* of *Myndus*, a City of *Caria*, cited by *Athenæus* (a), contended that the *Gorgons* were a kind of savage Beasts, whose very Look turned Men into Stones. In *Libya*, says he, the *Nomades* give the Appellation of *Gorgon* to a certain Animal which has very much the Air of a wild Sheep. The Breath of it is said to be so pestilentious, that it infects all those who approach to it. A long Main falls down from the Top of its Forehead, and deprives it then of Sight. This Main is so ponderous, that the Animal has much ado to raise it up again; but when it gets this brought about by some extraordinary Effort, it overthrows all those who look upon it, and kills them, not with its Breath, but with a Poison which it darts from its Eyes. One of these Animals was discovered in the Time that *Marius* was carrying on War in *Africa*. Some *Roman* Soldiers, who took it for a Sheep, fell upon it; but having raised its Main, it killed them all with a single Glance of its Eye. Other Soldiers, who came up after them, had the same Fate, till some having learned from the People of the Country the Nature and Qualities of the Animal, slew it with their Javelins, and carried it to their General.

*Xenophon* of *Lampsacus*, followed by *Pliny* and *Solinus*,

(a) This Passage is taken from the second Book of *Alexander* of *Myndus* upon Animals, and cited in the third Book of *Athenæus*.

*linus*, was of Opinion that the *Gorgons* were female Savages, who dwelt in the Island *Gorgades*. Near that Promontory, says *Pliny*, which we call the western Cape, are the *Gorgades*, the antient Residence of the *Gorgons*. *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* General, says he after the same *Xenophon* of *Lampsacus*, penetrated as far as the *Gorgades* Islands, where he found Women, who, in Swiftneſs, outrun the Flight of Birds. Among ſeveral he met with, he was able to catch no more than two, whoſe Body was ſo brifling with Hair, that in order to preſerve the Memorial of them, as of ſomething prodigious and incredible, their Skins were ſet up in the Temple of *Juno*, where they continued ſuſpended, until the Ruin of *Carthage*.

*Palephatus* and *Fulgentius* will have the *Gorgons* to have been young Women of opulent Fortunes, who improved their vaſt Revenues with ſingular Oeconomy. The former adds, that *Phorcus*, their Father, had a golden Statue of *Minerva*, four Cubits high, which he deſigned to have depoſited in the Temple of that Goddeſs. But having died before the Conſecration of the Statue, his three Daughters, *Stbeno*, *Euryale*, and *Meduſa*, lodged it among their Treafure, and *Perſeus* carried it off. *Phorcus*, according to the ſame Author, was a Native of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, but he had in his Poſſeſſion three Iſlands in the Ocean. The three *Gorgons*, after his Death, reigned, one after another, in one of thoſe Iſlands. They had but one Miniſter, who paſſed from the one Iſland into the other; and this is what gave Riſe to the Fable of their having but one Eye, which they lent one another by Turns.

As *Perſeus* was then navigating upon thoſe Seas, he ſurprized this Miniſter while he was paſſing from one Iſland into the other; which explains that Circumſtance of his having ſtole their Eye, while one of them was giving it to her Siſter.

They were inſolſolable for the Loſs of ſo neceſſary a Miniſter; but *Perſeus* gave them to know that he ſhould be returned to them, provided they would deliver

liver up to him the *Gorgon Medusa*, and in case of a Refusal threatened them with Death. *Medusa* would never hearken to this Demand, but her two Sisters consented to it; wherefore *Perseus* put *Medusa* to Death, carried off the Statue, and restored to *Stheno* and *Euryale* their Minister.

The attentive Reader will easily observe that *Palephatus* had in his Eye to trace all the Parts of this Fable Step by Step, to reduce them to Probability, without dreaming that most of the Circumstances were added to it at different Times. He does not even explain that of the Tooth and Horn which the three *Gorgons* had in common.

*Gerard Vossius*, in his excellent Treatise upon the Origine and Progress of Idolatry, is persuaded that the Fable of the *Gorgons* took its Rise from the Relation of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* General, which we have cited from *Xenophon* of *Lampsacus*; namely, that he believed they were the same with those Women who run so fast as to equal the Flight of Birds. *M. Le Clerc*, on the contrary, in his Notes upon *Hesiod*, takes them for the Mares of *Libya*, which we have also spoke of. That learned Author alledges, that under the obscure Allegory of *Perseus's* Expedition, was designed to be preserved the Memory of an antient Voyage which the *Phœnicians* had once made to *Africa*, whence they carried away a vast Number of Horses; that the Name of *Perseus*, which perhaps was given to the Leader of that Expedition, comes from the *Phœnician* Word *Pbarscha*, signifying a *Horseman*, which perfectly agrees to the Name of the Horse *Pegasus* which the Poets give him to ride upon, it being derived from the *Phœnician* Word *Pag-sous*, which signifies a harnessed Horse, as *Bochart*, from whom he borrows this Conjecture, had said before him (1); whence he concludes that the *Gorgons* were the Mares of that Country, which the *Phœnicians* carried away.

*M. Le Clerc* confirms this Explanation by the very Passage

(1) Hierog. l. 1. c. 6.

Passage in *Hanno's Relation*, where it is said (a), that the Women of that Part of *Africa* where he had travelled, were all overgrown with Hair, and that they were impregnated without the Concurrence of their Husbands; which agrees to the Mares, according to popular Belief, whereof *Virgil* makes Mention in his *Georgics*, where he says they conceived by turning towards the *Zephyrs*. That same Author confirms his Opinion by the Reflection he makes, that all the vast Expeditions of the *Greek* Heroes were nothing but the Enterprizes of Merchants, who navigated into Countries then unknown to *Greece*.

Those who would allow of *M. Le Clerc's* Conjecture, might confirm it from the *Greeks* having called the Isles which were said to be inhabited by the *Gorgons*, by the Name of *Gorgates*, or rather *Gorgades*, in Allusion to the Velocity of those Mares, as is very well observed by *Osman* in his Dictionary (1), and by *Isaac Vossius* upon *Pomponius Mela* (b).

*Olaus Rudbeck*, one of those who have wrote the most learnedly upon the Fable of the *Gorgons*, reckons they were Princesses of great Wisdom and Valour, who governed their Dominions with excellent Order, and that they were possessed of those Talents in the highest Degree which are conducive to the good Management of a Kingdom, Talents which he reduces to three; Prudence, Strength, and Foresight. These are the excellent Qualities possessed by the *Gorgon* which the Poets had in their Eye, when they said in their figurative Stile, they had but one Eye, one Tooth, and one Horn; since by the Eye they have marked out their Prudence; by the Tooth their Strength and Courage; and by the Horn the Care they had to procure Plenty in their Dominions by Commerce. One of their Ships was called *the Horn*, because it carried upon its Prow this Symbol of Plenty,

(a) See *Pomponius Mela*, who relates this Fact, c. 3.

(1) On the Word *Gorgades*.

(b) *Γόργαδες, sic dicitur a pernitate seminarum quas Plinius Gorgades, id est, perniceas vocat, sicut Græci ἀνιάδες, cito navigantes*.

y, and another the *Dragon*. From this Conjecture the Author draws the Explanation of two mysterious Circumstances that enter into the Fable of *Medusa*, and which have not been hitherto mentioned. The first, that *Medusa's* Horn was said to have grown out of a *Dragon*, all covered with Gold and Gems, because the Ship called the *Dragon* had once returned loaded with Gold and precious Stones. The second more, that *Medusa's* Horn was full of Poison, and that it poisoned those who approached it; whereby we are given to understand the Strength of *Medusa's* Fleet, which no Body durst attack. This Explanation is fortified in the *Suedish* Author, by the very Etymologies of the Names of the three *Gorgons*, since *Stheno* implies *Strength*; *Euryale*, *Admiral*; and *Medusa*, *Care of the State*: Names which doubtless were given them from a Regard to their Qualities and Functions.

These Conjectures appear happy; but that Author takes off from their Value, by endeavouring to accommodate them to his Chimera; I mean, when he would prove that the *Gorgons* dwelt in the North, upon the Coasts of the *Baltick* Ocean, where he pretends to find Vestiges of almost all the *Greek* Fables (a). 'Tis true, in order to confirm his Conjecture concerning the Residence of the *Gorgons*, he has Recourse to the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who says the *Gorgons* were often at War with the *Amazons*, who are known to have inhabited *Scythia*; but he ought not to have dissembled that this Historian positively asserts, that both the *Gorgons* and the *Amazons*, whom he speaks of in that Passage, dwelt in *Libya*.

In fine, M. *Fourmont* is of Opinion, that in order to understand this Fable, we must have Recourse to the oriental Languages, as *Bochart*, M. *Le Clerc*, and some others had thought before him; but we ought to do him the Justice to own, that without treading in their Steps, he chalks out a new Path to himself. *Greece*, says he, having been partly peopled by Colonies

(a) See the third Vol. of his *Atlant*, intitled *Manheim*.

nies that came thither from *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, 'tis natural to suppose she derived most of her Traditions from the East: Thus to attempt to explain the *Greek* Fables, without the Assistance of the Languages whence those Traditions came, would be fruitless Presumption, since in fact these are the Languages wherein they had either been first broached, or written, or expressed.

This Fable, according to him (1), is reducible to five Articles. 1. *Phorcys*, a Sea-God, who had to Wife *Ceto*. 2. His five Daughters; two of whom, namely *Pepbredo* and *Enyo*, had the Appellation of *Graia*, *Greeks*; the other three named *Gorgons*, are *Sibeno*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa*. 3. These *Gorgons* have among all the three only one Tooth, one Horn, and one Eye. 4. From *Medusa's* Blood sprung a Man, namely, *Cbrysaor the Forger*, and a Horse, which is *Pegasus*. 5. The Horse carried into *Greece*, is subservient only to *Perseus* and *Bellerophon*. To these Hints the Author subjoins, that in the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* Languages, the Words *Ben*, *Benei*, *Bar*, *Banot*, signify equally the Possession and the Offspring; thus the Ships of a Prince were called his Sons, and the Gallies his Daughters. In all Ages, continues he, Ships had Names, *the Pristis*, *the Centaur*, *the Whale*, &c. and 'tis no Wonder that they were taken for Monsters, and had the Names of Monsters given them. The *Americans* looked upon the first *Spanish* Ships as such. Therefore, concludes the Author, the five Daughters of *Phorcys* were nothing else but the five Ships whereof his small Fleet consisted. Further, says he, the five Names now mentioned, and which we find in *Hesiod* (2), are *Phœnician*. *Enyo* signifies a Ship of Burden, *Navis oneraria*; *Pepbredo*, and by Transposition *Perpbredo*, *Navis aquaria*, for carrying sweet Water; *Sibeino*, a Vessel with Oars, or a Galley; *Euryale*, *Navis transitoria*, a Shallop; *Medusa*, an imperial Ship, *Navis imperatoria*, the Word *Seppinale*, a Ship, being understood. Of these five

(1) Mem. de l' Acad. Tom. 7. p. 120. (2) Theog.

five Vessels two were called *Greeks*, because they had been carried off from one of the Ports of *Greece*; the other three were at first named *Kúpos*. Now *Kóppe* or *Kúpos*, is the first and the most antient Isle of the *Pheacians*, since called *Corcyra*, whence *Perseus* carried them off into *Greece*. In the *Odysséy*, *Minerva* shews *Ulysses* *Ithaca* his Country, and among other Things, the Port of the old maritime Prince *Pborcys*: Here then we have the Father of the *Gorgons*, *Pborcys* King of *Ithaca*, who is Master of five Ships, two of them taken from the *Greeks*, and three from *Cyros*, who are the three *Gorgons* sent out from that Island to trade in *Africa*, and upon the Coasts of the Ocean, where they trafficked in Gold; Elephants Teeth, the Horns of divers Animals, the Hyenas and Fishes Eyes, and other precious Stones. This Commerce was known in the Time of *Perseus*, according to *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pausanias* and *Hesiod*. Now if it be well considered that the same Country bears the Name at this Day of the Gold-coast, the Ivory-coast; that Animal's Horns are one of the chief Branches of that Trade; that the Eyes of some Fishes, and of some Animals are reckoned by *Pliny* (1) in the Number of precious Stones; that it is there also the *Potasse* is found, a kind of Buffalo, of which they made their *Pegasus*: If these Things, says M. *Fourmond*, be considered, the whole Secret will be cleared up. In a Word, *Perseus* carried off three Ships of *Pborcys*, loaded with Gold, Elephants Teeth, and some precious Stones: Here is the whole Mystery laid open. But the Reader should have Recourse to the Work itself of this Author, which I have abridged as much as possible.

Such are the Explanations which the Mythologists and Historians have given of the Fable of the *Gorgons*: The Misfortune is, that what they say of it is big with Contradictions: For under what various Forms have they represented these same *Gorgons*? They have made of them Heroins, wild and ferocious Ani-

mals, industrious and thrifty young Women, Prodigies of Beauty, Monsters of Ugliness, lewd Courtezans, and lastly Mares (1). They vary no less as to the Place of their Abode; some place them in *Libya*, others in the *Orkney* Islands, and that without knowing well where these same Islands lay. Some make our Heroe go as far as the Ocean, at a Time when that Sea was hardly known, and in which few durst venture themselves. Others mount him upon *Pegasus*, whom *Hesiod* makes to have winged his Way to Heaven from the Moment of his Birth, and with this Equipage they make him fly through the Air over a great Part of *Africa*. In fine, they have made a Horseman of a Sailor, and instead of a Ship give him a Horse for a maritime Expedition.

For my Part, I am of Opinion, in the first Place, that the Residence of the *Gorgons* was not so remote from *Greece* as is commonly thought. In proof whereof it must needs be allowed, 1. That in the Time of *Perseus* Navigation was not greatly improved in *Greece*; that it was difficult to undertake long Voyages; and, in short, that the Ocean was reckoned inaccessible. Even *Hercules*, the greatest Heroe of *Greece*, and who lived not long after *Perseus*, bounded his Conquests by the western Extremities of the *Mediterranean*, where he erected those famous Pillars, which intimate that he was able to go no farther, *Ne plus ultra*.

2. We recede but little either from Tradition, or from the Opinion of the best Authors, in saying that the *Gorgons* dwelt in that Part of *Libya*, which was afterwards called *Cyrenaicum*. *Palephatus*, who might have learned it from Authors which are not now subsisting, asserts, that *Phorcys* their Father was a *Cyrenan*; and tho' *Homer* mentions the Port he had at *Libya*, that Prince very probably might have conquered that Island, which is not far from the Coast of *Africa*, where he resided.

3. We may easily believe that this Prince would employ

(1) See the *Abbe Massieu*.



employ his Fleet in carrying on an advantageous Trade, and that *Polydectes*, King of *Seriphus*, either to get rid of *Perseus*, whose Mother he was in love with, or to enrich himself with the Spoils of the *Libyan* Prince, engaged this young Heroe to undertake an Expedition which promised him a great Deal of Gain, and gave him some Ships to go and play the Pirate upon the Coasts of *Africa*.

*Perseus's* Voyage was not therefore so difficult as is imagined: He set out from the Isle of *Seriphus* for the Coasts of *Libya*, where having found the Fleet of *Phorcys*, he made himself Master of some of his Ships, and a Part of his Riches. That these Ships bore the Names of *Medusa*, *Stheno*, and *Euryale*, is no ways improbable. Ships have always had Names. The Resolution of one Fable is often a Key to others. These Ships were loaded, as M. *Fourmond* has very well observed, with Elephants Teeth, with Horns of Fishes, and with *Hyenas* Eyes, which *Phorcys* bartered for other Goods: Here is the Mystery of that Tooth, that Horn and Eye which the *Gorgons* borrowed by Turns; that is to say, the Ships, when arrived in the Port, took each of them Goods proper for the Place to which they were bound.

The other Fictions that accompany this History will explain themselves. 'Tis evident, in the first Place, that *Perseus's* Expedition was a Sea-voyage, and that those are mistaken who have taken this Prince for a Horseman who had broke *Pegasus*. Thus the Conjectures of *Bocbart*, and of M. *le Clerc*, which we have quoted above, should go for nothing. To go from the Island of *Seriphus* to the Coasts of *Libya*, required Ships, not a Horse, and *Pegasus* himself was a Ship with Sails which *Perseus* carried into *Greece*, after having made use of it to rescue *Andromeda*, as shall be said afterwards. *Pindar*, who is the first that said *Perseus* rode upon *Pegasus*, and flew across the vast Expansion of the Air, is to be reckoned a very modern Author, in Comparison of the Antiquity of this Fable; and *Ovid*, who has copied him, is still

more so. Further, we may suppose, with a great deal of Probability, that under this allegorical Fiction both of them intended the Description of a good Ship under Sail, which cuts the Waves with vast Rapidity; *Volaticus dicitur, quod navibus venerit.* Thus *Virgil* elegantly gives the Epithet of Wings to a Ship, *Remigio alarum.* If *Hesiod*, and after him the other Poets, say that *Pegasus* sprung from the Blood of *Medusa*, the Reason is, that *Perseus* did not carry off the Ship which went by that Name, till after a sharp Engagement, wherein much Blood was shed. *Pegasus* was in a Manner the Offspring of that *Gorgon*, because he belonged to her Father *Phorcys's* Fleet. When *Hyginus* adds (1) that *Neptune* was his Father, the obvious Meaning is, that so fine a Ship was considered as the Work of the God of the Sea. If *Pausanias* says that *Pegasus* was broke by *Minerva*, we may suppose he would have us thereby to understand that *Perseus* found Occasion for a good Share of Prudence to manage to Advantage a Ship with Sails, the Use whereof was then unknown to him; for *Dedalus*, who was the first in *Greece* that made use of such Ships, was not yet born. To conclude; if according to *Ovid*, *Perseus* mounted *Pegasus* for his *Mauritanian* Expedition, we need not be told that it was meant of a Ship, not a Horse: For no Body sets out from an Island, nor travels across the Seas on Horseback.

But it will be said, *Hesiod* relates that so soon as *Pegasus* was born, he left the Earth, and flew away to the Mansions of the Gods. I answer first, tho' it were not possible to explain all the Circumstances of a Fable so complicated, and at the same Time so obscure, that *M. le Clerc* has been forced to own one would need *Ariadne's* Clew to get out of such a Labyrinth, yet the Explications given of other Circumstances, would have never the less Probability; but this same may be reduced to a plausible Meaning, by saying that *Perseus*, upon his Return into *Greece*, as an Acknowledgment to the Gods for his happy Voyage,

confe-

(1) Cæl. Poet. Astron. l. 2. c. 18.

erected the Prow of the Ship *Pegasus* in *Jupiter's* Temple, according to the Custom immemorial of placing those Sorts of Offerings in Temples. And if

Temple stood upon Mount *Olympus*, which was situated Heaven, and the Mansion of the immortals, nothing more would be wanting as to this Circumstance. As for the Poets that are later than *Hesiod*, they make *Pegasus* to have taken Flight upon Mount *Parnassus*, where with a Blow of his Foot he made the Fountain *Hippocrene* to spring up, and which became so famous afterwards for the Seat of *Apollo* and *Muses*, we may reckon that *Perseus* consecrated likewise in the Temple of *Apollo*, which was upon that Mountain, some other Part of his Ship.

The Assurance with which I undertake to explain these Fictions, will justify the Reader to ask me an account of others; and as to some of them, I shall endeavour to satisfy him. Why does *Ovid* alledge that from the Blood of *Medusa's* Head sprung Coral? I answer it is because *Perseus* found thereof in the place to which he voyaged, and that it was his Victory enabled him to fish for that Commodity, and to use it therein with Ease. But how is the same Poet to be understood, when he says the Monsters and Serpents of *Africa* sprung from the Drops of Blood that trickled from *Medusa's* Head? That is to say, *Perseus* found and carried off Ships which bore the strange Names of some Monsters, or of some Serpents. If *Hesiod* says that *Phorcys* had five Daughters, whereof two came into the World with grey Hairs, and were therefore denominated *Graia* (a), and that the other three, whom he calls *Gorgons*, resided beyond the Ocean, it is because that Prince's Fleet consisted of five Ships; the two first, as being older, went to no great Distance from the Port; the other three were destined for long Voyages. In fine, as to *Chrysaor*, who, together with *Pegasus*, issued from the Blood of *Medusa*, holding a golden Sword in his Hand, as we read in the same Poet, I heartily embrace the Explanation

G g 3

thereof

a) See M. le Clerc's Notes upon this Passage.

thereof given by M. *Fourmond*, who reckons him some ingenious Artist who wrought in Gold and Ivory; which is sufficiently intimated by the golden Sword, whence he had the Name of *Cbrysaor*, which signifies one who works in Metals. *Pborcys* employed him to work the Elephant's Teeth, and the Horns of the other Animals which his Ships brought home. Might I be allowed to offer a Conjecture as to the golden Sword with which *Cbrysaor* came into the World, I would say he had appeared with that Sword for the first Time at the Court of *Pborcys*. If the same Poet says *Cbrysaor* married the beautiful *Callirboë* the Daughter of the Ocean, by whom he had *Geryon*; the Meaning is, that *Pborcys*, to engage so great an Artist to continue in his Dominions, had procured him a considerable Match: For, in short, we must explain these Fictions by the Rules of common Sense, and suppose Men acted then as we would now do in a parallel Case.

In fine, what shall we say as to that pretended Quality in the Head of *Medusa* to turn into Stones all those who looked upon it? I might answer first, That this is a moral Fable, whereby we are to understand the Astonishment those were seized with who saw *Perseus* return Victorious from so dangerous an Expedition. And indeed the Effect of violent Surprise is to make us quite immoveable. But *Palephatus* (1), besides this Moral, informs us of a Circumstance that may serve for a Key to this Fable. The Inhabitants of *Scripbus*, says he, seeing *Perseus* arrive with *Medusa's* Head upon the Prow of his Ship, deserted the Island; and that Heroe having entred into it, and finding there nothing but Rocks and Stones, propagated the Fable of the Transformation of those Islanders. *Bochart*, after *Eusebius*, has come nearer the Mark than *Palephatus*, in making it to have no other Foundation but the Etymology of the Word *Scripbus*, the Name of the Island, which imports *Stony*, and which *Tacitus* therefore calls not an Island, but

(1) De Rebus Incred.

but a Rock, *Saxum Scripbum*. And as to the additional Circumstance of *Perseus's* putting *Polydectes* to Death, to avenge the Wrong done to his Mother, whom probably he had compelled to marry him, whatever Reluctance she had to the Match, and of his dismissing or destroying most of his Courtiers, it will be easily granted that this Event might have been described as a real Transformation.

When *Ovid* says *Medusa's* Head had also petrified some Plants of Coral under which *Perseus* had concealed it, before he undertook the Rescue of *Andromeda*, and that it had turned them into a red Hue: This is a Circumstance of a physical Nature, which is easily explained, when we are told that Coral is a soft Plant in the Sea, which hardens in the Air, and acquires those Colours with which it appears.

After the Conquest which we have related, this Heroe, says *Ovid*, passed through *Mauritania*, where the famous *Atlas* reigned. That Prince, warned by an Oracle to be on his Guard against a Son of *Jupiter*, denied him the common Rights of Hospitality; upon which, *Perseus* producing the *Medusa's* Head, turned him into a Stone; that is, slew him in the Mountains which bear his Name, and carried off the golden Apples from the Gardens of the *Hesperides*, which was kept by a Dragon given them by *Juno*.

Several Authors have set themselves to work in examining where the Gardens of the *Hesperides* lay, and every one presumes he has found out their true Situation. *Rudbeck* fancies they were near the *Baltic* Ocean. Others have placed them in the Heart of *Africa*, and beyond the *Cape Verd Islands*. *Salmasius* was of Opinion that they were near the Straits of *Gibraltar*. But 'tis more probable that they lay in that Part of *Africa*, which is called *Mauritania Tingitana*, between the Ocean and the Extremity of Mount *Atlas*, which is at present the Kingdom of *Morocco*: This is the Opinion most conformable to the Authority of the Antients, and the Beauties of the Country are a Confirmation of this Conjecture; the very Name

of *Hesperides*, which is given to these Gardens, is an Indication that they were near the Place where the Sun was believed to go every Evening to Bed, as has been already said elsewhere. *Hesiod*, in the Description he gives of these Gardens, leaves no Room to doubt of this Conjecture. *Atlas*, says that antient Poet (1), props the Skies at the Extremities of the Earth, near the Country of the *Hesperides*.

Again, if it be asked why the Poets make these Gardens to have been kept by a Dragon, I answer with *Solinus*, it is because the Sea in that Extremity of *Africa* makes various Turnings and Windings in the Land, whereof the Inequality of the Coasts are an ample Testimony (a). As to the golden Apples, they were either Oranges and Citrons, wherewith the Country abounds, or according to some Antients, Sheep whose Fleece was exceedingly rich (2). But 'tis needless to dwell longer in examining into a Circumstance which is rather the Result of poetical Fancy, than of an exact Description of that Part of *Africa*, which they knew only from the Relation of *Hanno*, wherewith they have intermixed so many Fables; which induced *Pliny* to call Mount *Atlas*, *Montem Fabulosissimum* (b).

The Poets, who have traced the History of this Heroe, tell us that after the Adventure of *Atlas*, he penetrated as far as *Ethiopia*, where he rescued *Andromeda*, the Daughter of *Cepheus* and *Cassiopeia*, from the Monster to which she was exposed, married her, and brought her with him into *Greece*. This Piece of History, (for 'tis true that *Perseus* married *Andromeda*, and had several Children by her) is intermixed with Fictions,

(1) Theog. V. 517.

(a) I explain this Particular of the History of *Perseus*, only because it is in *Ovid*; for I am persuaded, as I have already said, that this Heroe never travelled so far from *Greece*.

(2) See the History of *Hercules*.

(b) *Fluctuoso meatu æstuarium e mari fertur, adeo sinuosis lateribus tortuosum, ut præcul viuentibus lappus angueos fracta voragine mentiat,ur, idque, quod hortos appellauerit, circumdat; unde communis custodem interpretantes, struxerunt iter ad mendacium fabulandi.* Solin. c. 24.

Fictions, which must be related before we reduce them to exact Truth.

*Ovid*, who has described this Fable at very great Length (1), says *Cassiopeia*, the Mother of *Andromeda*, having offered to compare her Beauty to that of the *Nereids*, incensed them; and that the Effects of their Displeasure having been felt in the Country, they were obliged to consult the Oracle of *Ammon*, who made Answer, that to appease those Goddesses *Andromeda* must be exposed to a Sea-monster: The Poet considers this Oracle as unjust (a).

And indeed he had Reason; for why inflict such a cruel Punishment upon the Daughter for the Vanity of the Mother? In the mean Time, the young Princess, adds the same Poet, was exposed upon a Rock, and the Monster that came out of the Sea was ready to devour her, when *Perseus*, mounted upon *Pegasus*, perceived her from the Air, came to her Relief, slew the Monster, broke *Andromeda's* Chains, and returned her to her Parents Witnesses of this Spectacle. As she was to be the Prize of him who should save her, *Perseus* got her to Wife: But while the Nuptials were celebrating, *Phineus*, the Nephew of *Cassiopeia*, to whom *Andromeda* had been promised, entered the banqueting Hall with a Band of armed Men, and began a very bloody Fight, which undoubtedly had proved fatal to *Perseus* overpowered by Numbers, had it not been for his having Recourse to *Medusa's* Head, the Sight whereof petrified *Phineus* and his Associates.

'Tis easy to see that *Ovid* grounds this Narration of his upon History; but that he borrows the Help of Fiction by way of Ornament to it. *Gerard Vossius* (2), who attempted to trace out the mysterious Meaning, says *Andromeda* had been promised to an insolent inhuman Pirate, who by his Incursions infested the Coasts of *Ethiopia*, on Condition that he would give no Molestation to Commerce; *Perseus*, who arrived

(1) Met. l. 4.

(a) ————— *maternæ pendere lingue  
Andromedum pœnes, injustus jusserat Ammon.*

(2) De Orig. & Progr. Idol. l. 1.

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rived at that Time at *Cepheus's* Court with his small Fleet, gave Chace to the Pirate, slew him, and married *Andromeda*. Perhaps in the Epithalamiums that were composed upon Occasion of his Marriage, the Pirate was represented as a Monster from whom *Andromeda* had been delivered by the Valour of *Perseus*.

There are Mythologists of Opinion, that what gave Rise to the Fiction, is, that the Ship with which the Pirate, now mentioned, ravaged the Coasts of *Ethiopia*, was called *the Whale*, and bore the Representation of that Fish upon the Prow. This Opinion wants not Probability: This Ship might be called *the Whale*, as that of *Perseus* himself was named *the Pegasus*.

I am persuaded however, that we are not to seek for the *Ethiopia* which *Ovid* speaks of in the Extremity of *Africa*, *Perseus* never having penetrated thither. That Prince, after he left the Island *Scripbus*, came to the Coasts of *Libya*, which are at no great Distance from it, and from thence to the Country where the Father of *Andromeda* reigned. 'Tis beyond Doubt that the Antients knew two *Ethiopias*; that which lies to the South of *Egypt*, and another which they took to lie in *Asia*; this last is the *Ethiopia* in question in the History of *Andromeda*. Its Bounds are not determined by Authors, but nothing hinders us from believing that one of its Extremities is upon the Coasts of *Asia*; and as I have very good Reason for saying that the Adventure now in debate happened in the Confines of *Joppa*, now *Japba*, upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, or rather *Palestine*, there we are to look for the *Ethiopia* referred to by *Ovid*, and make it the Scene of this Event, or else grant this Poet to have been mistaken, in making *Perseus* traverse *Ethiopia*.

From the *Libyan* Coasts, where he then was, it was easy for him to go to those of *Palestine*; and he might have got some Information of the Oracle of *Ammon*, which had ordered a young Princess to be  
exposed



exposed to a Monster, by whom she was to be devoured; a Supposition the more probable, that this Oracle was in *Libya* where he then was. The Love of Glory animated him to the Adventure, and he set Sail from that Coast of *Joppa*. 'Tis to little Purpose to enquire whether it was indeed a Monster that ravaged the Country, or some of *Cepheus's* Enemies. All we need to know is, that the young Princess was to be the Prize of him who should rescue her: My chief Business is to prove that the Coast of *Phœnicia*, and not *Ethiopia*, was the Theatre on which this Scene was acted.

In proof of which, I have in the first Place the Authority of *Josephus* (1), who says this Adventure was thought to have happened near the City *Joppa*, where was still to be seen upon a Rock the Marks of the Chains with which the lovely *Andromeda* had been bound. 'Tis true this Historian adds, that those Marks had perhaps been engraved thereon to give Credibility to the Fact; but it will still be true that this was an antient Tradition of *Joppa*. *Strabo* (2) says the same in two Places of his Geography; and this Author, speaking of *Ethiopia*, asserts that there were not wanting Authors who placed it upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, adding, it was near the City now named, that the Adventure of *Andromeda* happened, according to the same Authors, who did not advance this Opinion concerning *Ethiopia* from Ignorance of Geography, but only on Occasion of the Fable now in question.

What we read in *Pliny* (3), is a further Proof that this Tradition of *Joppa* was not without Foundation. " *Scaurus*, says he, brought from *Joppa* to *Rome*, " during his Edileship, the Bones of the Monster " that was to have devoured *Andromeda*." *Belluæ cui dicebatur exposita fuisse Andromeda, ossa Romæ apportata, ex oppido Judææ Joppæ, ostendit inter reliqua miracula, in Ædilitate sua M. Scaurus, longitudine pedum 40, altitudine costarum Indicos Elephantos excedente, spinæ crassitudine*

(1) De Bell. Jud. l. 5. (2) L. 1. & l. 16. (3) L. 9. c. 5.

*done squipedati*. *Señus* his Copyist says the same, differing from him only in the Thickness of the Skin of the Backbone, which he makes but Half a Foot, instead of a Foot and a Half. *Pomponius Mela* (a) says something still more particular. "*Joppa*, says " he, is a City thought to have been built before the " Deluge : The Inhabitants assert that *Cepheus* reign- " ed there, relying on what is still to be seen upon " ancient Altars, namely, the Name and Title of " that Prince, and of his Brother *Phineus*. As for " the Fable, so much celebrated by the Poets, of the " Rescue of *Andromeda* by *Perseus*, they have for " Proof of this the Bones of the Monster that was " going to devour her, which they shew with a great " deal of Ostentation (b)."

*Pausanias* (1) delivers the same Tradition, when speaking of the different Colours of Water, he says near to *Joppa* was a Fountain, whose Water was red like Blood ; and that the People of the Place gave out, that *Perseus* being stained with Blood in killing the Sea-monster to which *Cepheus's* Daughter had been exposed, bathed himself in that Fountain, and thereby gave that red Tincture to the Water.

Here then, according to *Josephus* and *Strabo*, we have the Marks of *Andromeda's* Chains upon a Rock near *Joppa*. According to *Mela*, the Bones of the Monster are preserved in that City ; these same Bones transported to *Rome*, according to *Pliny*, under the Edileship of *Scaurus*, and the Dimensions of these Bones, and that of the Thickness of the Monster's Skin, according to the same Author and his Copyist *Salinus*. Thus nothing hinders us from believing that under the Reign of *Cepheus* there appeared a Sea-monster

near

(a) *Mela* here recedes from the Opinion of other Ancients, who made *Phineus* the Nephew of *Cassiopeia Cepheus's* Wife.

(b) *Est Joppe ante Diluvium, ut ferunt, condita, ubi Cepheus regnasse eo signo accolæ affirmant, quod titulum ejus, fratrisque Phini, veteres quædam aræ cum religione plurima retinent. Quin etiam rei celebritate carminibus & fabulis servatæque a Perseo Andromeda, clarum vestigium, Belusæ Marinæ ossa immensa ostentant.*

(1) In *Met.* c. 25.

near the Coasts of *Joppa*, which overfet the Barges, and was an Interruption to Trade; and that the Oracle being consulted, gave a Response that *Andromeda* must be expos'd to it. This is not the first Time that Oracles have enjoined such Kind of Victims: What will not Superstition do! As to the Existence of the Monster, besides that antient History is full of such Prodigies, the Adventure of *Jonas* is a Proof that there were upon that Coast Fishes of a monstrous Nature both for Bulk and Voracity; for we may preserve all due Faith for the sacred History, without multiplying Miracles to no Purpose; nor need we imagine the Fish that swallowed up the Prophet came from some remote Country, tho' we acknowledge in this Event the Punishment which God inflicted upon his Disobedience.

'Tis therefore upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, or to speak more accurately, upon those of *Palestine*, that the Adventure of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* happened; and tho' the Reasons now offer'd should make but little Impression, yet I have another Argument which has not hitherto been used, and that serves very much to evince it. This Argument I take from the Description which *Ovid* gives of the Skirmish between *Phineus* and *Perseus* his Rival. The Poet names several Personages, which it will not be easy to find in the Place which has been taken for the Scene of this Adventure; but who, being in the Neighbourhood of the *Syrian* Coasts, were very likely to take up Arms in behalf of *Phineus*. The first whom *Perseus* put to Death in this Scuffle is the young *Atbis*, whom the Nymph *Limnias* had brought forth in a Cave near the River *Ganges*, or rather in a City of *Syria*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ἀδύς*, and which was the patronymic Name of that Youth. He who avenges this Death is called by the Poet *Lycabas*, a Native of *Assyria*, *Assyrius Lycabas*, the neighbouring Country to *Palestine*. *Ovid* names *Phorbas* next, of the City of *Syenna* in the higher *Egypt*, and the *Libyan Amphimedon*: Then *Pelamedon*, who was descended from *Semiramis* the Queen

Queen of the *Affyrians*; and *Halcioneus*, to whom he gives the Epithet of *Bactrius*, or, as it is in some Manuscripts, *Barceus*, who came from *Barce*, a City of *Cyrenais*; *Celadon*, a Native of *Mendes* in the lower *Egypt*, or rather of the City of *Myndes* in *Syria*; for there are Manuscripts in which we read *Myndesius Celadon*, instead of *Mendesius*; *Astrianus*, whose Mother was of *Palestine* itself, *Matre Palestina*; *Molpheus*, to whom he gives the Epithet of *Cbaonius*, that is, who derived his Original from the *Cbaonians*, a neighbouring People to *Arabia*, according to *Pliny* (1); *Eibemon*, a *Nabathean* or *Arabian*; *Nileus*, who pretended to be the Son of the *Nile*; *Qui se genitum septemplum Nilo ementitus erat*; that is to say, who was born in *Egypt*, or on the Confines of that River; lastly *Asthyages*, whose Name is evidently *Affyrian*.

By this Detail we see, that all these Captains, or, if you will, all these Soldiers of *Pbineus's* Army, came from Countries not far from the Place which I make to have been the Scene of this Adventure; which proves that it was near to *Joppa* the Battle was fought between *Perseus* and *Pbineus*. That Country had Commerce at that Time with *Greece*, which had received several Colonies from thence; and it was easy for *Perseus* to go thither upon his Departure from *Libya*.

The Result therefore of all that has been now said, is, that *Perseus* is not to be reckoned a Horseman, who performed so many glorious Exploits on the Horse *Pegasus*, but a Commodore, who performed some Expeditions; first in Ships with Oars, which he had brought from *Scripbus*, then in Ships with Sails which he seized upon the Coasts of *Libya*.

Our Heroe, after this Expedition, carried his Spouse to *Scripbus*, where having put *Polydectes* to Death, he went with her and his Mother into *Greece*, where he slew *Prætus*, who, not content with his own Inheritance, which was the City of *Tyrinthia*, *Mydea*, and all the Coast of *Argolis*, had dethroned *Acrisius*. Per-

(1) Lib. 6. c. 28.

*seus* re-established his Grandfather in his Dominions; but as he was endeavouring to shew his Dexterity in playing at the Coit, he unfortunately slew him: In the following Manner is this Event related by *Pausanias* (1).

*Acrisius* having learned that *Perseus* was not far from *Argos*, and knowing the Reputation he had acquired by many signal Exploits, was impatiently desirous to see this Prince, and for that End repaired to *Larissa* upon the River *Peneus*. *Perseus*, on his Side, no less full of Impatience to embrace his Grandfather, and to ingratiate himself with him, did not fail to come to *Larissa*. There *Perseus* was willing to shew his Address; but as bad Luck would have it, having thrown his Coit with all his Force, it hit *Acrisius* such a fatal Blow that he died instantly. Thus the Prediction formerly given him was accomplished, without his being able to evade it by all the Cruelty he had exercised towards his Daughter and his Grandson. *Perseus* having repaired to *Argos*, where he deeply regretted the Parricide which he had thus accidentally committed, induced *Megapentes*, the Son of *Præus*, to exchange Kingdoms with him, and he built *Mycene*, which became the Capital of his Dominions.

I have spoke of his Successors in the History of the Kings of *Argos*, and here have nothing further to add on that Head: for as to the Time when he lived, I shall reserve a Chapter for that by itself, after the History of *Bellerophon*. As our Heroe in his Lifetime had been a Patron of Learning, and built an Academy on Mount *Helicon*; and as he was farther distinguished by his glorious Exploits, he was advanced to Heaven, in the Panegyricks made in his Honour, and after his Death became a Demi-God. Of this Prince, and all his Wife's Family, were also formed the Constellations called *Cassiopeia*, *Perseus*, and *Andromeda*: The very Monster which he was said to have killed, was placed in the Heavens, where it formed the Sign of the Whale. They intermixed the

(1) In Corinth.

the Recital of his Actions with all the Supernatural they could devise ; and as he made all those his Conquests and Expeditions with equal Conduct and Fortune, and with incredible Dispatch, hence it was fabled that the Gods had lent him their Arms ; *Mercury* his Wings and winged Shoes, to denote the Celery of his Voyages ; *Pluto* his Helmet ; a Symbol of his Prudence and Policy, which made him conceal all his Designs in deep Secrecy ; *Pallas* her Buckler, to signify the good Fortune which always accompanied him.

*Pausanias* says (1) this Prince was worshipped as a Heroe at *Argos*, and still more in the Isle of *Seriphus* and at *Athens*, where he had a Temple, in which was an Altar consecrated to *Dictys* and *Chymene*, who were reckoned the Preservers of this Heroe. This *Dictys* was the Brother of *Polydectes*, and it was he and his Wife *Chymene* that had the Care of his Education by the King's Order, when he was driven by the Waves into the Island of *Seriphus*.

It will perhaps be asked what is the Foundation of the Fable which imports that the Daughters of *Prætus*, whom we mentioned, imagined themselves transformed to Heifers, and running through the Fields to hinder their being yoked in the Plough, made them to re-echo with their Lowings, as we learn from *Virgil* (a) ? 'Tis thought that they actually became delirious, and that their Madness consisted in fancying themselves Heifers ; *Melampus*, by whom they were cured, married one of them, and his Brother *Biances* the other ; they were their Cousins, *Prætus* being their Uncle by the Mother's Side. These two Brothers afterwards had a Part of the Kingdom of *Argos* from *Megapenthes* their Father-in-law, as a Reward for this Piece of Service ; and by this Means *Talaus*, *Atræus*, and *Tydeus*, his Son-in-law, came to have a Share

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(1) In Corinth. c. 18.

(a) *Prætidæ implerunt falsis mugitibus agros ;  
At non tam turpes pecudum tamen ulla secuta est  
Concubitus, quamvis collo timuisset aratrum,  
Et sæpe in lævi quævisset cornua fronte.* Ecl. 6.

in the Kingdom of *Argos*. We ought not to omit that the Misfortune of those young Ladies was attributed to *Juno's* Vengeance, whom they had incensed by comparing their Beauty to hers, which was a Crime the Gods by no Means pardoned ; but, setting aside all Fictions, 'tis probable that this Madness was the Effect of some Distemper where the Imagination was much affected, as we see in hypocondriac People, who fancy they resemble several Sorts of Animals. Accordingly *Melampus* employed in their Cure black *Hellebore*, since called from his Name *Melampodion*. *Pausanias* says (1) they were cured at *Sicyon* in the public Place, and that *Prætus*, their Father, built in that Place a Temple dedicated to *Persuasion*; an Argument that *Melampus* and his Brother contributed at least as much to the curing of those Virgins, as the Remedies which they gave them.

According to *Pausanias* they alone were not seized with this Distemper ; that Author ascribes it to other Women of *Argos* ; and this Madness of theirs consisted in running up and down the Fields.

We may see at one Glance of the Eye *Perseus's* Posterity in the following genealogical Tree.

(1) In Corinth.

*Perseus*, the Son of *Danaë* and *Jupiter*, rescued *Andromeda* the Daughter of *Cepheus*, married her, and had by her six Sons and one Daughter.

### *The POSTERITY of PERSEUS.*

*Aleus* married *Hippomena* the Daughter of *Menecus*,  
 { *Amphitryo*.  
*Anaxo*, the Wife of *Eleftryon*.

*Mnese* married *Ligythe* the Daughter of *Pelops*,  
 { *Hippote* had { *Tepebius*, who built  
 { by *Nepime*, { the City of *Tepebus*  
 { in *Cephalonia*, { *une* his Grand-Father  
 { made immortal.

*Eleftryon* married his Niece *Anaxo*,  
 { Nine Sons, besides  
 { *Almena*, who after the Example of her Mother married  
 { *Amphitryo* her Uncle.

*Stenelus* married *Nicippe* the Daughter of *Pelops* King  
 { *Euryftheus*, whom *Hercules* served, and in whom  
 { ended the Posterity of *Perseus*, so that the King-  
 { dom of *Mycene* came into the Hands of the *Pelopide*.

*Helas*, whose Posterity is not known.

*Perfes*, whom he left with *Cepheus* his Father-in-Law. From him the *Perfesians* pretended to be descended.

*Gorgophone*, married *Perieres* one of *Deucalion's* Descendants.



C H A P. VI.

*The History of Bellerophon.*

**B**ELLEROPHON; who, according to *Homer* (1), was the Son of *Glaucus*, King of *Ephyre*, or of *Corinth*, and Grandson of *Sisyphus*, had the Name of *Hipponous*; but having slain his Brother, or some considerable Person in *Corinth*, whose Name, according to Authors, was *Beller*, he got the Name of *Bellerophon*, as much as to say, *The Murderer of Beller*, and he was obliged to retire to *Argos*, where *Prætus* gave him a very kind Reception; but Queen *Stenobea* his Wife, or rather *Antea*, as she is called in *Homer* who relates this Fable at full Length, falling in Love with him, and not able to make any Impression upon him, turned his Insensibility to a Crime, and accused him before her Husband of having attempted to debauch her. “ Sir, says she (2), you must resolve either to die yourself; or put *Bellerophon* to Death, who has been so insolent as to offer Violence to me.” The Prince, surprized at this strange Piece of News, would have instantly put him to Death; but not daring to violate the sacred Rights of Hospitality, he contented himself with sending him to his Father-in-law *Jobates*, King of *Syria*, the Father of *Stenobea*, desiring him in a Letter, whereof *Bellerophon* himself was the Bearer, to make away with him (a). *Bellerophon* set out, continues *Homer*, under the Protection of the Gods, the Guardians of persecuted Innocence, and happily arrived in *Lycia*,

H h 2

upon

(1) Il. l. 6. (2) Id. ib.

(a) *Eusebius* alleges that these Letters were Tablets, which instead of Letters contained Hieroglyphics representing to the King the Bearer's Crime, and the Revenge he wanted to have taken upon him: For this Reason *Homer* calls them Σήματα, *Signa*. Be that as it will, it has become a proverbial Way of speaking to call those *Bellerophon's* Letters, which contain something against the Interest of those who bear them: See *Erasmus* in his *Adagia*. Such were the Letters of *Uriah*, whom this Story pretty much resembles.

upon the Banks of the *Xanthus* (a). *Jobates* received him with Joy, and regaled him for nine Days, and on each Day sacrificed to the Gods a Bull, as an Acknowledgment for the happy Arrival of the young Prince. On the tenth Day he asked of him the Letters which the King his Son-in-law had wrote to him. He deferred it so many Days in Compliance with the Custom of those Times; greater Precipitancy would have bespoke indiscreet Curiosity, and been reckoned Unpoliteness.

*Jobates* had no sooner read *Prætus's* Letters, than he ordered *Bellerophon*, with a View to have him destroyed, to encounter a formidable Monster called the *Chimera*. Here begin the Fables which are interwoven with the History of this Prince; let us see what may have given Rise to them.

The *Chimera*, according to *Homer* (1), was not of human but divine Extraction. She had the Head of a Lion, the Tail of a Dragon, and the Body of a Goat; and from her gaping Mouth she vomited Torrents of Fire and Flame. *Hesiod*, who has also given a Description of this Monster (2), adds, that it was the Offspring of *Typhon* and *Ecbidna*, and had the three Heads of the Animals now named: *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and the other Poets have followed *Hesiod* and *Homer* (b). It will not, I presume, be expected that

(a) *Homer* is at great Pains to let us know that this Part of *Lyria* was the Scene of *Bellerophon's* Adventures, and he never confounds it with the other which was nearer to *Pbrygia*, and whereof *Pandarus* commanded the Troops at the Siege of *Troy*; while *Glauco* and *Sarpedon*, the Grandsons of our Heroe, had led thither the *Eycians* from the Confines of *Xanthus*, as says the same Poet, l. 1.

(1) *Iliad*. l. 6. (2) *Theog.*

(b) In the Grand Duke of *Florence's* Gallery is a Figure of the *Chimera*, such as we have now pictured it from the Poets. 'Tis a Lion with a Goat coming out of his Back, and a Serpent rising out of his Tail. His Hind-legs have some Resemblance to the small Wings of a Serpent: We have it the same Way represented upon several Medals of *Corinth*, both in those of *Marcus Aurelius* and others; and in like Manner is it designed in the antique Pictures of the famous Manuscript of *Virgil*, which is in the *Vatican Library*.

that I should realize a Monster whose Name is become synonymous with the imaginary Beings, which are themselves nothing else but specious Chimeras; nor need we be so serious upon the Head as *Lucretius*, who has endeavoured to prove, by good Arguments, that the *Cbimera* never subsisted: For how is it possible, says he, to believe that there was a Being compounded of three Natures, with the Head of a Lion vomiting Flames, since Fire equally consumes the Entrails of all Animals? Should it be alledged, continues that Poet, that the new made Earth, in her State of vigorous Fertility, was capable of producing such Monsters, who will say against her being able likewise to form Rivers of liquid Gold, Trees whose Leaves and Fruits were precious Stones, and Men able to cross the Seas without any other Support but their own Force and Activity? These are physical Reasonings, which we may reckon merely thrown away.

We must therefore enquire what might be the Foundation of this Fiction, and, by good Luck, the Mythologists, both antient and modern, have not spared their Conjectures on this Subject. To avoid a tedious Detail, I shall only take notice of those that appear most plausible: For little Regard, I believe, will be had to the Testimony of *Plutarch*, who says there was a Rock upon the Top of a Mountain of *Lycia*, which reflected the Rays of the Sun so intensely on the Plain below, as quite to burn up the neighbouring Fields and Herbs, and that *Bellerophon* having cleft that Rock asunder, diminished the Effect of that incommodious Reflection, which gave Occasion to say that he had destroyed the *Cbimera*.

Nor, I presume, will the Explanation of *Nicander* of *Colophon* be better relished, who alledges, that by the *Cbimera* was intended the Rivers and Torrents, which in Winter run with a rapid Course, lay waste the Fields, and resemble the Tail of a Dragon by their crooked Meanders; and that the Victory of *Bellerophon*, who kills the Monster with his Darts, denotes

notes the Beams of the Sun, which, during the Summer Heats, dry up the Torrents, and make the Rivers shrink up within their Channels.

The Conjecture of those who are for moralizing this Fable, deserves as little Credit as the physical Explanation of *Nicander*; and it will not be easy to believe that it was invented for no other End but to teach us that we ought to labour assiduously to extinguish the Fire of our Passions, which, like roaring Lions, continually assault us; insinuate themselves, like Serpents, into the most secret Recesses of Self-love; and, like Goats that brouze upon the tender Grass, are always preying upon the Peace and Quiet of the Mind.

As, according to *Homer*, *Jobates* obliged *Bellerophon* to fight the *Solymes*, also the *Amazons*, and the *Lycians* themselves, who had laid an Ambuscade for him to surprize him; *Tzetzes*, upon the Authority of *Carystius*, alledged that the Idea of the *Cbimera* had been taken from the Characters of these three Sorts of Enemies; the *Solymes*, a courageous People, are compared to Lions; the *Amazons*, who made less Resistance, and who perhaps fortified themselves in steep rocky Places, are the Goats; and the *Lycians*, who lurked in secret to surprize the Heroe, are the Serpents.

The learned *Bocbart* (1), who judiciously thought it improbable that this fabulous Monster had been formed of the three Enemies which *Bellerophon* defeated at different Times and Places; and who knew that *Homer* had not mentioned these three Expeditions till after the Heroe had vanquished the *Cbimera*, has Recourse to another Conjecture, which, tho' it is more ingenious, is not perhaps more solid. As this Author presumed he had found Traces of the *Phœnician* Language in several Parts of *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, he alledges that by the *Cbimera* is to be understood the three Captains of the Armies of the *Solymes*, *Argus*, *Arfalus*, and *Trosibius*, whose Names, in the *Phœnician* Language, answer to the three Animals where  
of

(1) Chan. l. i. c. 6.

of the Monster is compounded: The first imports a Lion, the second a Goat, and the third the Head of a Serpent; or, which comes to the same, it was the three principal Divinities of that People, whose Names were the same with those of the Animals which were upon the military Ensigns. In the first Battalion the Colours had a Lion, those of the second a Goat, and those of the third a Serpent. But where shall we find these three *Phœnician* Divinities, as to which all Antiquity is profoundly silent?

*Agatarchides* of *Gnidos* (1) offers an Explication which at first Sight appears very specious. *Amisodar*, says he, King of a Part of *Lycia*, had to Wife one whose Name was *Cbimera*, whose two Brothers were called the *Lion* and the *Dragon*. These two Princes having seized upon several important Posts, put to the Sword all those who fell into their Hands, and made great Devastation on the Lands of their Neighbours. Their strict Union with their Sister, gave Occasion to say they were three Bodies under one Head, as had been fabled of those three Princes of *Epirus*, whom *Hercules* defeated under the Name of the monstrous *Geryon*. *Jobates*, infested by the Inroads which those two Brothers made into his Dominions, sent against them *Bellerophon*, who rid the Country of them, and for that Reason he is said to have vanquished the *Cbimera*.

*Homer*, in a Passage quoted by *Apollodorus*, may have given a Handle to this Explanation, when he tells us the *Cbimera* had been brought up by *Amisodar*; but besides that this Passage is neither in the *Iliad* nor *Odyssey*, 'tis certain that *Homer*, in the sixth Book, where he relates the Adventures of *Bellerophon* at very great Length, says not one Word of this.

'Tis therefore by following *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Servius*, and other very antient Authors, that I shall establish what appears to me the just Explanation of this Fable. That Part of *Lycia* where *Jobates* reigned, which extended

H h 4

along

(1) Hist. Asiæ, l. 3.

the River *Xanthus* as far as the Sea, was full of Mountains covered with Woods and Pasturage. The *Cragus* alone had eight Tops; upon one of which, according to *Strabo*, was a City which bore the Name of that Mountain. Upon another Top, which was called the *Cbimera*, as we learn from *Pliny*, was a *Volcano* which was never extinguished, *Flagrat in Pbaseltide mons Cbimera, Et quidem immortalī diebus ac noctibus flamma* (1). This Author adds, that it was from *Ctesias's* Authority he described the *Volcano* of Mount *Cbimera*; and yet in the Passage of *Ctesias* quoted by *Photius* (2), where Mention is made of that same *Volcano*, the Name of Mount *Cbimera* is not to be found; so that one of the two has undoubtedly wrong copied that Antient.

Be that as it will, these Mountains of *Lycia*, according to the same Writers, were full of Lions, wild Goats and Serpents, which made great Havock in the Valley and Meadows that lay along the *Xanthus* as far as the Sea, and hindered the Shepherds from leading their Flocks that Way. *Iobates*, either to exercise the Valour of young *Bellerophon*,— at a Time when Heroism consisted in purging the Earth almost wholly overspread with Forests and wild Beasts; or in Compliance with the Demand of his Son-in-law, whom he feared, employed him in this hazardous Expedition. *Bellerophon* hunted down all those Animals, rid the Country of them, and made the Pastures in the Mountains and neighbouring Plains quite safe and habitable. *Servius*, upon this Verse in *Virgil*, *Flammisque armata Cbimera*, explains this Fable in the same Way as I have now done (a). I shall add that it was chiefly from the Goats of the Mountain it had the Name of *Cbimera* given it, this Word being compounded of two others that signified a Goat brought forth in Winter.

The History of *Hercules*, who lived much about the Time

(1) L. 2. c. 106. (2) Cod. 72.

(a) *Revera mons est Lycia, cujus bedieque ardet cacumen, juxta quod sunt Leones; Media autem pascua sunt. quæ capris abundantissima vero montis serpentibus plena. Hunc Bellerophontes battabat, unde Chimeram dicitur occidisse. Æn. l. 6.*

Time of *Bellerophon*, hardly leaves Room to doubt of this being the true Explanation of the Fable of the *Chimera*, and the only one we ought to depend upon. This Expedition bears too great a Resemblance to the Labours of that Heroe, especially to his clearing the Fens of *Lerna*, full of Serpents and other venomous Beasts, not to make us believe that the *Chimera* and the *Hydra* had the same Original: For, to say it once more, such Kind of Monsters never had an Existence, and those are the real ones we must seek for, which made great Havock in those Times upon the Flocks, and sometimes even upon Men.

It was, no doubt, after so important a Piece of Service that *Jobates* gave his Daughter (1) in Marriage to *Bellerophon*; for I am of Opinion that we are not to range the Events of this Heroe's Life, as *Homer* has done, who enumerates all his Adventures together, and does not make him marry the King of *Lycia*'s Daughter till after all his Combats are over; since we know, that when he made War upon the *Solyimi* above mentioned, he had a Son by that Princess who accompanied him to it, and was killed therein.

The *Solyimi*, *Jobates*'s Enemies, were according to *Herodotus* (2), People of *Lycia*, who were afterwards denominated *Mylians*. *Strabo*, who differs from that Historian opposes to his Opinion a Passage in *Homer*, where that Poet says (3) *Bellerophon* set out from *Lycia* to go against the *Solyimi*; for, says he, he would not have spoke accurately, if the *Solyimi* had dwelt in *Lycia* itself: Thus this learned Geographer, and *Pliny* after him, place those People in *Pisflia*. *Bellerophon*, at the Head of *Jobates*'s Troops, made War upon them, and routed them in an Engagement, which *Glaucus* in *Homer* says was a very bloody one. *Isander*, the Son of our Heroe, lost his Life in it, and was interred in the Confines of the *Meander*, in a Valley, which, according to *Strabo* (4), took the Name of the Valley of *Bellerophon*, and undoubtedly was the Field

(1) She was called *Philonos*. (2) L. 1. c. 173. (3) L. 6.  
(4) L. 13.

Field of Battle where this Engagement happened. *Homer* says poetically, that the God *Mars* took away that Prince's Life; an Allegory too plain not to be comprehended by every Body.

After the Defeat of the *Solyms*, *Bellerophon* turned his Arms against the *Amazons*. I shall not insist much upon those Heroins, of whom the Antients have said so much. All I shall observe, is, that it appears from *Strabo* they had quitted the Banks of the *Tbermodon* about the Time of the *Trojan War*, and made an Ir-ruption into *Pbrygia* and the adjacent Countries, where *Priam* (1) and *Bellerophon* made War upon them. These *Amazons*, of whom *Strabo* here speaks, are undoubtedly those against whom *Hercules* fought, and who, according to *Pausanias*, came and settled in the Confines of *Ephesus*, where the Temple of *Diana* served them for a Sanctuary. This Country was between *Pbrygia*, where *Priam* reigned, and *Lycia*, where *Bellerophon* had fixed his Residence,

Our Heroe, upon his Return from this Expedition, was attacked by a Band of *Lycians*, who, growing jealous of the Reputation and Credit he had gained in the Country, laid an Ambuscade for him. The Traitors were defeated notwithstanding a stout Resistance, and *Bellerophon* returned victorious over so many Enemies to the Court of *Jobates*. “Then it was, according to *Homer*, that the King of *Lycia* perceiving, from these great Exploits, that he must be of the Race of the Gods, bestowed upon him his Daughter in Marriage, with the Half of his Kingdom as a Dowry. The *Lycians* themselves, after their Prince's Example, made over to him the Property of a large Park, where was the finest Vineyard of the Country, with Woods and arable Ground; the ordinary Present given by the People to Heroes, wherein they treated them like Gods, who had also Lands consecrated to them.”

After the Death of *Jobates*, who left no Male Issue, *Bellerophon* succeeded him, and his Descendants reigned in

(1) *Strabo*, loc. cit.



in that Part of *Lycia* whereof his Father-in-law was King. He had by his Wife three Sons; *Ifander*, who died in the Battle against the *Solyms*; *Hippolochus*, who reigned after him, and was the Father of *Glaucus*; and one Daughter named *Laodamia*, who had an Intrigue which she fathered upon *Jupiter*, and became the Mother of *Sarpedon*. *Homer* says (1) *Diana* put her to Death; which signifies that she died suddenly, or of an infectious Distemper.

The same Poet subjoins, that after *Bellerophon* had incurred the Hatred of the Gods, he was given up to such a deep Melancholy, that he wandered alone in the Desarts, tortured with Anxiety, and incapable to relish the Pleasures of Society. He does not say what had drawn down upon him this Hatred of the Gods; whether it was, as *Madam Dacier* has remarked, that he found it easier to preserve his Integrity in his State of Persecution than in Prosperity, and that he was ruined by Pride. I should rather think, that as the Poet in this Passage relates the Death of *Ifander* and *Laodamia*, he would have us to understand, that the Death of those his two Children had rendered him inconsolable, and that he had resigned the Administration to his Son *Hippolochus*, to go into Retirement.

This, I presume, is the most consistent Account can be given of *Bellerophon* and his Family. I have chiefly relied upon *Homer*, who relates this History detached from most of the Fictions superadded to it by those that came after. Therefore I have said nothing of *Pegasus*, that famous Horse which was broke by *Minerva* herself, who gave him to this Heroe, and to which he owed his Death: For as this Prince, we are told, mounted upon *Pegasus*, was attempting to soar up to Heaven, a Gad-bee stung the Horse, and the Heroe was overthrown, and killed with the Fall: They add, that *Pegasus* at that Time got a Place among the Constellations, where *Aurora* employs the Hours to unbar the Gates of Day (1). First, because this is an Episode whereof *Homer* has said nothing, *Pindar* being the

(1) Hygin.

the first who broached this Fiction afterwards. *Hesiod*, who mentions the Horse *Pegasus*, says not, as has been already observed in the History of *Perseus*, that *Bellerophon* made use of him. In the second Place, because I think I have sufficiently proved that *Pegasus* was not a Horse, but a Ship which bore that Figure upon the Prow. Thirdly, when *Hyginus* says (1) *Bellerophon* was the Son of *Neptune*, he clearly proves that he was considered not as a Horseman, but as a famous Sailor, who had come by Sea from some remote Country.

This Fable of *Hyginus* gave Birth to another, or at least was a Continuation of it. *Bellerophon*, according to *Plutarch*, being disobliged with *Jobates*, who had exposed him to so many Dangers, prayed his Father *Neptune* to take Vengeance upon him. After this Prayer the Waves of the Sea followed him, and overflowed all the low Country. The *Lycians*, seeing themselves in Danger of being inevitably ruined, supplicated him to vouchsafe to appease the incensed God: But this Prince being insensible to their Tears, the *Lycian* Women presented themselves before him in an indecent Manner, and compelled him at last to return towards the Sea, upon which the Waves retired. This Fiction, unknown to *Hesiod* and *Homer*, and which agrees so ill with the signal Demonstrations of Gratitude which *Jobates* had given to *Bellerophon*, has undoubtedly no other Signification, but that the Sea having overflowed the lower *Lycia*, this Heroe raised there a Mole which put a Stop to the Inundation, after the Example of *Hercules*, who made such another Work upon the Banks of *Troy* which the Sea had overflowed.

We shall conclude with a Remark of *Bochart* (2), that the Name of *Bellerophon* seems to be compounded of two Hebrew Words, *Baal Haroum*, *Magister vel Præfectus Jaculatorum*; The Head or Master of the Archers. And we may add, that the Name of *Hip-*  
*ponus*,

(1) Hygin. Cœl. Poet. Astr. c. 6. (2) Hieros. p. 1. l. 2. c. 6.

*ponous*, which he bore before the Murder that obliged him to quit *Corinth*, had undoubtedly been given him, because he had practised the Art of breaking Horses (a).

Tho' *Bellerophon* had quitted *Corinth*, whither he never returned, that City however valued itself on having given him Birth, and he is represented upon Medals of that City with the *Chimera*, as may be seen in the second Volume of the *Thesaurus Britannicus*.

Upon these Medals the *Chimera* appears with a Lion's Head; from the Middle of the Body rises a Goat's Head, and the Tail terminates in that of a Serpent. *Bellerophon* appears in the Air, mounted upon *Pegasus*, and ready to give the Monster the deadly Blow. We have also an Intaglio published by the late M. *Maffei*, whereon *Bellerophon* in like Manner appears in the Air upon the Horse *Pegasus*, darting his Javelin at the *Chimera*. It has also a Lion's Head, that of a Goat rises from its Back, and its Tail terminates in that of a great Dragon. Another Intaglio, published by *Licetus*, represents the same Combat: But the *Chimera* appears here to be only a Lion, at least the Smallness of the Stone hinders us from discerning any Thing else upon it.

I shall now fix, as well as I can, the Time when *Perseus* and *Bellerophon* lived: Nothing being more conducive to give Light to the Antiquities of those Times, than the true *Æras* of these two Heroes.

## C H A P. VII.

*Wherein we examine when Bellerophon and Perseus lived.*

**C**Hronologists, both antient and modern, presuming that *Bellerophon* had been expiated from the Murder he had committed, by *Prætus* King of *Argos*, have been obliged to say, that he lived long before *Perseus*, who was only *Prætus*'s Grand-nephew; and their

(a) See the Dissert. of M. *Freret* upon Riding, *Mém. de l'Acad.* Tom. 7. p. 286.

their Opinion was generally received, when M. *Freret* and I having examined this Question at the same time, and without communicating our Thoughts to one another, we laid before the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* two Dissertations (1), wherein we both proved by the Synchronisms and Genealogies preserved to us by ancient Authors, that *Perseus* was prior to *Bellerophon* by several Years; that the former lived in the fifth Generation before the Siege of *Troy*, while the latter was but at the Distance of two Generations, and even less from that *Aera*: and consequently, we were obliged to conclude that the Prince, to whom *Bellerophon* had Recourse to be expiated from his Crime, was not the King of *Argos*, who had dethroned his Brother *Acrisius*. I hope the Result of these Dissertations will satisfy the Reader as to the true Time when the two Heroes lived whose History I have given.

If we take the Succession of the Kings of *Argos* and *Mycenæ* only from *Danaus*, of whom *Perseus* was descended, to the Destruction of *Troy*, we shall find ten Generations, and *Perseus* in the fifth: Now five Generations, reckoning with *Herodotus* at the Rate of three to a hundred Years, amount to 166 Years. To make the Thing more plain, let us join the last of these Generations with that of the Kings of *Athens*; supposing only what needs not be thought extraordinary, that the Reigns are not exactly equal in a Duration of two Lines, and that sometimes the one runs beyond the other.

<i>Danaus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Erichthonius</i> .
<i>Lynceus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Pandion I.</i>
<i>Abas</i>	-	-	-	<i>Erechtheus</i> .
<i>Acrisius</i> and <i>Prætus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Cecrops II.</i>
<i>Danae</i> and <i>Perseus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Pandion II.</i>
<i>Electrion</i> and <i>Sthenelus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Egeus</i> .
<i>Euristheus</i> , <i>Hercules</i>	-	-	-	<i>Theseus</i> .
<i>Atræus</i> and <i>Thyestes</i>	-	-	-	<i>Mnestheus</i> .
<i>Agamemnon</i>	-	-	-	<i>Demophoon</i> .

•Tis

(1) See the *Mem.* Vol. 7.

'Tis therefore evident, if there is any Certainty in the History of those early Ages, that *Perseus* lived about a hundred or a hundred and twenty Years before the *Trojan War*.

*Monsieur Fourmond*, in his critical Reflexions upon the Histories of antient Nations, reckons between *Perseus* and the *Trojan War* only fourscore Years; but he is obliged, for Proof of this Hypothesis, to say that the Successors of *Acrisius*, to the War of *Troy*, which he is forced to acknowledge with all Chronologists, had either reigned several together, or had only reigned a short Time (1). *M. Freret*, in his Chronological Researches upon the History of *Lydia* (2), is of Opinion, that from the Commencement of *Perseus's* Reign to the taking of *Troy*, there are 178 Years. In fine, the Chronographer *Apollodorus* alledges, that *Pretus*, *Perseus's* Grand-uncle, lived 187 Years before that *Epocha*. For my Part, I am of Opinion, that if we reduce the Reigns of his Successors to their just Standard, we can admit between that Heroe and the War of *Troy*, neither a longer nor shorter Space of Time than what I have reckoned it. But whatever Sentiment we embrace, 'tis certain that *Perseus* preceded *Bellerophon* several Years, which is the Scope of this Disquisition, since the latter lived only forty or forty-five Years at most before the Destruction of *Troy*: This is what remains to be proved.

*Glaucus* and *Sarpedon*, his two Grandsons, commanded the *Lycians* at the Siege of *Troy*, as we read in *Homer* (3). The same *Glaucus* recounts to *Diomedes* the Adventures of *Bellerophon* his Grandfather, and subjoins, that his Father *Hippolochus* was yet alive when he set out for that War. There are not therefore two Generations compleat between *Bellerophon* and the *Trojan War*, since his Son was not then dead; and this is my Reason for reckoning it only an Interval of forty or forty-six Years. From the same Conversation between *Glaucus* and *Diomedes*, other Arguments may be deduced

(1) See Tom. 2. p. 242. & seq. (2) Mem. de l' Acad. T. 6. p. 311. (3) *Iliad*.

ced for the Truth of what I advance. These two Princes coming to the Knowledge of one another, *Diomedes* says, he had heard from his Father *Idæus*, that *Bellerophon* had been at the Court of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*. This *Oeneus* was his Grandfather, as *Bellerophon* was *Glaucus's*: Thus the two Grandfathers lived two Generations before the *Trojan* War. The Synchronism of *Oeneus* gives us several others; that is, all the Princes who went to the Hunting of the *Calydonian* Boar, *Meleager*, *Idas*, *Lynceus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Teseus* and the rest, who all lived but one Generation before the taking of *Troy*. But if the other Adventures of *Bellerophon*, except this Journey to the Court of *Oeneus*, are not inserted with those of the Heroes of his Age, 'tis because he had left *Greece* very young, to retire into *Lycia*.

If we were to review the several Branches of the Families of that Time, we should also find a Number of Testimonies in Confirmation of the same Truth. *Pausanias* (1) says *Medea*, when she quitted her Residence at *Corinth*, which the Perfidy of *Jason* had rendered odious to her, left the Crown to *Sisyphus*: *Medea* and *Jason* were therefore Contemporaries with *Bellerophon's* Grandfather; consequently this Prince lived only about the Time of the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, of whom *Jason* was the Chief, and so but a few Years before the Siege of *Troy*. The same *Pausanias* says farther (2), that *Bellerophon*, before he quitted *Greece*, had gone to *Trezene* to make his Addresses to *Ætbra*, the Daughter of *Pitheus*, who, in a short Time after, was delivered of *Teseus*: *Bellerophon* therefore lived in the Time of *Pitheus* and *Egeus*.

We might bring this Prince yet nearer to that *Æra*. *Eolus*, his Great-grandfather, had, among other Daughters, *Alcyone*, the Wife of *Ceyx*, King of *Trachin*. Now *Ceyx*, according to all the Antients, was contemporary with *Hercules*, whom he received at his Court, and gave him Expiation for the Murder he had committed. *Alcyone* was therefore Grand-aunt to  
*Belle-*

(2) In *Corinth*. (2) *Loc. cit.*

*Bellerophon*, who consequently could not be born till about the last Year of *Hercules*, or even after that *Hercule's* Death. In fine, to abridge the Synchronisms which would lead me too far; I shall only remark further, that *Strabo* says the *Amazons* made War upon *Priam* and *Bellerophon*, in the Time of the *Trojan* War: Now the Time of *Priam* is very well known, since he began to reign after the first taking of that City by *Hercules*, which is doubtless what *Strabo* speaks of in the Passage now referred to.

But it will be said, if *Bellerophon* is so many Years later than *Perseus*, who then is that *Prætus* who received him, and gave him Expiation from the Murder he had committed at *Corinth*? It would be a sufficient Answer to this Question to say, that tho' History spoke of no other *Prætus* but the Grand-uncle of *Perseus*, it would still be much more probable that *Bellerophon* is many Years posterior to him, than it is that he who gave him Expiation, was the King of *Argos* who dethroned his Father *Acrisius*. M. *Freret*, in the Dissertation which I have mentioned in the Beginning of this Chapter, instead of one *Prætus*, posterior to the King of *Argos*, finds two; as to which *Pausanias* may be consulted. It will be urged, that *Homer*, speaking of *Prætus*, who expiated *Bellerophon*, says he was one of the most powerful Princes of *Argos*. But it may be answered, 1. That Poet gives him not the Title of King. 2. By *Argos*, he may mean not the City of that Name, but *Greece* in general, as is usual both in him and *Virgil*; for it cannot be denied, that when the latter says *Troy* never was to be taken till the *Greeks* returned once more to *Argos*, and renewed the Omens,

*Nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis;  
Omina ni repetant Argis, &c.* Æn. l. 2.

the Word *Argolicis* must be taken for all the *Greeks*, and that of *Argos*, for *Greece* in general.

'Tis surprizing that these Arguments should have escaped the Learned of the two last Ages by whom so

many happy Discoveries have been made in Chronology ; but I observed at the Beginning of this Chapter the Source of their Error. They knew *Prætus* the Brother of *Acrisius*, as being a Prince very celebrated in the History of those Times ; and the Adventures of *Bellerophon* appeared to them connected with his Reign. This *Prætus* was unquestionably *Persæus*'s Grand-uncle ; hence they concluded that *Persæus* had not lived till two generations after *Bellerophon* ; but at the same Time they ought to have perceived that the same *Persæus* was Great-Grand-Uncle to *Hercules*, still better known than *Bellerophon* and *Persæus*. *Hercules* lived one Generation before the Trojan War ; therefore his Great-Grandfather lived four Generations before that War. *Bellerophon* was but the Grandfather of *Glaucus* and *Sarpedon*, who assisted in the taking of that City ; consequently he must have preceded that Æra only by one Generation.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The History of the two Minos's, and of the War of the second against the Athenians, with the Adventures of the Minotaur, of Dedalus, Theseus, &c.*

I Said in the History of *Cadmus*, that *Jupiter*, or rather *Asterius*, having ravished *Europa*, *Agænor*'s Daughter, and conveyed her to the Island of *Crete*, where he reigned, she had by him three Sons, *Minos*, *Sarpedon*, and *Rhadamanthus*. I shall now give the History of the first of these Princes, which has been greatly obscured, because most of the Antients on this Occasion have fallen into a considerable Error, in acknowledging only one *Minos*, whereas it is certain that there were two of them. *Apollodorus* (1), *Strabo* (2), *Plutarch* (3), *Eusebius*, and several others, are chargeable with this Mistake, having confounded the Son of *Jupiter*, or rather of *Asterius*, with the Son of *Lycastus*,

(1) Bitl. l. 3. (2) L. 10. (3) In Theseo.



*Lycaſtus*, whom *Homer* (1), *Diodorus* (2), and the *Patrian* Marbles have plainly diſtinguiſhed (3) in two of their *Æras*, whereof one refers to *Minos* the firſt of the Name ; and the ſecond, which is poſterior to it by about fifty Years, to *Minos* II. But the ſame Authors, except thoſe of the Chronicle, as well as moſt of the Moderns, after having ſettled or ſuppoſed the Diſtinction of theſe two Princes, have run into ſeveral Inconſiſtencies by not ſtudiying their Characters ſufficiently ; ſpeaking of *Minos* ſometimes as a wiſe Legiſlator, frequently as a cruel and barbarous Tyrant, becauſe in Fact it is true that the former was a juſt and equitable Prince, and the ſecond, for having avenged upon the *Athenians* the Death of one of his Sons, has been very much cried down by them.

I ſhall endeavour ſufficiently to diſtinguiſh theſe two Kings of *Crete*, and aſcribe to each the Actions that belong to him.

After the Death of *Aſterius*, *Minos* (4) aſcended the Throne. *Apollodorus* (5) ſays *Sarpedon* and *Rhadamanthus*, his two Brothers, having diſputed the Crown with him, he prayed the Gods to vouchſafe to give him a Mark of their Approbation ; upon which *Neptune* made the Sea to produce a Bull of ſurpaſſing Whitenefs ; but this Adventure relates to *Minos* II. whom that antient Author has not diſtinguiſhed from the firſt, at leaſt in what of his Works are now extant.

*Minos*, in peaceful Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, married *Ithone* the Daughter of *Liſtius* (6), by whom he had two Children, *Lycaſtus*, who ſucceeded him, and *Acacallide*, who, according to *Diodorus* (7), was married to *Apollo* ; that is, probably, either to one of his Priests, or to a Prince, who, on account of his Taſte for the Sciences, or for Muſick, had acquired the Name of that God. The Island of *Crete*, little known before the Reign of the King we are now ſpeaking of,

I i 2

became

(1) *Iliad*. l. 3. (2) *L.* 4. & 5. (3) *Ep.* 11, & 20. (4) See the Fable of his Birth in the third Chapter. (5) *L.* 3. (6) *Diod.* l. 4. (7) *Loc. cit.*

became then very famous; *Minos* having governed his People with great Lenity and Justice, and having built several Cities, among which is reckoned that of *Apollonia*, which *Cidon* his Grandson (1) afterwards embellished, and gave it the Name of *Cidmia* (2), and that of *Minoa Lictia*, which was so called from his own Name, and that of *Lictius* his Father-in-law, which is confirmed by the eleventh Epocha of the *Arundel-marbles*.

But nothing so much distinguishes this Prince as the Laws which he gave to the *Cretans*, since they have always made him be reckoned one of the greatest Legislators of Antiquity. To give the greater Authority to his Laws, he retired into a Cave in *Crete*, where he feigned that *Jupiter* his Father dictated them to him; and every Time he returned from thence, as we learn from *Nicolas of Damas* (3), he delivered some new Law: This is what makes *Homer* (4) give him the Title of *Jupiter's* Disciple; *Δίος μεγάλου ὁ ἀρστής*, which is thus expressed by *Horace* ;

*Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus* (5).

*Josephus*, of all the Antients, as far as I know, is the only one who says *Minos* had received his Laws from *Apollo*, and that he had travelled to *Delpbi* to learn them from that God (6).

All the other Legislators, to mention it by the Way, have taken the same Way to gain Authority to their Laws: *Mnevis*, King of *Egypt*, attributed his to *Mercury* or *Teutates*; *Zamolxis*, the *Thracian* Legislator, to the Goddess *Vesta*; *Zoroastres*, to his *Genius*; *Numa Pompilius*, to the Nymph *Egeria*, whom he consulted in the Forest of *Aricia*; *Pythagoras* gave out that he went down to the Kingdom of *Pluto*; *Epimenides* again, that he had slept fifty Years in a Cave in the Island of *Crete*; and undoubtedly all of them, after *Moses*, who had received the Tables of the Law upon

(1) He was the Son of *Acacallide*. (2) Strabo, c. 10. (3) See excerpts Stobæi verbo CRETENSES. (4) *Odyss.* 19. (5) *Od.* 10. l. 1. (6) L. 2. against *Appian*.

upon Mount *Sinai*, with such Pomp and Solemnity, that the Tradition thereof had spread among all Nations. *Maximus Tyrius* (1) is of Opinion that this Cave into which *Minos* retired, was in Mount *Ida*, but *Eusebius* places it elsewhere.

*Strabo* (2), after *Ephorus*, will have it that *Minos* dwelt nine Years in Retirement in the Cave now mentioned, and that learned Author quotes in Proof of his Opinion the Testimony of *Homer* (3); but the Passage where that Poet speaks of it, is variously read in the Authors who have copied him; for first it may signify, as this Historian understands it, that *Minos* was the Disciple of *Jupiter* during the Space of nine Years successively; or, as *Plato* interprets it (4), that this Prince went every ninth Year to hear *Jupiter's* Lessons; or, lastly, as *Nicolas* of *Damas* has transcribed it (5), that *Minos*, who reigned nine Years, was *Jupiter's* Disciple.

The learned Interpreter of *Homer* in his Notes has proved what must needs be the true Sense of the Poet in this Place, and that the Word *ἐννέωρος* signifies every ninth Year. "The Encomium, says that Philosopher, which *Homer* here bestows upon *Minos* is very short; but 'tis so high, that he gives it to none of his Heroes.—He says *Minos* was admitted to an Interview with *Jupiter* every ninth Year, *ἐννέτω ἐτει*, and that he went to him to receive Instruction as a Disciple from his Master. Consequently, since there is no other Heroe but he on whom the Poet confers this Encomium of being instructed by *Jupiter*, we are to look upon this Panegyric as the highest and the most admirable of all Praises.—*Minos* then went every ninth Year, continues he, *ἐννέτω ἐτει*, into *Jupiter's* Cave, there to learn new Things, or to reform, according as the Cases should require, what he had learned in the preceding ninth Year. The Cave into which this wise Prince retired, was afterwards called *Jupiter's* Cave (a)."

I i 3 All

(1) Diff. 22. (2) L. 10. (3) Odyss. 19. (4) In *Minos*, (5) Loc. cit.

(a) *Homer*. Odyss. l. 19. *Plato*, V. 2. p. 309.

All Antiquity has always had a high Esteem for the Laws of *Minos*; *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Diodorus*, *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, and several others, have very much enlarged upon this Subject; and I should never have done, were I to quote here all the Testimonies of these Authors. I shall only say, that *Lycurgus* travelled on purpose to *Crete* there to collect *Minos's* Laws, and give them to the *Lacedemonians* (1); and we may judge by the wise Policy of that People, by their Conquests, and the great Reputation they acquired, of the Equity of the Laws which he took for his Model. We may add further, that *Josephus*, as great a Lover as he was of his own Nation, has owned that *Minos* is the only one among the Antients who deserved to be compared to *Moses*.

To know now upon what Model this wise Prince formed himself in giving Laws to so rude and ignorant a People, is not an easy Matter. If we will believe *Huetus*, the Question will be very soon decided, since, according to that learned Prelate, *Minos* is the same with *Moses*; and here is the Parallel he runs between them; *Moses* and *Minos* lived much about the same Time (a). *Diodorus* gives *Minos* to Wife *Irbone*, whose Name, in the *Chaldaic* Language, signifies *antient*, only to denote that this Prince is of very great Antiquity. The Mother of the *Cretan* Prince is said to have come from *Phœnicia*, only because the Parents of the *Jewish* Legislator were Natives thereof. The former is made to have reigned in *Crete*, because the latter led the *Israelites* into *Palestine*, the People whereof were sometimes named *Cretans*, as *Bochart* remarks after the Septuagint. *Minos* had no other Brother but *Rhadamanthus*, for *Sarpedon* was the Son of *Laodamia*, and Grandson of *Bellerophon*; *Moses* in like Manner had but one Brother named *Aaron*. *Diodorus* gives the Lawgiver of *Crete* but two Children; the Lawgiver of the *Jews* had just the same Number. The former  
professed

(1) *Aristot.* 2 *Polit.* c. 10.

(a) He is obliged in this Place to strain a little; but 'tis not the only one where the Parallel is forced.

professed to have received his Laws from *Jupiter*; God had given his to the latter. The one had Inter-course with the fabulous God in the Caves of Mount *Ida*; the other with the God of *Abraham* and *Jacob* upon Mount *Sinai*. *Homer* gives *Minos* only the Honour of having had *Jupiter* for his Master; God discovered himself only to *Moses*, and he was the sole Depositary of his Commands, *Moses* employing *Aaron* to put them in Execution, as *Minos* did *Rhadamanthus*. The *Cretan* Prince was accounted the King of the Sea; only because the *Hebrew* Lawgiver commanded the Waves of the Red-sea to retire. The former was considered as the chief Judge of Hell, deciding what Differences arose between the other two, only because the latter established a Council to ease him of the Burden of lesser Affairs, reserving to himself the Cognizance of Causes of greater Importance. *Hesiod* gives the *Cretan* King *Jupiter's* golden Scepter, and why, but because the Scripture mentions *Moses's* mysterious Rod. *Josephus*, adds this Author, had therefore Reason to compare these two great Men; since, accurately speaking, there never was another *Minos* but *Moses*.

But, with all due Respect to the Erudition of this learned Prelate, the Testimony of all Antiquity is too decisive, not to make us acknowledge another *Minos* than the *Jewish* Lawgiver; and, without entering into a critical Examination of this Parallel, which I have even softened a great deal, there are many Strokes that will not convince a Sceptic.

I shall not however deny that *Minos* had heard of *Moses*; his Mother was a *Phœnician*, and probably many Persons came from that Country and settled in *Crete* during his Reign; among others, I find one *Atbymnus*, the Brother of *Europa*, who, according to *Solinus*, was worshipped as a God after his Death at *Gortys*: *Gortynni & Atbymnum colunt Europæ fratrem* (1). Perhaps this Prince, if I may be allowed to offer my own Conjecture, often conversed with his Nephew about the Laws and Policy which *Moses* had

I i 4

established

(1) *Solinus ex emendat. Salmastii, c. 11.*

established among the *Jews*; and even assisted him in reducing his Body of Laws, and was therefore advanced to divine Honours. We may likewise add, that *Marnas*, who, according to *Plato* (1), was *Minos's* Secretary, came also from the same Country; at least it is certain, that the *Phœnicians* had a God of that Name: But, in regard that he was the great Divinity of the City of *Gaza*, as has been said in the first Volume, perhaps he is not the same with him whom *Plato* speaks of. Be that as it will, it may reasonably be conjectured, that some Knowledge, tho' confused, of the Laws of *Moses* served for a Model to those of the King of *Crete*.

*Minos*, after having governed his Subjects with a mild and gentle Sway, died in *Crete*, and being interred there, had this Epitaph put upon his Tomb (2).

ΜΙΝΩΣ ΤΟΤ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ.

*Minois F. Jovis Sepulchrum.*

But as in Process of Time this Name of *Minos* came to be defaced, and there remained only the two last Words of the Epitaph, *Jovis sepulchrum*, the *Cretans* gave out that this was the Tomb of *Jupiter*. Nor was it by the Injury of Time, or by any other Accident that this Inscription was mutilated, but by the Malice of the *Cretans*, as the old Scholiast on *Callimachus* has very well remarked. They would needs make their Boast of possessing the Tomb of the Father of the Gods, whom they pretended to have brought up in his Infancy; with which the Poet *Callimachus* sharply reproaches them in a Hymn addressed to *Jupiter*, whereof the following is the Sense. “The *Cretans* are always Liars, since they vaunt that they have thy Tomb, O great King, who livest for ever (3)!” And 'tis to this Passage of that antient Poet, to mention it by the Way, that the Apostle makes Allusion, when he upbraids the same People

(1) In *Minoe*. (2) See the Scholiast on *Callimachus*. (3) Hymn. in *Jovem*.

People in *Callimachus's* own Words, with the Vice of Lying, *Cretenses semper mendaces* (a).

A Prince who had been so just in his Life Time, must needs have been honoured after his Death: Accordingly the Poets, whose Province it was to dispose of the Employments of the other World, established him Judge of *Pluto's* supreme Court in Hell.

I said, in speaking of the System of the poetical Hell, that the *Greeks* had borrowed their Conceptions thereof from the *Egyptians*, and that in appointing Judges there, after the Example of that antient People, they had singled out those from among their great Men, who had lived with the most unblemished Integrity; of which Number they had found none who better deserved that Honour than *Minos*, *Eacus*, and *Rhadamanthus*. They afterwards divided their Functions: *Eacus*, according to *Plato*, judged the *Europeans*; *Rhadamanthus*, who had left *Crete*, and fixed his Residence in *Asia*, had the *Asiatics* for his Lot, among whom were also comprehended the *Africans*; and *Minos*, as chief President of the infernal Court, decided the Differences that arose between the two Judges. All the Poets are agreed in this Superiority of *Minos* over his Collegues. *Homer* (1) represents him with a Scepter in his Hand, seated in the midst of the Shades, whose Causes are pled before him: And *Virgil* adds, that he holds in his Hand, and shakes the fatal Urn wherein are contained the Lots of all Mortals;

*Quæstor Minos Urnam movet.*

while the stern *Rhadamanthus* in *Tartarus* sees to the Execution of the Sentences which his Brother pronounces (b).

Thus,

(a) We must not have Regard to the Opinion of *Stephanns*, who makes *Minos* to have travelled into *Phœnicia* to build the City *Minoa*, which the Founders thereof named so in Honour of the Son of *Europa*.

(1) *Odyss.* 11.

(b) *Gnosius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna ;  
Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri  
Quæ quisque apud superos furto lætatus inani,  
Dissulis in seram commissu piacula mortem.* *Æn.* 6.

Thus, strictly speaking, *Rhadamanthus* is there only a subaltern Judge, and as it were *Minos's* Lieutenant Criminal: He prepares the Trials, examines and confronts the Witnesses, extorts from the Guilty, by putting them to the Rack, a Confession of their most secret Faults; and after his Brother has passed upon them the final Sentence, he puts it in Execution (1).

'Tis not easy to fix the Date of the Reign of *Minos* I. If we consult the *Arundel* Marbles, where his *Æra* is a little defaced, we shall there find that this Prince reigned in the Time of *Pandion* I. King of *Aibeu* (a); which the Authors of the Remarks upon those antient Inscriptions make to fall in the Year before *Christ*, 1462: And what serves for a Confirmation of this Date, the Marbles join the Reign of *Minos* with the Invention of Iron by the *Idæi Dactyli*, when upon the burning of the Woods of Mount *Ida*, they observed the flowing of that Metal melted by the Fire; an Event, which, according to an antient Chronologist, cited by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* (2), falls in the Year of the World 2743, supposing the Christian *Æra* to have begun after the Year 4005.

*Eusebius* also favours this Opinion, by placing the Reign of *Minos* in the 32d Year of *Pandion's*, which is the 151st Year of the *Aitic Æra*, that is 26 Years later. But I reckon these Authors have lengthened too much the fabulous Age, since between *Minos* I. and *Idomeneus*, who, according to *Homer*, and all the Antients, assisted at the Siege of *Troy*, there are but five Persons, who make four Generations: *Minos* I. *Lycastrus*, *Minos* II. *Deucalion*, and *Idomeneus*, who was then but very young. Thus, reckoning, with *Hierodotus*, three Generations to an Age, and a half for *Idomeneus*, it will follow that *Minos* lived only 120 Years before the War of *Troy*: And that City having been taken, according to the most probable

(1) See *La Cerda* upon the sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

(a) *A quo Minos I. regnavit. L. instauravit. & ferrum inventum in Ida, inventoribus Idæis Dactylis, Colmi—regnante Ateneone, &c. Ep. 11.*

*Strom. l. 1.*



bable Opinion, in the Year before *Cbrist* 1184, we may fix the Date in Question, to the 1304th Year before the Christian *Æra*. We know not exactly how long this Prince reigned, the Passage where *Homer* (1) seems to give him a Reign of nine Years, being very ambiguous.

I said *Minos* had two Brothers, *Rbadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*: 'Tis proper before we go farther to recite their History.

*Rbadamanthus*, if we may believe *Apollodorus* (2), *Plato* (3), *Diodorus* (4), *St. Augustine* (5), and almost all the Antients, though some of them are not agreed in it, was *Minos's* Brother, who, according to *Plato*, made good Use of his Knowledge in composing his Laws, and in making them be exactly observed: He was a Prince of eminent Virtue, the most sober and moderate Man of his Time.

I know none but *Apollodorus* who says, that he returned into *Beotia*, after having assassinated his Brother *Amphitryon*; which, no doubt, relates to another Prince of the same Name, since 'tis certain, from the Testimony of all the Antients, that he whom we are now speaking of, went and settled in one of the Isles of the *Archipelago* in his Brother's Dominions, whether it was as some Authors alledge, that *Minos*, jealous of his Reputation, had obliged him to quit the Island of *Crete*; or rather, that he gave him that Dependency, to propagate by his Means the Knowledge of his Laws in *Asia*. *Diodorus* informs us, that he made several Conquests in the neighbouring Isles, not so much by Force of Arms, as by the Lenity of his Administration, several People having voluntarily submitted to his Government. It was this Equity and Love of Justice, that made him be ranked in the Number of the infernal Judges. *Rbadamanthus*, before his Death, divided his Dominions among his two Sons, and gave the Government of the Cities to his chief Officers.

All the Antients I said were not agreed that *Rbadamanthus*

(1) *Odyss.* 19. (2) *L.* 1. (3) In *Minos*. (4) *L.* 4. (5) *Civ. Dei*, l. 18.

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the Dean of Merit in San Lorenzo function. The King has nothing remarkable.

'Tis

**Subject:** \_\_\_\_\_

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*damantbus* was *Minos's* Brother, some of them making him only his Secretary, probably founding their Opinion upon what *Plato* says, that this Prince had made Use of him in digesting his Body of Laws. *Strabo* too lets us know, that *Rhadamanthus*, upon whose Model *Minos* formed himself, had lived long before him; had given Laws to *Crete*, and built therein several Cities. 'Tis perhaps he of whom *Pausanias* speaks (1), who according to the Poet *Cyneton*, was the Son of *Vulcan*, the Grand-Son of *Talus*, and Great-Grand-Son of *Ceres*. *Loerquer* (2) again is of Opinion that the Prince of this Name who reigned in *Lycia*, was not *Minos's* Brother, and he censures *Diodorus* and *Plato* for making him to have come from *Crete*. The same Author acknowledges a second *Rhadamanthus*, Brother to *Minos* II. a Lawgiver like the first; all this proves that there were several Persons of this Name.

*Sarpedon*, obliged to quit the Island of *Crete*, after that his Brother, with whom he disputed the Crown, had got the better of him, retired first into *Caria*, where he built the City *Miletum* (a), and after making some Stay there, he went farther into *Asia*, and arrived at last in the Country of the *Myliades*, which not long after took the Name of *Lycia*, from a Prince called *Lycus*, the Son of *Pandion* and Brother of *Egeus*, who retired thither, and was well received by *Sarpedon*, who had just founded there a small Kingdom, where he reigned in Peace the rest of his Days. After his Death, *Ervander* his Son ascended the Throne, as we read in *Diodorus*; but we must not confound this *Sarpedon* with the Grand-Son of *Bellerophon*, who also lived in the same Country, about 100 Years after, and who, according to *Homer*, *Iliad*, l. 6. led to the Siege of *Troy* those of the *Lycians* who inhabited in the Confines of the *Xanthus* (3).

After the Death of *Minos* I. his Son *Lycastus* succeeded him; but his Reign has nothing remarkable.

'Tis

(1) In *Arc.* (2) See his little Book intitled *Ien.*

(a) *Diodorus*, l. 5. *Herodotus*, l. 1. *Paul. in Atticis* *Stephanus*, &c.

(3) See the History of *Bellerophon*.

'Tis not so as to that of *Minos* II. his Son, whom I am going to speak of.

This Prince having ascended the Throne, became formidable to his Neighbours, made several Conquests in the adjacent Isles, and at length became Master of the Sea. *Thucydides*, *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and the other Antients, speak of the Successes of his Fleet, the most numerous that had been seen before ; and he would have had the Reputation of one of the greatest Princes of his Time, but for the unhappy Adventure I am going to relate. It disturbed the Peace of his whole Life, and gave the *Greeks* a Handle cruelly to asperse him with a thousand Calumnies.

The Celebration of the *Panathenaia* inviting to *Athens* all the Nobility of the Neighbourhood (a), *Minos* would needs send thither his Son *Androgeos* ; and this young Prince combated in those Games with such Address and good Fortune, that he won there all the Prizes, which procured him the Esteem of all the People, and the Friendship of the Sons of *Pallas*, *Aegeus's* Brother. The Intercourse of this young Prince with the *Pallantides* gave Umbrage to *Aegeus* the King of *Athens* : As he had not yet acknowledged *Theseus*, and had no other Children, he was afraid that, with *Minos's* Assistance, they might have it in their Power to dethrone him ; thus hearing that *Androgeos* was going to *Thebes*, he got him assassinated in the Town of *Oeneus* upon the Confines of *Attica*. *Minos* had no sooner heard this mournful Piece of News, than he resolved to revenge the Death of his Son. *Apollodorus* remarks (b), that he was then in the Island of *Paros*, offering a Sacrifice to the *Graces*, and that in the Paroxisms

(a) *Diodorus*, l. 1. *Apollod.* l. 3. *Plutarch* in *Theseo*, and *Servius* upon the sixth Book of the *Aeneid*.

(b) *Apollodorus*, l. 3. gives another Account of *Androgeos's* Death : He says this Prince was slain by the Bull of *Marathon*, which *Neptune* had sent into *Crete* to punish *Minos*, because he being Master of the Sea, did not acknowledge his Divinity. This Bull having ravaged the Island of *Crete*, crossed over the Sea, came into *Greece*, and having found *Androgeos* by the Way, destroyed him. But 'tis probable this Report was only spread to screen the Honour of *Egeus*, who had violated all the Laws of Hospitality.

roxisms of his Grief he dashed the Crown he had upon his Head to the Ground, and from that Time never wore a Crown at the Sacrifice of those Goddeffes.

*Minos's* Fleet being very soon prepared to set out, this Prince fell upon *Attica* before they had Time to put themselves into a Posture of Defence. *Nisa*, whom *Ovid*, by way of Anticipation, calls *Megara*, felt the first Brunt of his Arms. This City, adjoining to *Athens*, had its Name from *Nisus* the Brother of *Egeus*: After the following Manner, according to *Apollodorus* (1) and *Strabo*, did it fall to the younger Branch of the royal House of *Athens*. *Pandion*, whom a Faction had expelled his Kingdom, retired thither, and married the Daughter of *Pylos*, who then reigned there. By her he had four Sons; *Egeus*, who went and reigned at *Athens*; *Nisus*, who succeeded his Grandfather, and gave his Name to the City; *Pallas* and *Lycus*, who afterwards disputed the Crown with *Egeus*.

The History  
of *Sylla* and  
*Nisus*.

This City would have long stood out against the Enemy, had it not been for the Treachery of *Sylla* the Daughter of *Nisus*, who betrayed her Father. The Poets (2) say, that Prince's Destiny depended upon a red Hair he had in his Head (*a*), and that *Sylla* being in love with *Minos*, cut it out and made a Present of it to her Gallant (*b*). They add, that the Prince detesting this Piece of Treason, went off without speaking to her, and that *Sylla* having in Despair flung herself into the Sea, was transformed by the Gods into a *Lark*; that is to say, according to *Pausanias*, for this Adventure is true, that Princess held Correspondence with *Minos* during the Siege; gave him Intelligence of the most secret Resolutions of the Council; and at last

(1) L. 3. (2) *Ovid. Met. 1. 8.*

(*a*) *Pausanias, in Atticis*, says the Hairs of that Prince's Head were red.

(*b*) *Inter honoratos, medio de vertice canos  
Crines inherabat magni fiducia regni:  
Fatali Nata Parentem  
Crini suum spoliat.*

last gave him Admission into the Town by the Keys, which she took while her Father was asleep, and which *Ovid* probably intended under the Symbol of the fatal Hair.

Her Transformation into a Lark, as well as that of her Father into a Sea-Eagle, are merely poetical Ornaments, founded however upon two Equivocations connected with this Event, the one *Greek* and the other *Hebrew* ; for as *Ovid* plainly enough insinuates, the Name *Ciris*, comes from the *Greek* κείρειν, to clip :

*Ciris, & a tonsio est hoc nomen adepta capillo ;*

and that of *Nisus* from the *Hebrew* Neiz, which signifies a *Hawk*, a Fowl which very much resembles the Sea-Eagle :

. . . . Tunc pendeat in auras  
Et modo factus avis fulvis Habyætus in alis.

If we may credit *Apollodorus* (1), *Minos* himself ordered *Sylla* to be thrown into the Sea, or according to *Zenodotus*, to be hanged on his Ship-mast. *Huetius*, to keep up the Parallel between *Moses* and *Minos*, will have this Adventure to be the same with that which *Josephus* relates on occasion of *Tarbis*, who proposed to deliver up to *Moses* a City which he was besieging in *Ethiopia*, if he would marry her : But we would overturn all History, were we, upon every apparent Resemblance, to confound Events that are quite different. This whole History of *Minos* is true, notwithstanding the Fables superadded to it, and it is confirmed by all Antiquity.

*Ovid*, I said, has by Anticipation given the City *Nisa* the Name of *Megara*, which it did not get till after the Death of *Nisus* : For this I have the Authority of *Pausanias* (2), who tells us, that while *Minos* was besieging that City, *Megareus* came from *Onchestos* to the Relief of it, and that after the Death of *Nisus* and *Minos*'s Retreat, he had rebuilt the Walls thereof, and given it the Name of *Megara*. There was still to  
be

(1) L. 3. (2) In Attic.

be seen in that City, says the same Author, the sacred Hearth of the Gods called *Prodromei*, that is, those who were invoked before laying the Foundations of any Edifice whatever it was, to whom *Megaraeus* had offered Sacrifices, that they might be propitious to him. The same Author, I know, delivers another Tradition, which imported that it was not *Megaraeus* himself rebuilt that City, since he had been slain during the Siege, but his Son-in-law *Alcatbous*, who gave it the Name of *Megara*. Thus, 'tis still true that it had not this Name when it was besieged by *Minos*.

As Antiquity has hardly transmitted down to us any Fact, without a Mixture of Fiction, it was fabulously said that *Apollo* had assisted *Alcatbous* in rebuilding the Walls of *Nisa*; which imports that the Work was so fine, as to require a God to be the Architect. However famous this Expedition of *Minos* was, the *Megarians*, as we read in *Pausanias* (1) disowned the Fact, and affected to say they had never heard of his Name.

After the taking of *Nisa*, *Minos* went to lay Siege to the City of *Athens*, and he found it extremely desolate. Heaven had already declared for him (2); an extraordinary Heat and violent Drought having laid waste all *Greece*. The Oracle consulted gave Response, that in order to appease the Gods, *Eacus* must become the Intercessor for his Country; and that the Prayers of that Prince had already begun to mitigate them; but *Athens* and all *Attica* were nothing the better for them. In vain had the *Athenians*, in remembrance of an antient Oracle, which signified that they were one Day to be delivered from a great Famine, by sacrificing some female Strangers, offered up at the Tomb of the Cyclop *Cerastus*, the Daughters of *Hyacinthus* the *Lacedemonian*, who had come not long before and settled at *Athens*; the Desolation did not abate; and the City being still more distressed by the Famine than by the Enemy, sent once more to the Oracle; and had answer that the Gods would never give over afflicting them, till entire Satisfaction

was



was given to the King of *Crete*. The *Athenians* therefore immediately sent Ambassadors to him in the Condition of Suppliants (*a*), to beg Peace of him ; and the Prince granted it to them, on Condition that every ninth Year, according to *Plutarch* and *Ovid*, or every seventh Year, according to *Diodorus Siculus* and *Apollodorus*, the *Athenians* should send to him seven Youths, and as many Virgins. This Article being agreed to on both Sides, *Minos* raised the Siege and withdrew to *Crete*, carrying along with him those who were chosen by Lot to be the first Victims to the Preservation of their Country.

Here it is that the *Greeks*, to make this Prince odious, broached a Fable which afterwards made so much Noise. They said the King of *Crete* condemned the *Athenian* Youths, who were sent to him, to fight in the Labyrinth which *Dedalus* had built with the *Minotaur*, which was the Offspring of the infamous Passion of *Pasiphae* his Queen, for a white Bull which *Neptune* had produced from the Sea ; that *Dedalus*, who was obliged to leave *Athens*, and remove to *Crete*, as shall be said immediately, had favoured that monstrous Passion of the Queen, in the Manner that *Apollodorus* relates (*i*), and which is but too well understood from the Verses of *Virgil* (*b*) : That from this Conjunction sprung the *Minotaur*, a Monster, which, according to *Euripides*, cited by *Plutarch*, was half Man, half Bull, which *Ovid* thus expresses :

*Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem.*

All the Stages of *Greece* resounded afterwards with the Story of this Intrigue (*c*).

VOL. III.

K k

To

(*a*) That is to say, according to *Plutarch*, having upon their Heads Crowns of Leaves, and in their Hands Boughs wrapped about with Fillets of white Wool. *Plutarch in Theseo.*

(*i*) Lib. 3.

(*b*) *Hic crudelis amor Tauri, suppositaque furis*

*Pasiphae, mistumque genus, prolesque bisformis*

*Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandæ.* *Æn.* 1. 6.

Consult also *Plutarch*, *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*.

(*c*) All the other Poets speak much the same Way with those now quoted. *Propertius*, l. 2. Ep. 32.

To make this Fable the more credible, and to intermix with it something supernatural, they added, that *Minos* was wont to sacrifice every Year to *Neptune* the fairest of his Bulls; that one Day he saw one so beautiful that he was charmed with him; and, instead of making him a Sacrifice, kept him for a Breed; with which the God of the Sea was so incensed, that he inspired *Pasiphae* with the absurd Passion now mentioned (a).

'Tis obvious that it was the Hatred of the *Greeks* against *Minos* that made them invent this Fable; *Plato* (1) says to this Purpose, that the advantageous Character which *Homer* and *Hesiod* had given of this great Prince, availed him nothing against the Malice of his Enemies; and *Plutarch* adds, that it is dangerous to provoke a knowing People, who have it always in their Power to take Revenge (2). But as Fables have always some Foundation, let us see what may have given Rise to this.

There is no Probability of its having been what *Lætan* alledges (3), that *Pasiphae* had learned from *Dædalus* that Part of Astronomy which relates to the Constellations, especially the Sign of the Bull: For what Affinity can that Science have with so infamous a Fable? 'Tis better therefore to say with *Servius* (4),

*Uxorem quondam magni Minois, ut aiunt,  
Corripuit torvi candida forma bovis.*

*Silius Italicus*, l. 8. says much to the same Purpose;

*Hinc genus orditur Minos, immixtaque Tauro  
Pasiphae.*

But *Virgil* has far surpassed them all in his Relation of this Fable in the sixth Eclogue, where he makes the old *Silvius* thus speak:

*Et fortunatam si nunquam armenta fuissent,  
Pasiphaen nivei selatur amore Juvenci.*

*Perfius* in like Manner, Ep. 5.

*Junctam Pasiphaen Diædo, credite, Tauro  
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.*

which, by the Way, shews us that the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks* in representing this Fable with too much Freedom upon their Stages.

(a) *Hyginus* gives another Cause of it, whereof we shall speak afterwards.

(1) In *Minos*. (2) In *Theseo*. (3) De *Astrol.* (4) Upon the sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

*Tzetzes*, and *Zenobius*, who seem to have learned it from *Apollodorus*, whose Works were not so disfigured in their Time as they are at present, that in *Minos's* Absence, or as *Palephatus* has it, during a long Indisposition he was under, *Pasiphae* fell in Love with a young Lord of the Court at *Crete*, named *Taurus*, who, according to *Plutarch*, was also Admiral of *Minos's* Fleet; that *Dedalus* was the Confident in this Intrigue, and to keep it concealed, lent his House to the two Lovers. These Authors add that *Pasiphae* was delivered of Twins, of whom the one resembled *Minos*, and the other *Taurus*, which gave Rise to the Fable of the *Minotaur*. But, without having Recourse to this pretended Resemblance, 'tis obvious that the very Name of *Taurus*, the sworn Enemy of the *Greeks*, for Reasons to be mentioned afterwards, was more than enough to give a Handle for the Fable of this Monster, to whom they would have it believed that the Choice of the *Atbenian* Youth was exposed.

What *Palephatus* says of *Minos's* Indisposition, is not without Foundation; and he was cured of it by *Procris* when she retired into *Crete* after the Breach with her Husband *Cephalus*. *Minos* even fell so in Love with her, as we learn from *Apollodorus* (1), that he quite neglected *Pasiphae*, who, on the other Hand, during that Time made up the Intrigue with the young Admiral just now mentioned; and this is undoubtedly what makes *Ovid* say,

*Pasiphaes Minos in Procnide perdidit ignes.*

where, instead of *Procnide*, we must read *Procris*, as *Meziriac* first remarked (2). *Apollodorus* adds, that *Procris* was forced very soon to depart from *Crete* to escape the Fate of *Minos's* other Mistresses, who were destroyed by Vipers, so soon as he approached them, *Pasiphae* having rubbed him with some Kind of Herb which attracted those Insects; which imports, no doubt, that the jealous Queen put her Rivals to Death

K k 2

by

(1) L. 5. in *fat.* (2) Upon the Epist. of *Phœdra* and *Hippolitus*.

by the Poison she extracted from Vipers, or in some other Way which we know not; and what confirms my Conjecture, is, that *Pasiphae* was reckoned the Daughter of the *Sun*, as well as *Circe*, probably for no other Reason, but because she, like the other, was skilled in Simples, and the Composition of Poisons. This is what gave Rise to another Fable told by *Hyginus*, importing that it was *Venus* threw the Queen of *Crete* into the Disorder we have been describing, to be avenged of the *Sun* her Father, who had viewed too near, and so divulged her Commerce with the God *Mars*.

But since, in Fact, there never was such a Monster as the *Minotaur* of the Poets, and consequently the Fable which makes the *Athenian* Youth to have been exposed to it is without Foundation; what then became of those who were sent to *Crete*, in Consequence of the Treaty made with *Minos*, and of whom the Tax was three times paid (*a*)? *Philochorus*, quoted by *Plutarch*, says the King of *Crete* had instituted Funeral Games in Honour of *Androgeos*, wherein those unhappy Slaves were assigned as the Prize of the Conquerors. The first, according to the same Authors (*b*), who bore away all the Prizes there, was *Taurus*, a Man of an insolent and tyrannical Disposition, who was very harsh to those of the *Athenians* who were delivered up to him, which contributed not a little to the Fable we have explained, since it is certain that the *Greeks* never fought at those Games, nor were destroyed by the Cruelty of a Monster that never existed. *Aristotle* too informs us that they often grew old in their Thralldom, obliged to earn their Living by the most painful Drudgery (*c*). *Plutarch* adds, after this Philosopher, that those unhappy Wretches once made their Escape, and that having passed over into *Apulia*, they remained there for some Time, and went afterwards into *Thrace*, where they formed the

Republic

(*a*) *Ovid* says it was paid four Times.

(*b*) See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Tiberius*.

(*c*) 'Tis *Plutarch* quotes the Republic of the *Boeotians* of that Philosopher; but this Work is not now extant.

Republic of the *Beoticians*. Their Daughters repeated from that Time on their Festival-days this short Burden of a Song : *Let us go to Athens*.

But waving this, *Theseus* at this Time having quitted his Residence at *Trezen*, where he had been bred up, offered to go to *Crete* with the other *Athenian* Youths, without even waiting to see if the Lots should favour him, as we learn from *Plutarch* (1), and *Catullus* (a), contrary to what we read in *Diodorus* (2), which seems more suitable to the Character of that Prince, who had undertaken to tread in the Steps of his Cousin *Hercules*. This young Heroe having obtained his Father's Permission, and the other Youths having cast Lots, prepared to set out for *Crete*. While the Ship was getting ready for their Transportation, a vast Number of Sacrifices were offered to propitiate the Gods (3); and *Theseus* being in the *Phalerean* Harbour, offered a solemn Vow to *Apollo*, as we read in *Macrobius* (4), after *Pherecydes*, promising to send every Year to the Island of *Delos*, to offer him a Sacrifice. We are further told, that this Prince having consulted the Oracle, was informed, that the Way to procure a favourable Voyage, was to take Love for his Guide; and upon this Response he sacrificed to that Divinity upon the Shore a She-goat, which was transformed into a He-goat; whence *Venus* got the Surname of *Epitragios* (5); and hence, according to *Pausanias* (6), came the Custom among the *Eleans*, of representing that Goddess sitting upon a He-goat.

After all the Ceremonies were over, *Theseus* set sail, and the Wind being favourable, he arrived at

K k 3

*Crete*

(1) In *Theseo*.

(a) *Nam perhibent olim crudeli peste Coactam  
Androgeonæ pœnas exsolvere cædis  
Electos juvenes; simul & decus innuptarum  
Cecropium solitam esse dapem dare Minotauro:  
Quis angusta malis cum mœnia vexarentur,  
Ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis  
Projicere optavit, &c.* Catull. in Epith. Pelei & Thetidis.

*Iscrates*, in his Panegyric on *Helen*, says much the same Thing.

(2) L. 4. (3) *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*. (4) Lib. i. Sat. c. 17. (5) *Plutarch* in *Theseo*. (6) In *Eliacis*.

*Crete* in a very short Time. The fine Address of this young Heroe soon drew upon him the Eyes of *Ariadne*, *Minos's* Daughter, who gave him a Clew, which he happily made use of to find his Way out of the Labyrinth after vanquishing the *Minotaur*, as we are told by *Ovid* (a) and *Catullus* (b), after all the Historians, who, as *Plutarch* observes, are in this unanimous with the Poets; namely, that *Ariadne* taught her Lover to vanquish *Taurus*, furnishing him with Arms; and by the Clew I reckon we are to understand the Draught and Plan of the Labyrinth which the Princess gave him, and whereof he made use to find his Way thence after his Encounter: And what confirms my Conjecture, *Eustatbius*, upon the first Book of the *Odyssey*, and *Lutatius*, upon the second *Thebaid*, informs us that *Ariadne* had received that Clew from *Dedalus* himself; which can only be understood of the Plan of the Labyrinth.

*Philochorus* in *Plutarch* relates in another Manner the History of this Combat, that antient Author alleging that *Theseus* encountered *Taurus* not in the Labyrinth, but in a public Place, where the Games were celebrated in Honour of *Androgeos*: And that this young Heroe, animated by the Presence of the fair *Ariadne*, defeated *Taurus*, which gave great Joy to all, even to *Minos* himself, who was thus rid of a formidable Rival. *Palephatus* still recedes more from the common Opinion. The Son of *Pasiphae* and *Taurus* making great Desolation in the Mountains to which *Minos* had confined him, this Prince, says he, sent all the *Athenian* Slaves to combat with him; and *Theseus* having gone thither in his Turn, put him to Death with the Sword which his Mistress *Ariadne* had given him.

Lastly, *Pausanias* (1) says *Theseus* fought and  
defeated

(a) *Atque ope Virginea, nullis iterata priorum,  
Janua difficilis filo est inventa relicto.* *Ovid Met.* l. 8.

(b) *Inde pedem victor multa cum laude reflexit  
Errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo.*

*Catull. Epithal. Pelei & Thetidis.*

(1) In *Corinth*.

defeated *Asterion* the Son of *Minos*, a Prince of uncommon Strength and Courage, and that this Victory was the greatest Exploit of the *Athenian* Heroe. But the same Author, always too credulous, or who has not Courage to declare openly against the antient Fictions of the *Greeks*, speaking of the Picture which was at *Athens*, representing the Combat of *Theseus* with the *Minotaur*, adds: "Whatever this was, whether a Man, or a Monster, as we are rather inclined to believe; and to say the Truth, we have heard of Women who brought forth Monsters still more extraordinary."

Whatever be in that, there always remains in the Circumstances of this Story, some kind of Obscurity, which it is not easy to see through. For how is it that *Theseus* fought with *Taurus*, since, according to *Aristotle* (1) the *Athenians* did not fight in *Andrageos's* Games, being reserved to be the Prize of the Conquerors? Shall we say that this Prince was distinguished upon account of his Rank, and that he went to *Crete*, as we are told by *Diodorus*, only upon Condition that if he was Conqueror he should deliver his Country from the Tribute which they paid to the King of *Crete*? But this will not quite solve the Difficulty. Was it out of the Labyrinth these Games were celebrated, as has been now said? In that Case what Occasion had *Theseus* for *Ariadne's* Thread? Did *Minos* know that *Taurus* was his Rival? Was it not easier for him to take away his Life than to confine him in Prison? In fine, was it against the Son of *Pasiphae* and *Taurus*, whom *Apollodorus* names *Asterius*, that *Theseus* fought, and who at the Time of paying this fourth Tribute, must have been upwards of twenty-five Years? which *Ovid* seems plainly enough to insinuate (a). These are so many Difficulties which it is impossible to clear up.

K k 4

*Theseus*

(1) In *Plutarch*.

(a) *Creverat opprobrium generis, sedumque patebat  
Matris adulterium monstri novitate bisformis;  
Destinat hunc Minos thalamis removere pudorem,  
Multiplicique domo, cæcisque includere testis.* Met. l. 8.

*The Sequel of Theseus's Adventure.* *Theseus*, victorious over the *Minotaur*, departed from *Crete*, and carried along with him the beautiful *Ariadne*; but arriving in the Island of *Naxos* or *Dia*, he abandoned her, as we learn from *Diodorus*, *Catullus*, *Ovid* (a), and several other Authors. *Bacchus*, who met her upon the Shore, falling in love with her, married her, and made her a Present of a fine Crown, which was afterwards transformed into a Star. The young *Egle*, if we may believe *Hesiod*, according to *Plutarch*, was the Occasion of *Theseus's* Inconstancy; but the Verse of that antient Poet where this was said, is not to be found in his Works: *Pisistratus*, according to the Historian *Herodotus*, having cancelled it for the Honour of the *Athenians*, thinking at the same time to cancel the Memory of the *Athenian* Hero's Falshood. *Plutarch*, however, is of Opinion that *Oenarus*, the Priest of *Bacchus*, ravished from him that young Princess; which afflicted him to such a Degree, that forgetting to hang out the white Flag, as his Father had enjoined him, that Prince seeing from the Top of a Rock, whither his Impatience had led him, his Son's Ship all in Mourning, believed he was dead, and in Despair threw himself down into the Sea. *Pausanias* adds (1) to this Story, that a Chapel was built to *Victory*, with a Statue without Wings, to figure that the News of the Victory which *Theseus* won over the *Minotaur*, had not arrived in due Time.

The *Greeks* gave out, that this Prince by his Death, had communicated the Name of *Egean* to the Sea which is near *Athens*; but *Bocbart* confutes them, and shews it to have been from the Ruggedness of the Promontaries that this Sea took its Name, as much as

10

(a) . . . . . : *Dian*

*Vela dedit, comitemque suam crudelis in illo*

*Littore deseruit. . . . . Met. l. 8.*

Almost all the Antients are of this Opinion: *Diodorus*, l. 4. *Apollonius*, l. 4. of the *Argon.* *Laetantius*, l. 1. c. 10. *Alciphron*, Epistle of *Glyceria* to *Menander*, *Nonnus Dion.* 47. *Catullus*, Epithal. *Thetidis & Pelei*, *Hygin.* Fab. 43, and *Pausanias* in his *Attics*.

(1) in *Attic.*



Chap. VIII. explained by HISTORY. 505

to say, the Sea of Goats, *mare capræ*, *ab asperitate pilorum capræ*; *comparatione ducta a capris* (1). There is also another Etymology given of this Denomination, which comes much to the same Sense; namely, that the Waves of this Sea frisk like Goats with every Breath of Wind.

I chose rather to follow this Tradition concerning *Ariadne* than that which represents *Theseus* as highly ungrateful: For what Probability is there, that if *Theseus* had really abandoned this young Princess by the basest of all Perfidiousness, *Deucalion*, after the Death of *Minos*, would have given him *Phedra* her other Sister in Marriage? Some Authors, I know, will have it, that he carried off the two Sisters at once, and that he brought only *Phedra* to *Athens*, having abandoned *Ariadne* in the Island of *Naxos*, where she hanged herself in Despair: But *Plutarch* justly refutes them, since this Princess lived long enough to have by *Onarus* several Children, among whom are reckoned *Oenopion* and *Staphilus*, whom some believe to be *Theseus's* Son.

*Pausanias* (2) delivers a Tradition of the *Argives*, which throws a new Obscurity upon all these Events; but these popular Traditions were founded only upon frivolous Conjectures. The *Argives* shewed *Ariadne's* Tomb; and what they delivered upon that Occasion was to this Effect. *Bacchus* having declared War upon them, came from the *Ægean* Islands with a great Number of Women; but he who then commanded the *Argive* Troops having cut them all off, they were buried in the very Place of Battle; and their Tomb was still called in the Time of *Pausanias*, the Tomb of the Marines. *Bacchus* afterwards made Peace with the *Argives*, and chose their City for *Ariadne's* Burying Place, near the Temple which they had raised to himself under the Name of *Bacchus Cretius*, or the *Cretan*. *Pausanias* adds, *Lenceus* wrote, that when that Temple was repaired, an Urn of Earth had been found there containing the Ashes of that Princess.

(1) Chap. I. 1. c. 15. (2) In Corinth. c. 22 & 23.

Princess, and that several *Argives* had seen that Um-

In fine, *Homer* (1) follows another Tradition, and says it was *Diana* detained *Ariadne* in the Island of *Naxos*, upon *Bacchus's* Testimony : A Fiction which may be explained with a great deal of Probability, by saying, *Homer* designed thereby to intimate, that *Ariadne* died in that Island, either suddenly, or by an untimely Death.

Fables about *Ariadne's* Crown.

We must not omit here, that *Ariadne's* Crown, which I have transiently mentioned, gave Rise to several Fables : Let us trace them to their Source. *Theseus* had taken along with him the young Slaves which were destined by Lot to follow him (a). The handsome *Peribæa*, who was of the Number, captivated *Minos's* Affection ; and that Prince having a Mind to take her into the Number of his Mistresses, *Theseus* opposed it, and resolved to protect the Innocence of the young Slave at the Hazard of his Life. *Pausanias* (2) and *Hyginus* add, that *Minos* on this Occasion loaded the *Athenian* Prince with many Reproaches, especially upon Account of his Birth, telling him that if he was the Son of *Neptune*, he would make no Difficulty to dive to the Bottom of the Sea for a Ring, which he threw into it to banter him. *Theseus*, stung with this Reproach, jump'd into the Sea, and some Dolphins having taken him upon their Backs, conveyed him to the Palace of *Ampbitrite*, who delivered the Ring to him with a fine Crown, the Work of *Vulcan*, which he gave to *Ariadne*, and which was afterwards placed among the Stars, as we read in *Ovid* and *Manilius* (b).

Several

(1) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(a) *Servius*, upon the sixth *Æneid*, has preserved their Names, tho' somewhat disfigured. Thus they are restored by *Maurus* in his *Theseus* ; the Names of the Youths were *Hippocorbas*, *Antimachus*, *Mnestheus*, *Phidochus*, *Demolion*, and *Periction* : The Virgins were *Medippe*, *Jesone*, *Andromache*, *Pimedusa*, *Europa*, *Melitta*, and *Peribæa*.

(2) In *Attic. Poet. Astron.* l. 6.

(b) *Protinus aspiciens, venienti nocte Coronam Gnossida, Theseo crimine facta Dea est.*

*Ovid. Fast.* l. 5.

*Geog.*

Several other Fables are propagated as to this same Crown: *Hyginus* (1) alledges that it was by the sparkling of the Diamonds of which it was composed, that *Theseus* found his Way out of the Labyrinth; which would imply that it was made up of precious Stones, though some Antients quoted by *Meursius* (2) tell us it consisted only of Flowers, reciting on this Occasion the Fable of the Nymph *Psilachas*, who had given it to *Bacchus*, on Condition that this God, with whom she was in Love, would gratify her Passion; but being slighted by the God, upon his giving away the Crown to her Rival, she killed herself in Despair, and was transformed into a Plant of the same Name, as we are told by *Ptolomy Ephestion* in *Photius*; a Fable founded undoubtedly upon the Resemblance of that Nymph's Name to that of the Plant; and in this there is no Difficulty. We cannot say the same as to the preceding Fiction; for 'tis not agreed that it was *Theseus* but *Bacchus* himself, who gave the Crown to *Ariadne*. Farther, what could be intended by the Adventure of the Ring thrown into the Sea and recovered by *Theseus*? I own I have nothing plausible to offer upon this Head. 'Tis impossible to explain all the Fables; and this same, I presume, has no other Foundation but some Proof which *Theseus* gave *Minos*, to convince him that *Neptune* was really his Father.

From *Naxos*, *Theseus* went to *Delos*; where he consecrated a Statue of *Venus*, made by *Dedalus's* Hand. As *Ariadne* had given it to him, he would carry nothing with him into *Greece*, which might revive the sad Remembrance of that unfortunate Princess (a). In the same Island, to perpetuate the Memory of his Victory over the *Minotaur*, *Theseus* instituted a kind

*Gnossia desertæ fulgent monumenta puellæ.*

- - - - - *Tollentur ab undis*

*Clara Ariadnæ quondam monumenta Coronæ.*

*Manilius*, l. 1. & 5.

(1) *Cæli Astron.* l. 1. (2) In *Theseo*.

(a) *Aristotle*, l. 5. upon the *Soul*, says, this Statue was a Kind of *Automaton*, which moved of itself by Means of Quick-silver, which *Dedalus* had lodged in the Muscles that served it for Springs.

kind of Dance, named *the Crane* (1), wherein they imitated the Windings of the Labyrinth; and we are further told that our Heroe performed this Dance about that famous Altar which was made of the Horns of Animals. The Description given of this Dance by the Learned (a), proves that it bore a considerable Resemblance to our modern Country-Dances.

The first Thing *Theseus* did upon his Return to *Athens*, was to pay the last Duties to his Father; and in Gratitude to the Gods for the Success of his Voyage, he instituted in their Honour several Feasts, the Expence whereof was to be defrayed by the Families of those whom he had brought back from *Crete* (b). He also had a piece of Money coined, whereon was stamped the Figure of a Bull (c). But nothing so much signalized the Commemoration of this Event, as the Care that was taken afterwards to perform the Vow which he had made of sacrificing to *Apollo*. Accordingly they never failed to send every Year to *Delos* Deputies crowned with Olive-Branches; which Embassy was called *Theoria*, as you would say, *The Visitation of the God*. In this Voyage the same Ship was employed on which *Theseus* had embarked, and in the Preservation whereof so great Care was taken, that it was always in good Condition; which makes *Callimachus*

(1) *Dicæarchus* in *Plutarch*.

(a) The following Description of it is given by *Scaliger*, Poet. l. 1. c. 18. *Plures erant simul, verum certis ordinibus utrinque a capitibus lævi duces, versus certos inter se subeuntes implicabent: iam Theseus γέγονον vocavit tum ob aciem, tum prepter commutationem certis legibus servatam.*

(b) The Principal of these Feasts was called *Κυβερνοσία*, quasi *Gubernatoria*, in Honour of his Pilots *Nausibæus* and *Phæaces*, who were of *Salamis*, to whom he raised a Monument in the *Phaleræan* Harbour near *Sciron's* Tomb.

(c) Some Authors will have it that it was not so much in Allusion to his Combat in *Crete*, as to that in which he had slain the Bull of *Marathon*: Or perhaps by the Symbol of that Animal to incline the People to Agriculture. The *Romans*, as we learn from *Rossinus*, *Antiq. Rom.* l. 10. c. 5. and *Vossius*, *de Idol.* l. 3. c. 28. before the Time of *Cæsar Marius*, bore upon their Ensigns the Figure of the *Minotaur*, especially in secret Expeditions, to teach the Soldiers religious Secrecy, as *Festus* remarks.

*macbus* say in his Hymn to *Delos*, that it was immortal. In Fact, during the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, when that Poet flourished, that is, near a thousand Years after the Death of *Theseus*, this Ship was still subsisting, as also the Custom of sending it to *Delos*. From the Moment the High Priest began to purify the Vessel, no Prisoner was allowed to be put to Death at *Athens*.

*Plutarch* relates a pleasant Dispute between the Greek Philosophers in Relation to this Ship still renewed : Some alledging it was the same, and others that as there was not one Plank of the old one remaining, it was absolutely another. What Acuteness did it require to decide this Question ?

But 'tis Time to resume the History of *Minos*, whence I was diverted by this necessary Digression.

After *Theseus's* Escape, the King of *Crete*, to be revenged on *Dædalus*, who had favoured the Queen's Amours, shut him up in the Labyrinth with his Son *Icarus*. As he knew all its Mazes, he found no great Difficulty to extricate himself ; and having got a Ship which *Pasiphae* had provided for him, he fixed Sails to it (1), the Use whereof was not then known in Greece, as we learn from *Pausanias* and *Palephatus*, and by that Means outstripped *Minos's* Galley which pursued him with Oars. His Son *Icarus* (2) having arrived in an Island very remote from the Continent, and endeavouring to come ashore too precipitantly, fell into the Sea and was drowned ; or not having Skill enough to manage his Barge, as we learn from *Pausanias* (3), perished near the Island of *Samos*. 'Tis well known how the Poets have veiled this Escape under the ingenious Fiction of Wings, whereof *Dædalus* is said to have invented the Use (a) ; and in what

(1) Diodorus, l. 5. & Hygin. Fab. 42. (2) Diod. loc. cit.  
(3) In Beot.

(a) *Horace* thus speaks of them, Od. l. 1.

*Expertus vacuum Dædalus æva  
Pennis non homini datis.*

*Virgil* calls these Wings *Remigium alarum* ; *Juvenal*, Sat. 1. and *Ovid*

what Manner the young and adventurous *Icarus*, for not having followed the wise Counsel of his Father, who recommended to him not to soar too high, lest the Heat of the Sun should melt the Wax with which his Wings were fastened, while he himself flew near the Surface of the Water, or even took Care, as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks, to moisten his Wings from Time to Time, lest they should be overheated. But it is to be observed, that those Antients who say the *Icarian Sea* had taken its Name from the Son of *Dædalus*, among whom are *Diodorus* and *Ovid* :

- - - *Nomenque* - - - *traxit ab illo.*

And in another Place :

*Icarus Icaris nomina fecit aquis.*

are mistaken, since that Part of the *Ægean Sea*, which is near *Samos*, was so called upon Account of the Isle *Icaure*, which imports *Fishy*, in the *Phœnician* Language, as is observed by the learned *Bochart* (a).

*Dædalus* having arrived in *Sicily*, found at *Cocalus's* Court a Retreat, which other Princes had refused him, for Fear that *Minos*, who was very powerful by Sea, should come and demand him by Force of Arms (1); which accordingly happened : For that Prince after searching for him in several Places, got Information that he was in that Island, and arriving there in a little Time after, summoned *Cocalus* to a Surrender of his Prisoner. He being loath to violate the Laws of Hospitality, or rather, as *Diodorus* remarks (2), having no Mind to part with so celebrated a Person, and one who

*Ovid. Met. l. 8.* say the same. *Pausanias, l. 9.* explains this Fable as I have now said ; *Dædalus è Creta fugiens sibi & Icaro parem non magna ædificavit navigia, & vela quæ nondum ea ætate inventa fuerant navibus applicuit.* This is only to be understood of *Greece*, where this Invention, so antient among the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, was not yet known in the Time of *Minos*.

(a) Itaque ut Græce *Ichthiufa*, hoc est piscosa, a piscium ubertate, ita *Phœniciè* dicta est *I-caure*, insula piscium, unde Græcorum *Ἰκαρίας*, quomodo in *Sicilia* *Heccaura*, id est sinus piscium, factum sit *Hiccara*. *Bochart, Chan. l. 1. c. 8.*

(1) *Diod. l. 4.* (2) *Loc. cit.*

who had signalized himself in that Island by several fine Works, entreated *Minos* to come to *Camicus* to treat of the Affair in an amicable Manner. That Prince went thither, and at first was treated with all Manner of Civility ; but *Cocalus* having invited *Minos* to use the Bath, had him conveyed into a Bagnio, where he was suffocated with the Heat. This Account of his Death is given by *Diodorus* (1), and all the Antients.

According to *Hyginus*, *Conon*, quoted in *Photius* (2), *Pausanias* (3), *Eusebius* (4), *Zenobius* (5), and some others, it was *Cocalus*'s own Daughters, who being charmed with the little Pieces of Clock-work which *Dedalus* made them for their Amusement, that put *Minos* to Death in the Bath ; and this needs not appear very strange, since of old the Daughters, even of Kings, put their Guests into the Bath, as we learn from *Albeneus* (6), who adds, that they performed their Part with so much Modesty, that the most rigid Virtue could not have taken Offence at it.

The King of *Sicily* having put the best Face he could upon this Death, delivered up the Body of *Minos* to his Soldiers, who interred it secretly ; and *Diodorus* remarks, that in order the better to conceal the Place of his Burial, they built over it a Temple to *Venus*, which became very famous. The same Author adds, that some Ages after, when they came to build near that Spot of Ground the Walls of the City *Agrigentum*, this Tomb was discovered, and after they had gathered up the Ashes of that Prince, they sent them to the Island of *Crete*. Thus died in a foreign Land *Minos* II. who would have had the Character of one of the greatest Princes of his Time, but for the Hatred of the tragic Poets, who omitted nothing that might render his Memory odious.

*Socrates* being interrogated why a Prince, whom *Homer* and *Hesiod* had praised, passed for a Tyrant (7) ? answers,

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Narrat. 25. (3) In Achaic. (4) In Chron. (5) Cent. 4. Proverb. 92. (6) L. 10. (7) *Plato's* Dialogue, entitled *Minos*.

answers, it was owing to his having waged War with *Athens*, and exacted that cruel Tribute which we have spoke of. This, says he, is the Source of all the evil Surmises that have been spread concerning him, tho', in other Respects, he was a Man of Probity; but we are to observe, that *Plato* and *Socrates* still confound the two *Minos's*, ascribing to the first what *Homer* says of the second.

*Maurusius*, *Marsham*, and several others, are of Opinion that *Minos II.* was the Lawgiver and Judge of Hell; two Titles which I have taken from him, and assigned them to his Grandfather; and the Reasons which determined me to it are these.

*First*, 'Tis no Wonder that the Antients fell into this Mistake, since almost all of them have confounded the two Princes I have spoke of, as also their Adventures. As they knew but one *Minos*, they were obliged to make him Judge of Hell and Legislator, and the Subject of the Fables of the *Minotaur* (a). This was their Way as to all those who bore the same Name: They charged the History of the best known and commonly of the latest, with the Actions of all the rest: Of this the History of *Jupiter of Crete*, of *Theban Hercules*, and several others, are convincing Proofs. I know none but *Homer* and *Diodorus* who have distinguished the two *Minos's*; and the Verse in the *Greek Poet* is even very ambiguous (1): 'Tis hard to say, as *Madam Dacier* has remarked (b), whether he means that *Jupiter* was the first Father of *Minos*, or if he was the Father of *Minos I.* But let us take it in the most natural Sense; for tho' there were some Ambiguity in the Expression of this Poet, 'tis certain that he never designed to say what is inferred from the first Sense; and we shall see in the Sequel, that he makes the elder to have been the Legislator

(a) What contributed especially to make these two Princes be confounded, is, that there was none between them but *Lycastus*, whose Reign had nothing in it remarkable.

(1) *Iliad*. l. 13.

(b) Remarks upon the third Book *ὅς παῖτος Μινῶα τῆς*, not as *Enstathius* read it, *ὅς παῖτος Μινῶα τῆς*.



gislator and Judge of Hell, since in the nineteenth Book of the *Odyssey* he calls him who had these two Titles the Son and Disciple of *Jupiter*; which cannot agree to *Minos* II, who is known to have had *Lycaſtus* for his Father. *Diodorus* indeed plainly distinguishes these two Princes; but he has not been so happy in distinguishing what belonged to each of them, since he makes the second to have been the Legislator and infernal Judge. As he only compiles from the Antients, often without examining them, not remembering in the fifth Book what he had said in the fourth, he asserts that *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon* were Brothers to *Minos* II. tho' he had expressly said they were Brothers to the first.

But it will be said, what Authority can be produced in support of this Opinion? I may answer first, that in a Point of Criticism, which has not been thoroughly examined, there is no Necessity for the express Testimony of the Antients; in that Case the Thing would be absolutely decided; but if we can but find a reasonable Probability, it is sufficient to found an Opinion upon. Now I have more than Probability for my Hypothesis. Is it to be thought that a Prince, who in his Youth made many Conquests over his Neighbours, and made himself Master of the Sea; who, in a more advanced Age, had to revenge by Force the Death of a Son, to punish the Falshood of a Spouse, to chastise the Insolence of a Rival; to pursue a fugitive Prisoner, and who died a violent Death; is it to be thought, I say, that he had Time and Tranquillity enough to give Laws, to go into a Cave for the Space of nine Years, or every ninth Year to devise them at his Leisure? To digest Laws so salutary as those now in question, requires a long Tract of Peace; whereas we find nothing but Broils and domestic Grievances in the Life of *Minos* II. Farther, would ever the *Greeks* have given the Character of a wise Lawgiver, and placed at the Head of the infernal Judges, a King whom they made it their Business to asperse and defame in their

Satyrs? Would their great Men have travelled to *Crete* to collect the Laws of a Prince whom they turned to Ridicule upon their Stages? Would they have associated with *Eacus* their great Heroe in Piety and Justice, a Man whom they reckoned a Tyrant, and the Persecuter of their Nation? But the Chronicle of *Paros*, which so plainly distinguishes these two Princes, a Work done by public Authority, which has been followed by the *Athenians*, not to mention other Nations who made the same Use of it, is it not equivalent to the Testimony of one at least, if not of several Historians? And is it not of much greater Antiquity than most of those who are quoted every Day for such Facts? 'Tis therefore the antient *Minos*, whose Wisdom and firm Attachment to Justice have been so much cried up, who is the Lawgiver and the infernal Judge. But an exact Comparison of these two Princes, founded upon the most authentic Testimonies of Antiquity, will undeniably settle their Distinction and Characters, so as to leave no Room for Mistake, or for alledging that this Distinction relies only upon bare Conjectures.

*Minos* I. was the Son of *Jupiter*, or rather of *Asterius* and *Europa*, according to all the Authors whom I have quoted (a). *Minos* II. was the Son of *Lycastus* and *Ida*, the Daughter of *Corybas*, as we learn from *Diodorus*. The one had two Brothers, *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*; the other was an only Son. The first, according to *Diodorus*, had only two Children, *Lycastus* and *Acacallide*; the second, according to the same Author and *Plutarch*, had a greater Number, *Androgeos*, *Glaucus*, *Deucalion*, *Molus*, *Pbedra*, and *Ariadne*. The Wife of the first was called *Libone*, that of the second *Pasiphaë*; to this all are agreed. The one was a pacific Prince, a Lover of Justice and Retirement; the other loved War, made many Conquests, and his domestic Calamities left him not one Moment's Repose; for this Article I have a Cloud of

(a) *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, *St. Augustine*, *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, &c.

of Witnesses. The first, according to the eleventh Era of the Marbles, lived in the Time of *Pandion* . King of *Athens* ; the other, according to the twentieth Era, in the Time of *Egeus*. The one died, and was buried in *Crete* ; the other ended his Days in *Sicily*. The one flourished 120 or 130, the other only 35 or 40 Years before the *Trojan War*. Would we desire more Marks of Distinction, and Characters more different ? As to the first, the Method of Generations is the only one that now remains. There are four between *Minos I.* namely, *Lycastus*, *Minos II.* *Deucalion*, and *Idomeneus* ; whereas we find only two from *Minos II.* to that Siege, at which his Grandson assisted. And let it not be said that the antient Generations are often curtailed ; since it would be easy to answer, 1. That we have no other Rule for fixing those antient Dates but that of the Generations now remaining. 2. That we are not to recede from this Rule upon bare Possibility, since, by having Recourse to a perhaps, we may overthrow the whole History of that Age, and of all others too. 3. That the Distance which the Chronicle of *Paros* puts between these two Princes, perfectly agrees to the Number of Generations.

But not to insist on this, *Deucalion*, after the Death of his Father *Minos*, succeeded to the Crown, and left a Son named *Idomeneus*, who reigned after him, and distinguished himself at the Siege of *Troy*, as we read in *Homer* ; but upon his Return he was forced to abandon his Kingdom, and to retire into *Italy*, where he founded the City *Salentum*, by reason of a Rebellion raised against him upon account of the rash Vow he had made in Time of a Storm, to sacrifice his only Son to the God of the Sea. The illustrious Author of *Telemachus* has treated this Article of that Prince's History in such a masterly Way as is enough to immortalize his Name.

If we may believe *Meursius*, *Deucalion* departed from *Crete*, and repaired to *Athens* to his Brother-in-law *Theseus*, where he spent the Remainder of his

Days. It was he, according to the same Author, that founded in Honour of *Olympian Jupiter* the famous Temple whereof *Pausanias* has left us a Description: But the most common Opinion among the Learned, is, that he remained in his Kingdom, and that the Temple in question was built by the antient *Deucalion*, under whose Reign happened the Deluge that goes by his Name. Be that as it will, here is the List of the Kings of *Crete* left us by *Meursius*.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Brother of *Celus*; after him reigned *Cres*, *Ammon*, and *Jupiter II.* after whose Death there is a Void of three hundred Years, which this learned Author fills up with the Names of *Cecrops*, *Cydon*, *Preres*, &c. after whom we have from *Greece*, according to *Diodorus*, *Teuctamus*, who passed into that Island, where he founded a small Kingdom, which he left to his Son *Asterius*; then *Minos I.* *Lycastus*, *Minos II.* *Deucalion*, *Idomeneus*, and *Merion*. After the Death of this last, the Form of Government was changed into a Republic, which continued a considerable Time. The most antient People of that Island were the *Eteocretes* (1), the *Idei Daetyli*, and the *Curetes*: But we must refer the Curious to the learned Treatise of that Author upon the Island of *Crete*. That Island always valued itself upon the Reign of *Minos*, as is confirmed by Medals: We find one of that Prince and *Pasiphaë* his Wife, in the second Volume of the *Thesaurus Britannico*. Let us next say a few Words of *Phedra*.

## C H A P. IX.

### *The History of Phedra and Hippolitus.*

AFTER the Death of *Minos II.* *Theseus* sent to ask of *Deucalion*, who had just come to the Crown, his Sister *Phedra* in Marriage; which he willingly granted, being then in League with the *Athenians*. But it was the Fate of the Blood of *Minos* to break the Repose of *Theseus*. This Princess had no sooner

(1) See *Diodorus*, l. 4.

sooner arrived at *Athens* than she fell in Love with young *Hippolitus*, whom *Theseus* had by the *Amazon Antiopé*, and whom he brought up at *Trezen* with his Grandfather *Pitheus*. There it was that the young Queen saw him for the first Time in an Expedition, wherein *Theseus*, who wanted to be expiated by his Grandfather, took her along with him, and where a Passion was first kindled which proved fatal in its Effects. As she durst not declare it to her Lover, nor ask her Husband to bring *Hippolitus* to *Athens*, she thought fit to build a Temple to *Venus* upon a Mountain not far from *Trezen*, where, under Pretext of going to offer up her Vows to that Goddess, she had Access to see her Gallant perform his Exercises in the neighbouring Plain (a). At first she named this Temple *Hippolition*, and afterwards it was called the Temple of *Venus* the Spectatress (1): But this Expedient did not ease the unfortunate Lover; *Hippolitus* understood not, or feigned not to understand this dumb Language: She resolved therefore at last to declare her Passion to him, and her Declaration was ill received. Her Love encreasing from Day to Day, and *Hippolitus* growing still more cold and insensible, she hanged herself at last in Despair, taking the Opportunity of *Theseus's* Absence, whom *Aidoneus* King of *Epirus* detained Prisoner, as shall be said elsewhere. *Theseus* arriving not long after, and finding in the Hand of the unfortunate Princess a Letter, wherein she declared that *Hippolitus* attempted to dishonour her, and that Death was her only Refuge from that Disgrace, he sent in haste for that young Prince, to punish him with Death for this flagrant Insult. He, not knowing his Father's Purpose, made such Haste to arrive, that his Horses being overheated grew unmanageable; whereby his Chariot was broke in Pieces, and he himself drag'd along among the Rocks, where he died.

Some Authors contend (b) that *Hippolitus* arrived at  
L 1 3 *Athens*,

(a) See Ovid's Epistle of *Phedra* to *Hippolitus*; *Mezeriac* upon that Epistle; *Pausanias* in *Atticis*, *Plutarch*, &c.

(1) *Pausanias* in *Attic*.

(b) See *Mezeriac*, on the Epistle of *Phedra* to *Hippolitus*.

*Athens*, whence his Father banished him, after loading him with Imprecations. They tell us further, that *Neptune*, to revenge *Theseus's* Disgrace, produced a Monster from the Sea, which so affrighted the Horses, that they dragged *Hippolitus* among the Rocks, where he was bruised to Death in the Manner that *Ovid* describes (1). What I take to be the true Account is, that this Prince, in his great Distress and Agony of Mind, not giving Heed to the Management of his Horses, was unhappily overturned in his Chariot. There appeared in *Italy* in the Time of *Numa Pompilius* a false *Hippolitus*, who would needs pass for the Son of *Theseus*: He dwelt, as we learn from *Ovid*, in the Forest of *Aricia*, and assumed the Name of *Virbius*, as much as to say, *Twice a Man*, giving out that *Esculapius* had raised him again to Life; but the *Athenians*, who had seen the true *Hippolitus* perish, gave no Faith to this Impostor.

To proceed: *Hippolitus* was worshipped as a God at *Trezen*, in a Temple built by *Diomedes*, who first paid divine Honours to this Prince, as we learn from *Pausanias*. The Priest who had the Charge of his Worship, had it for Life; and the Festival of this God was celebrated every Year. Among the other Ceremonies that were there performed, the young Women before Marriage cut off their Hair, and consecrated it in his Temple. The *Trezenians*, adds the same Author, did not allow that the Death of *Hippolitus* was owing to his being dragged along by his Horses; on the contrary, they would have it believed that the Gods had carried him up into Heaven among the Constellations, where he forms that which is named the *Charioteer*.

To conclude. 'Tis surprizing that *Plutarch*, who wrote at very great Length the History of *Theseus*, should make no Mention of this Adventure. Perhaps he designed thereby to cover his Heroe's Disgrace; but he relates other Stories of him which are not much more to his Honour; such as the Rape of *Helena*.

*Helen*, and also the Project of ravishing for his Friend *Pirithous*, the Daughter, or the Wife of *Aidoneus*, &c.<sup>1</sup> It may be said that this is an Invention of the tragic Poets, who brought him upon the Stage. But authentic Monuments confirm it, and the Temple of *Venus* but now mentioned, was a living Proof of it. Besides, the Memory of *Theseus* was too dear to the *Athenians*, for them to invent a Story of their Heroe so much to his Dishonour.

A high Evidence of their Respect for him is, that so soon as his Bones were found, which the Oracle ordered the *Athenians* to search after in the Place where he died, they were carried to *Athens*, and a Temple was built to his Honour, which became a Sanctuary of the highest Veneration. It was even believed, that the Victory at *Marathon* was owing to him, where it was given out that he had appeared in the Army of the *Greeks*, and fought for them.

'Tis to be observed that *Plutarch* has not wrote this Heroe's Life with all the Care that was requisite. And indeed we find there several Omissions, as may be seen by comparing it with the Accounts of him which the learned *Meursius* has collected (1); and not only so, but manifest Contradictions, especially as to the Expedition to *Colchis*, as we remark upon another Occasion: Lastly, Repetitions, great Confusion in the Arrangement of the Facts: In a Word, whatever good Opinion we may have of the Author in general, we can only consider this Life as a very imperfect Collection,

## C H A P. X.

*The History of Dedalus, and of the Labyrinth of Crete.*

**D***edalus* (a), the Son of *Hymetion*, Grandson of *Eupolemus*, and Great Grandson of *Erectheus*  
L 1 4 King

(1) In *Theseo*.

(a) *Diodorus*, l. 4. *Pausanias*, l. 7. *Pliny*, l. 7. *Ovid Met.* l. 8, &c.

King of *Aibens* (a), was without Controversy the most skilful Artist that *Greece* ever produced ; an able Architect, an ingenious Statuary, who invented several Instruments in these two Arts, such as the Hatchet, the Level, the Whimble, &c. as we learn from *Pliny*. To him also is ascribed the Glory of having been the first that made Sail-yards for Ships, and made use of Sails instead of Oars ; but nothing signalized him so much as the Art of making Statues, wherein he succeeded so well, that they were said to be animated, to see and walk : A Fable whose Foundation is not what *Aristotle* alledges (b), that he made Pieces of Clock-work that walked by means of Quick-silver which he put within them, but that before him the Statues of the *Greeks* were extremely rude, without Eyes, Arms and Legs ; they were nothing but shapeless Blocks of Stone, as are still to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious. *Dedalus*, as we learn from *Suidas*, *Themistius*, and *Palephatus*, made them Faces according to the Life, formed Arms to them, and separated their Legs, which made him be universally admired (b) : But his Misfortunes, as is remarked by *Pausanias* (1) and *Diodorus* (2), made him as famous afterwards as his fine Works. He had taken great Care of the Education of one of his Nephews named *Talus*, his Sister *Perdix's* Son ; and this young Man made such Proficiency in a short Time, under so able a Master, that he likewise invented several very useful Instruments. The first, which

(a) Eustathius in *Iliad* 5. Solin. cap. 11. are of Opinion that *Dedalus* was of the Island of *Crete*, probably led into this Error by his having dwelt there a long Time. *Ausonius* has fallen into the same Mistake, since he calls *Dedalus*, *Gortinius Alizer*, and in his 12. *Idyll.* he thus speaks of him :

*Præpetibus pennis super aera volans homo Cres.*

(b) Lib. 1. *de anima*, c. 42. He says, after one *Philip*, that *Dedalus* made a Statue of *Venus* that walked by Means of Quick-silver. He says the same Thing, lib. 1. *Pol.* c. 4. *Hesychius*, *Lucian*, *Dion Chrysostom*, Or. 36. are of the same Mind.

(c) *Pausanias*, l. 9. seems to think that *Dedalus* was so called from his having excelled in the Art of making Wooden Statues, which were then denominated *Δαίδαλα*.

(1) Loc. cit. (2) L. 4.



which was his Essay Piece (1), was a Wheel such as Porters make use of. Next, having found a Serpent's Jaw-bone, and made use of it to cut a small Piece of Wood, he tried to imitate in Iron the Ruggedness of that Animal's Teeth, and thus he communicated to People of his Profession the Saw, which is one of the most useful of their Instruments. In fine, from him is derived the Turning-wheel, and a Number of other Inventions, which are of vast Use in Mechanics.

Two Inventions so useful, raised *Dædalus's* Jealousy, and lest his Reputation should one Day be eclipsed by that of his Nephew, he put him secretly to Death; but having told one of his Friends that he had been burying a Serpent, his Crime was thereby detected, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, who observes, that the same Animal which had given that young Man occasion to invent the Saw, the Object of his Uncle's Jealousy, served also to detect the Author of his Death. *Ovid* feigns, that he had thrown him down from the Top of *Minerva's* Citadel (*a*), and that this Goddess, the Patroness of fine Arts, had transformed him into the Partridge, a Fable founded upon the Conformity between the Name of *Perdix*, *Talus's* Mother, and of that Fowl (*b*).

If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (2), and *Apollodorus*, the *Areopagus* of *Athens* condemned *Dædalus* to Death; but *Servius* says, it was only to perpetual Banishment. Be that as it will, this Murder having provoked the general Indignation against him, *Dædalus* secretly withdrew from *Athens*, and retired into the Island of *Crete*, where *Minos*, overjoyed to have a Man

(1) Diod. l. 4.

(a) *Servius* upon the sixth *Æneid*, v. 14. favours this Tradition concerning the Death of this young Man, whom he with *Ovid* and *Hyginus* names *Perdix*; but *Diodorus* and *Suidas* call him *Talus*.

(b) *Dædalus invidit, sacraque ex arce Minervæ  
Præcipitem mittit, lapsumque . . . at illum  
Quæ favet ingeniis excepit Pallas, avemque  
Reddidit, &c.* *Ovid. Met.* l. 8.

(2) L. 4.

Man so celebrated, gave him a very favourable Reception. It was during his Retreat in that Island, he built in the City *Gnosus* the famous Labyrinth that has been so much talked of.

By the Word *Labyrinth*, we are to understand a kind of Edifice full of Chambers and Avenues, disposed in such a Manner that you enter from one into another, without being able to trace your Way out again, which *Virgil*, *Catullus*, and *Ovid* express very happily (a).

*Pliny* alleges (b), that *Dedalus* had travelled into *Egypt*, and that he had there taken the Model of that famous Labyrinth, which has been reckoned one of the Wonders of the World (1), but had imitated only that Part of it which respects the Cells and winding Alleys, that is, but the hundredth Part. To prove that *Dedalus* had been in *Egypt*, several Monuments were cited, which were said to be his; and they even added, that the Inhabitants of *Memphis* had erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and had worshipped him as a Divinity after his Death. The Labyrinth of *Crete* was intirely destroyed when *Pliny* wrote this Passage, and that of *Egypt* was almost entire, a great Part of which is subsisting at this very Day, as we learn from all the Travellers (c). According to *Philochorus* cited by *Plutarch* (2), the Labyrinth

(a) *Ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alba  
Parietibus textum cæcis iter, ancipitemque  
Mille viis habuisse dolum, quæ signa sequendi  
Falleret indepressus & irremediabilis error.* *JEn.* l. 5.

*Nec Labyrinthi è flexibus egredientem  
Tecti frustraretur & inobservabilis error.* *Catul.* Carm. 4.

*Dædalus ingenio fabrac celeberrimus artis,  
Ponit opus, turbatque notas & lumina, flexum  
Ducit in errorem variarum ambage viarum.* *Ovid.* Met. l. 8.

(b) L. 36. c. 13. He calls the Labyrinth of *Egypt*; *Potentissimum humani ingenii opus.*

(1) See *Herodotus*, l. 2. c. 148.

(c) The Reader may consult the Description of the Labyrinth of *Egypt*, in one of my Dissertations, printed in the 5th Vol. of the Acad. of the *Belles-Lettres*. Crebris foribus inditis ad fallendos occursus, redeundumque in errores eisdem. *Plin.* *ibid.*

(2) Life of *Theæus*.

byrinth of *Crete* was only a Prison in which Criminals were confined, and whereof *Dedalus* had given the Plan: *Eustatbius* and *Cedrenus* speak of it only as of a Cave, wherein were a great many Windings, and where Art had a little assisted Nature. In fine, according to some Authors (a), there never was in *Crete* any other Labyrinth, but the Quarries which *Minos* had dug in Mount *Ida*, when he built the City *Gnosus*, whereof, according to *Strabo*, he was the Founder, and which resemble pretty much, says *Bellon* who has visited them, a kind of Labyrinth, by the several Paths they had been obliged to make therein.

*M. de Tournefort* (1), a Man no less ingenious than accurate in his Researches, having visited this so much celebrated Place, says it is a subterraneous Apartment, after the Manner of a Screw, which by a thousand Mazes that turn every Way inward, and without any Separation, occupy the whole Inside of a Hill at the Foot of Mount *Ida* towards the South, about three Miles from the Ruins of *Gortyna*. The curious Traveller, after having visited its Mazes, convinced those who were with him, that there was nothing in it to prove it had been a Quarry, as *Bellon* imagined. And indeed where is the Probability that they would have sought after Stones of a very bad Quality in the Bottom of an Alley of a thousand Paces deep, intersected by a Number of other Alleys, where they were in Danger of losing themselves every Moment? How could the Stones be conveyed into a Place which is in the Middle of the great Alley, where one must creep along the Ground for upwards of a hundred Paces? Besides the Mountain is so rugged, that there is Difficulty to get up to it on Horseback. 'Tis therefore more probable, continues this Author, that the Labyrinth is a natural Conduit, which some curious Prince formerly took Pleasure in rendring accessible, by enlarging the narrower Passages. Perhaps the Place which is still so low was not touched, that

Poste-

(a) *Huetius* misled by *Bellon* and some other Moderns.

(1) *Voyage to the Levant*, T. 1. p. 67. & seq.

Posterity might see how Nature herself had disposed this Cavern: For the Maze is equally beautiful throughout.

But notwithstanding these Authorities, I am of Opinion that there was once in *Crete* an Edifice built by *Dedalus* named the *Labyrinth*, which Time has destroyed, though it was neither so sumptuous nor so durable as that of *Egypt*, wherein so many Kings had bestowed their Labours. Almost all the Antients are of this Opinion, *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and *Pliny* (a), besides the Poets whom we have named; and what is still more decisive, we find Medals of the City of *Gnosus*, whereon the *Labyrinth* is represented. We have even an *Antique*, containing the Plan of this Work, in the Middle of which appears the *Minotaur* (1).

But not to insist, *Dedalus* being forced to depart from *Crete*, as has been said, retired into *Sicily*, where he probably spent the rest of his Days, tho' neither the Time nor Manner of his Death is known. This ingenious Man, as an Acknowledgment for the Obligations he owed to *Cocalus*, applied himself to several Works, whose Magnificence corresponded to their Usefulness. First of all he dug that great Canal into which was conveyed the River *Alabas*, called at this Day *Cantera*, and also built upon a Rock, near the Place where the Town of *Agrigentum* stood, a very strong Citadel, and made the Avenues to it so strait and so oblique, that three or four Men are sufficient to guard them: A Situation so happy that *Cocalus* made it his Palace, and laid up his Riches there. He also dug near *Megaritis* a Fish-pond, through which the River *Alabas* discharges itself into the Sea. For the Convenience of the Sick, who cannot frequent public Bagnios, he wrought at a Cavern in the Territory of *Selinus*, where he disposed with so much Art and Success the Steams of the subterraneous Fires, that those  
who

(a) *Pliny* mentions also two other Labyrinths, one in *Tuscan* and the other at *Lemnos*.

(1) See Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, Vol. 1.

who entered into it found themselves gradually provoked to a gentle Sweat, whereby they were insensibly cured, without even being exposed to the Inconvenience of the Heat.

Mount *Eryx* was so steep that the Houses built about the Temple of *Venus*, which were upon the Top, appeared every Moment ready to fall. *Dedalus* enlarged the Top of it, and inclosed it with a good Wall. He also dedicated to *Venus Erycina* a golden Heifer, which resembled the Life so much that it seemed to exceed the Power of Art. He also made in the same Country, as we learn from *Diodorus*, several other Works which Time has destroyed.

There were also in several other Places Monuments of *Dedalus's* Art: *Pausanias* speaks of them in several Places; but I presume we are to judge of the Works of this ingenious Artist, as of the Labours of *Hercules*, which every one was proud to imitate, and put down to that Hero's Account (a). *Dedalus* formed a Scholar who was almost as ingenious as himself, whom *Pausanias* names *Endocus*: Faithful to his Master, he did not desert him in his Disgrace, but followed him every where. The same Author adds, that *Minerva* sitting as she was represented in the Citadel of *Athens*, was the Work of this *Endocus*, and *Critias* was he who consecrated it.

## C H A P. XI.

*The War of the Centaurs and Lapithæ: Ixion, and Pirithous.*

NOT many Years after the Events now related, there happened in *Thessaly* a Contest which gave Rise to a bloody War, wherein almost all the Heroes of that Time signalized themselves. This was the War

(a) Some of them have even been confounded with those of another *Dedalus*, an ingenious Statuary of *Sicyon*, who also made fine Works, whereof you may see the List in the same *Pausanias*. For the Story of *Dedalus* the Reader may consult the Dissertation of the Abbé *Gedouyn*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres*, Tom. VIII.

(1) *Pausan.* in Atticis.

War between the *Centauers* and the *Lapithæ*, two People, of whom the former was quite extirpated, or at least entirely dispersed by the Valour of *Hercules*. But in order fully to understand the History of this War, to which the Marriage of *Pirithous* gave Rise, 'tis necessary in the first Place to give some Account of that Prince, the Son of *Ision*, *Jupiter's* Rival, whom the poetical Fables have rendered exceedingly famous.

First, we find in his Genealogy, as in all those of that Age, so many Contradictions, that we may easily judge the Annals of the Heroic Age to have been very uncertain. *Hyginus* will have it that *Ision* owed his Original to one *Leontus*, whose History he knows not. *Euripides* says he was the Son of *Phlegyas*; this was probably that King of *Phocis* who was condemned to *Tartarus*, for having burnt the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. Some Authors make him descended from *Jupiter* or *Mars*. *Eschiles*, and after him *Diodorus*, give him *Antion* for his Father. This Variety of Sentiments proves perhaps that there were several Princes of this Name; but as they were but little known, their Adventures were all united in the Person of him whose Fable I am going to explain. Let us begin with his Genealogy as it is in *Diodorus Siculus*, who makes it clearer than any other.

Of all the Children of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, says that Author, one of the most famous was *Peneus*, who gave his Name to a River in *Thessaly*. This Prince married *Crenæa*, by whom he had *Iphæus*, and a Daughter named *Stilbia*. *Apollo* had by this Princess *Centaurus* and *Lapithus*. The latter had by his Wife *Eurionome*, *Arginus's* Widow, two Sons, *Phorbas* and *Periphas*, and having chosen for his Residence the Confines of the River *Peneus*, had the Command of the People afterwards called by his Name. *Phorbas* his eldest Son succeeded him; but after his Death *Periphas* his Brother got the Crown, and having married *Asiæge*, the Daughter of *Iphæus*, had by her several Children, of whom *Antion* was the most noted for  
having

having given Birth to *Ixion* (a). He after the Death of his Father, who reigned over a Part of *Thessaly*, ascended the Throne, and fixed his Residence at *Larissa* in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Pelion*. *Ixion* having married *Clia*, or *Dia*, the Daughter of *Eioné*, or *Deioné*, by whom he had *Piritibous*, fell out with his Father-in-Law, upon the following Occasion. The Custom of the Ancients in their Marriages was quite different from that of the Age wherein we live: Large Gratifications were given to the young Ladies whom they were to marry, and even to their Parents, whereas it is very rare now-a-days for one to marry a Woman without a Portion. *Homer* and several others, mention this Custom, and would to God it were still in Fashion: How many young Women who groan under the Yoke of involuntary Celibacy, would find Husbands to make them happy, did not the Avarice of those Husbands reduce them to the Calamities wherein *Ixion* was involved.

His Father-in-Law having often solicited him to fulfil the Promises he had made him at marrying his Daughter, and finding that he did but amuse him with fair Words, carried off his Mares one Day as they were feeding in the Field. *Ixion* stung to the Quick with this Affront, feigned a Willingness to enter into an Accommodation with him, and invited him to a Feast. *Deioneus* repaired to *Larissa*, and there was received with vast Magnificence; but *Ixion* having dug a Ditch at the Door of the Banqueting Hall, into which he had thrown a great deal of Wood and burning Coals, *Deioneus*, whom he honoured with the Precedence, fell into it and lost his Life. This Crime moved universal Abhorrence, and as it was without a Precedent, there was no Formulary for expiating it. In vain did *Ixion* solicit all the Princes of *Greece*, no body would so much as give him the Rights of Hospitality, and he wandered a long Time without finding any Sanctuary.

Here begin the Fables of the Poets, for the Events  
of

(a) His Mother was named *Melate*, the Daughter of *Amithonius*.

of those Heroic Times are always wrapped up in Fictions. They tell us therefore that this Prince (a) abandoned in this Manner by all the World, had Recourse to *Jupiter*, who took Pity upon him, received him into Heaven, and permitted him to eat at the Table of the Gods. So signal a Favour served only to work upon his Ingratitude and Presumption. *Ixion* captivated with the Charms of the Queen of Heaven, had the Insolence to make Love to her. The virtuous *Juno* provoked with that Prince's Presumption, went immediately and informed *Jupiter* of it, who thought at first it was a Snare she laid for him against *Ixion*, who passed for his Son. He knew how fatal her Resentment had been to *Calisto*, to the young *Arcas*, and others; so that before he made any Noise about it, he was willing to inform himself better in an Affair which so nearly concerned his Honour. To bring this about the more effectually, he formed a Cloud into a Phantom which perfectly resembled *Juno*, and ordered the Goddess to make a particular Assignation with him, which *Ixion* having punctually kept, let *Jupiter* know that he wanted not good Will to rub the same Affront upon the Father of the Gods, he had offered to other Husbands. *Jupiter*, who was not rigidly severe on this Head, and finding the Thing was quite a Secret, had Pity on the Fool whom Nectar and Ambrosia had a little disordered, and contented himself with dismissing him from the Court of Heaven, and degrading him again to the Earth. But *Jupiter* seeing him afterwards make his Boast every where that he had dishonoured him, launched a Thunder-bolt at his Head, and hurled him headlong into *Tartarus*, where he ordered *Mercury* to bind him to a Wheel surrounded with Serpents, which he was doomed to turn without Intermission.

Thus the Poets have represented this Event, which it is easy to disentangle from the fabulous Circumstances which accompany it. Most Princes of old assumed the Name of *Jupiter*; it was almost synonymous with  
that

(a) V. Ovid. Met. l. 6. Virg. Æn. l. 6. Hygin. Fab. 68. &c.



that of King, as we have proved in the Article of *Jupiter* (1). The Queens their Consorts were denominated *Juno*, their Court was Heaven, and their Tables where sat the Princes their Sons, were the Tables of the Gods. Thus it is obvious that this Fable was designed to inform us, that some Prince, surnamed *Jupiter*, vouchsafed to shew the King of the *Lapithæ* the Hospitality which all his Neighbours denied him; and that while he thought to have expiated him from his Crime, the ungrateful Prince fell in Love with his Queen, in whose Place the Husband, to be sure. of the Presumption of his Guest, substituted a Slave. Upon his making his Boast afterwards of having been intimate with the Queen, the King banished him from his Court, and from that Time he led a very forlorn and unhappy Life, hated and despised by all the World.

The Punishment of this Prince is only an ingenious Allegory expressive of his Character. By the Serpents wreathed about the Wheel,

*Tortosque Ixionis angues* (2).

we are given to understand the Stings of his Conscience, wounded with Remorse for a foul and hideous Crime. By the eternal Revolution of the Wheel (a), the continual Vexation in which this Prince lived ever since his Parricide, seeking every where for Rest which he could not enjoy, and finding daily new Motives in his own Breast urging him to fly from himself.

*Volvitur Ixion, & se refugitque fugitque* (3).

When *Proserpine* made her Entry into the Kingdom of *Pluto*, this unhappy Prince was unchained for the first Time :

*Non rota suspensum præceps Ixiona torquet  
Solvitur Ixion, &c.*

VOL. III.

M m

The

(1) Vol. III. B. 1. (2) Virg. Georg. l. 1.

(a) *Illic Junonem tentare Ixionis ausi*

*Versantur celeri noxia membra rota.* Tibul. Eleg. 3. l. 2.

(3) Ovid. Met. l. 4.

endeavours to turn it into Ridicule; but in Truth what he himself says upon the Subject is still less probable. For who will believe the Rise of the Fable of the *Centaurs* to have been, that the Slave whom *Jupiter Pharaoh*, as he calls him, substituted in Place of his Queen, was denominated *Aura*? Which made it be said that it was a Cloud, and that the young *Imbrus*, who was the Production of this Embrace, was surnamed by Way of Derision *Centaurus*, as if the Expression had been intended to intimate that *Ixion* in his pretended Commerce with *Aura* had given her a pungent Wound, which is the Sense of the Verses made against *Palephatus* upon this Subject; a Piece of low and comic Wit, which bears no Stamp of Antiquity. Besides this Explication informs us not why the *Centaurs* were taken for Monsters compounded of Man and Horse; and it was not worth while to criticise an antient Author, only in order to substitute in the Room of his Explanation a poor Etymology of his own.

M. le Clerc, who likewise rejects *Palephatus's* Explication, says, the Name of *Centaurs* was given to certain Shepherds who had Herds of Bulls, that were very common in *Arcadia*; whence, according to him, those Shepherds are said to have invented *Bucolic Verses*, that is, Verses which they sung as they tended their Oxen: As they pricked forward their Bulls in leading them to Pasture, hence they were named *Centaurs*, or *Ox-goaders*. But, in the first Place, 'tis certain that the *Centaurs* were known in *Thessaly* before their Name was heard of in *Arcadia*; and it was not till after they were expelled by the *Lapithæ* from the Confines of the *Pencus*, as *Diodorus* expressly says, that they went and settled in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Pholoë*. In the second Place, why would the Name of *Centaurs* have been given to the Neat-herds of *Arcadia* rather than to those of other Countries? Did they not all drive their Flocks in the same Manner? In fine M. le Clerc assigns no Reason why the *Centaurs* were taken for half Men and half Horses, unless he will say it was because those *Arcadian* Shepherds were seen

on Horseback ; and then it returns to the Explication of *Palephatus*.

But what are we then to think of this Fable ? Here three Questions are previously to be examined. First, what those *Centaurs* were, and whence came their Name ? Secondly, why they were accounted Monsters, compounded of two Natures ? And then a third is, for what Reason they were taken for the Offspring of *Ixion* and a Cloud ?

'Tis certain, from the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* and other Antients, that the *Thessalians*, chiefly those who inhabited about Mount *Pelion*, were the first of the *Greeks* who applied themselves to the breaking of Horses. *Virgil* expressly says so in his *Georgics* (a). *Servius* confirms the Testimony of the Latin Poet : *Peletbronium est oppidum Thessaliæ ubi primum domandorum equorum repertus est usus* (1). The *Thessalians* sought thereby to distinguish themselves from the other People of *Greece*, who fought only on Foot, or in Chariots, the Use whereof they learned from *Erichthonius* the King of *Athens*, as has been already said.

*Pliny* who gives *Bellerophon* the Honour of having been the first that attempted to mount a Horse, owns at the same Time that the *Thessalians* of all the *Greeks* applied themselves most to this Exercise : *Equo vebî invenisse Bellerophontem, frænos & strata Peletbronium, pugnare ex equo Thessalos qui Centauri appellati sunt* (2). 'Tis proper to remark by the Way, either that *Pliny* is mistaken, in taking *Peletbronius* for a Man's Name, whereas it was the Name of a Mountain in *Thessaly*, where was a little Town, or else that there is an Error in the Text ; upon which *Vossius* remarks that we are to read *Peletbronios*. 'Tis therefore in *Thessaly* we must seek for the antient Cavalry of *Greece* ; I say of *Greece*, for we have seen in the History of *Bellerophon*

M m 4

(a) *Fræna Peletbronii Lapithæ, gyroſque dedere  
Impositi dorſo, atque Equitem docuere ſub armis  
Inſultare ſolo, & grefſus glomerare ſuperbos.*

*Georg.* i. 3:

(1) In 3 *Georg.* (2) L. 7. c. 56.

*Ierophon*, what is my Opinion as to the Origin of Riding. 'Tis then very probable, that in speaking of a *Thessalian*, they gave him the additional Epithet of *Hippios*, as for the same Reason it was given to *Neptune*, who had the Denomination of *Hippios Poseidon*.

If the Opinion of *Servius*, adopted by *Vossius*, were true, it would be a very proper Confirmation of my Conjecture, since those Authors take *Neptune* to have been *Ixion* himself (a). Those Horsemen afterwards, in order to acquire more Strength and Agility, performed a Kind of Exercise wherein they fought with Bulls, which they pierced with their Javelins, or overthrew in grasping them by the Horns. *Pliny* informs us not only that this Exercise was common among the *Thessalians* who invented it, but also that it was one of the Shows which *Julius Caesar* exhibited to the *Romans* (b).

*Suetonius* says the same of the Emperor *Claudius*, and *Dion Cassius* of *Nero*. There is therefore great Probability, that in speaking of these *Thessalians*, they added to the Name of *Hippios* that of *Centaur*, and hence of these three Words ἵππιος, κέντει, ταυρὸς, was compounded that of *Hippocentaur*, a Horseman-Bull-shooter. As these Horsemen became formidable afterwards by their Depredations, the Equivocation which appeared in the Name made them be accounted Monsters compounded of two Natures. The Poets laid hold on this Idea: 'Tis well known that they improved every Thing that might give an Air of the Marvellous to the Subjects they treated of; and may we not assert, without any Danger of being mistaken, that Men who made Oranges pass for golden Apples, Shepherdesses for Nymphs, Shepherds in Disguise for Satyrs, and Ships with Sails for winged Dragons, would

(a) *Probus* annotavit, says *Vossius*, primum in *Thessalia* equum esse conspectum, quem isthic exhibuerit *Neptunus*; qui *Neptunus*, si extra fabulas eatur, non alius sit quam *Rex Thessalus*, ut vocat *Servius*.

(b) *Thessalorum* gentis inventum, equo juxta quadrupedante, cum intorta cervice, tauros necare: primum id spectaculum dedit *Rome* *Cæsar Dictator*.

would make no Difficulty in taking Horsemen for *Centaurs* ?

In the old Language of *Greece*, as *M. le Clerc* has observed, these *Centaurs* were perhaps called *Nepbilim* : This Name may be understood literally, in which Case it comes from *Napbal*, *to fall*, or for that of a Giant, as the Vulgate renders it ; and in both these Significations it was applicable to the *Centaurs* ; for not only might they be considered as a dissolute Race fallen into gross Enormities, since *Diodorus*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Palephatus*, *Ovid*, and others, make frequent Mention of the Devastations they made wherever they came, and of their Incontinency at the Marriage of *Piritheus* ; but also as real Giants. And indeed, may we not say those were accounted such who are said to have darted whole Ash-trees like Javelins (a).

Those Horsemen therefore were real Giants in History and Fable, especially if we join the Strength of the Horse to that of the Rider, as those did who spoke of them. The *Greeks*, who came afterwards, found in their antient Writings this Word *Nepbilim*, and not understanding its Signification, but only finding in their own Language it came near to that which signifies a Cloud ; hence they conceived that the *Centaurs* were the Offspring of a Cloud, and invented the Fable of *Ixion's* embracing it ; in regard, that under that Prince's Reign, and by his Orders, the *Lapithæ* had begun to break Horses, and to exercise themselves in fighting with Bulls, which, by a reasonable enough Hyperbole, made them be called his own Offspring.

But

(a) - - - *Quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos.*

As says *Juvenal* after *Apollodorus*, and who plucked up whole Rocks to crush their Enemies :

- - - *Saxumque a monte revulsum*

*Mittere conatur,*

As *Ovid* says ; who by their Fall overturned huge Trees.

- - - *Et pondere corporis ornum*

*Ingentem fregit.*

Lastly a Race, whose Bones and Limbs were of an immense Size :

- - - *Cubitique ingentia fregit*

*Offa,*

As the same Poet says of one of the *Centaurs*.

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But now having explained the Original of the *Centaur*s, and of their Name, we must pursue their History.

*Diodorus* informs us (1), that as they were mostly related to *Ixion*, they claimed after his Death a Share in the Inheritance; and that *Piritheus* having refused to enter into Partnership with them, they made War upon him, which at length terminated in a Peace; but upon what Terms he does not say. Some Time after, adds the same Author, the new King of *Larissa* having married *Hippodamia* (a), or, as others call her, *Deidamia*, the King of *Argos*'s Daughter (b), he invited the *Centaur*s to the Marriage, and they being heated with Wine, offered Violence to the Ladies, and were going to carry them off; but *Hercules* and *Theseus*, with the other *Lapithæ*, chastised the Insolence of those Miscreants, slew a great Number of them, and obliged the rest to fly to the Mountains; and this, by the Way, is the famous Battle which *Ovid* so elegantly describes (2). Every one knows in what Manner he embellishes this Narration with the charming Episode of *Ceneus*, whom *Neptune* endowed with a Capacity of changing Sex; as also that of *Hylonome*, who killed herself over the Body of *Cyllarus*, whom she passionately loved. I insist here only upon what is historical, and wave what *Hesiod* (3), *Valerius Flaccus* (4), and the other Poets say of this Battle, which *Pausanias* (5) says was represented in the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*; as also at *Athens*, by *Phidias* and *Parrhasius*, as we read in *Pliny* (6). We are further told, that those who had been wounded by *Hercules*'s poisoned Arrows, having bathed themselves in the River *Amigrus*, which rises out of the Mountains of *Thessaly*, made the Waters thereof so infectious, that the very Fishes in it were not eatable. *Strabo* adds (7), that those

(1) L. 4.

(a) *Plutarch*, in *Theseo*, calls her *Deidamia*, and *Propertius*, *Lithomache*.

(b) Others say she was the Daughter of *Gyffus* a Relation of the *Centaur*s; and *Palephatus* says, it was a Festival which the *Lapithæ* were celebrating.

(2) *Met.* l. 12. (3) In *Scuto*. (4) L. 1. *Argon*. (5) In *Elisacis*. (6) L. 36. (7) L. 9. *Geogr*.

on Horseback ; and then it returns to the Explication of *Palepbatus*.

But what are we then to think of this Fable ? Here three Questions are previously to be examined. First, what those *Centaurs* were, and whence came their Name ? Secondly, why they were accounted Monsters, compounded of two Natures ? And then a third is, for what Reason they were taken for the Offspring of *Ixion* and a Cloud ?

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*Pliny* who gives *Bellerophon* the Honour of having been the first that attempted to mount a Horse, owns at the same Time that the *Thessalians* of all the *Greeks* applied themselves most to this Exercise : *Equo vebî invenisse Bellerophontem, frænos & strata Peletbronium, pugnare ex equo Thessalos qui Centauri appellati sunt* (2). 'Tis proper to remark by the Way, either that *Pliny* is mistaken, in taking *Peletbronius* for a Man's Name, whereas it was the Name of a Mountain in *Thessaly*, where was a little Town, or else that there is an Error in the Text ; upon which *Vossius* remarks that we are to read *Peletbronios*. 'Tis therefore in *Thessaly* we must seek for the antient Cavalry of *Greece* ; I say of *Greece*, for we have seen in the History of *Bellerophon*

M m 4

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Impositi dorso, atque Equitem docuere sub armis  
Insultare solo, & gressus glomerare superbos.*

*Georg.* l. 3:

(1) In 3 *Georg.* (2) L. 7. c. 56.

the from Mount *Pelion*, where he had lived with so much Reputation, that the most famous Princes of that Age, as *Hercules* and *Jason*, were willing to become his Disciples, had come thither some Time before to seek a Retreat which he could not find in his own Country.

The *Centaurs* hoped that the Presence of *Hercules's* Preceptor would check the Fury of that Heroe; who still continued however to attack them, without any Design to involve *Chiron* in their Destruction; but an Arrow which he aimed at *Elarus*, having missed him, wounded *Chiron* in the Knee. *Hercules* grieved at this sad Accident, run up quickly to give him Solace, and applied to the Wound a Remedy which the *Centaur* had taught him; but the Wound proved incurable, and the unfortunate *Chiron*, after suffering intolerable Pains, prayed *Jupiter*, as the Poets tell us, to put a Period to his Days: For being the Son of *Saturn*, he was not subjected to the Condition of other Mortals. The Father of the Gods, affected with his Sufferings, exchanged his Immortality with *Prometheus*, and *Chiron* having paid to Death the Tribute which all Mankind owe, was placed among the Stars, where he forms the Constellation *Sagittarius*; that is, setting aside these poetical Fictions, this illustrious *Centaur* died of the Wound which he had received in the Battle. He was a Man of very great Knowledge for that Age, especially in that Part of Medicine which comprehends Skill in Plants, those particularly that serve for the Cure of Wounds, as I shall prove by and by.

*Hercules*, enraged by this Accident, fell foul upon the rest of the *Centaurs*, (these are still *Apollodorus's* Words) and spared not one of them that came into his Hands. Those who were able to make their Escape retired into the Caves of the Promontory of *Malea*, and *Neptune* concealed others of them near *Eleusis*; that is, reducing this Circumstance to historical Truth, some of them conveyed themselves by Sea to *Attica*. *Antimachus*, quoted by *Noel le Comte* (1), says some of the

(1) Article of the *Centaurs*.



the *Centaurs* removed into the Island of the *Sirens*, that is, into the Promontory of *Pelorus*, where those petty Queens reigned at that Time; and the same Author adds, that most of them were insnared by the Charms of Pleasure to their own Ruin.

*Hercules*, after this Defeat returned to *Pholoë*, where he learned that the *Centaur*, his Host, was dead of the Wound he had received from an Arrow drawn from the Body of one of his Companions, and after paying his last Duty to him, he prepared himself for putting *Euristheus's* Order in Execution. *Nessus*, who had retired towards the River *Evenus*, was afterwards punished by the same Heroe, for having attempted to ravish *Dejanira* in the Manner that is well known.

Thus, by the Valour of *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Pirithous*, *Nestor*, and other *Lapithæ*, those first Horsemen of *Thessaly*, whom their Pride and Successes had rendered so insolent, were all cut off.

'Tis easy to determine the Chronology of all the Events now related, from the Time when those Heroes flourished.

But the *Centaur Chiron* requires a new Article: Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology, and Dissertations made on both Sides of the Question making this necessary.

## C H A P. XII.

*Wherein we examine, if Chiron made a Kalendar for the Argonauts.*

IT had been a generally received Opinion, that *Chiron* was a wise *Thessalian*, a Physician by Profession, nor had any Body ever dreamed of making so profound an Astronomer of him as to be able to settle the Position of the Heavens, and consequently, to make a Kalendar to serve for a Rule. Sir *Isaac Newton*, however, from a Passage in the *Titanomachy*, quoted by *Clement of Alexandria* (1), infers that he had framed one for the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, and he finds, by computing the Time from *Meto* to that Expedition,

(1) Strom. l. 1. p. 15.

The Punishment of *Ixion* puts me in mind, to mention this transiently, of a Thing very singular, which *Lampridius* relates of the Emperor *Heliogabalus*. This Prince called the Parasites his *Ixions*, and ordering them to be fastened to one of those Wheels which are used in drawing Water, *rota aquaria*, which was turned about before him with vast Rapidity, he took a singular Pleasure in seeing them sometimes suspended in the Air, sometimes sunk in the Water (a).

To proceed, we know not the true Name of the Prince who expiated *Ixion*; for little Regard will be had to the Opinion of *Tzetzes* (1), who calls him *Pbaraob*, without telling us upon what Authority, that Name being scarcely known in *Greece*. We are also ignorant what were the other Adventures of this Prince, and in what Manner he died: Perhaps a Thunder-Bolt put an End to his Days, and gave a Handle to say, that *Jupiter* had thus thrown him down into *Tartarus*; for it was a current Tradition in those Times, that they who had once tasted the Nectar of the Gods, were not capable of dying but by a Clap of Thunder. The *Æra* of this Prince's Reign is easily found out; *Eusebius* places it in the Time of *Ægeus* King of *Athens*, and of *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, Kings of *Mycenæ*; that is, two Generations, or 60 Years before the Siege of *Troy*, in the Year 1240 before *Christ*; and this Date seems sufficiently proved, since *Piritheus*, his Son, was contemporary with *Theseus*, and *Polypetes*, his Grandson, commanded the *Lapithe*, according to *Homer*, while the *Greeks* were besieging that City. We must take Care not to confound this *Ixion* with another Prince of that Name, of the Blood of the *Heraclidae*, who reigned at *Corinth* after the Death of his Father *Aletes* for 57 Years, according to *Eusebius*, or in *Syucellus's* Reckoning but 37.

Of the Commerce between *Ixion* and the Cloud  
which

(a) Parasitos ad rotam aquariam ligabat, & cum vertigine sub aquas mittebat, rursumque in summum revolvebat, eosque *Ixionios* amicos vocavit

(1) *Chil.* 7. hist. 99.

which *Jupiter* substituted in *Juno's* Place, were born the *Centaurs*, those Monsters, half Men and half Horses, so celebrated in the History of the Age now in Question, though *Pindar*, who had followed another Tradition, says they were the Sons of *Iperphialus*, who was the Issue of that Intrigue.

*Diodorus Siculus*, *Hyginus*, and several other Antients speak of those Monsters as a Thing that might have happened in the Course of Nature. Fabulous History made Mention of some parallel Productions, and it was under this Form that *Chiron* was the Offspring of *Saturn's* Amour with *Phillyra*, whom that God, to conceal his Intrigue from his Wife *Rhea*, had debauched by transforming himself into a Horse (a). But what is more singular, natural History furnishes us with several Examples thereof.

*Plutarch*, in his Banquet of the *seven wise Men*, tells us, that *Periander*, the King of *Corinth*, had been shewn a young *Centaur*, whom a Mare had brought forth; which so much startled the whole Court, that it was thought necessary to use Means of appeasing the incensed Gods. Every one knows what the Philosopher *Thales* replied upon that Occasion. *Pliny* affirms, that he had seen a *Hippocentaur*, which was brought from *Egypt* to *Rome* under the Reign of *Claudius*, embalmed in Honey, after the Manner of those Times (b); and this History is confirmed by *Pblegon* of *Trafles* (c), and some other Authors.

Saint *Jerom* gives the Description of the *Hippocentaur* which Saint *Anthony* met in the Desert, when he was going to see St. *Paul* the Hermit: It was probably of the Race of that one which *Pliny* mentions, since it was from the same Country (c). This holy Doctor adds that it might be one of those Monsters which A-

M m 2

*frica*

(a) *Saturnus equo geminum Chirona creavit.* Ovid. Met. l. 6.

(b) *Claudius Cæsar scribit Hippocentaurum in Thessalia natum, eodem die interiisse; & nos principatu ejus allatum illi ex Ægypto in melle vidimus.* L. 7. c. 3.

(c) De Mirab. c. 34 & 35.

(c) Comperit hominem equo mixtum, cui opinio Poetarum Hippocentauro vocabulum indidit. In vita S. Antonii.

*frica* often produces. He even distinguishes elsewhere the Monsters that are sometimes seen, such as the *Centaurs*, from the fabulous ones, such as never had an Existence, as the *Hydra*, the *Chimera* (a); and 'tis certain that *Isaiab* speaks of the *Onocentaurs*, whom *Elian* reckons real Animals (1).

But as these monstrous Productions, if such sometimes happen, are only a kind of Abortions that never live, and the Poets and Historians mention a People who had the Name of *Centaurs*, we must reckon all that we have now related, as well as what *Philostratus* and *Lucian* say upon this Subject, the one in his Picture of the young *Centaurs*, the other in his fine Description of the Picture of *Zeuxis*; we must, I say, reckon all this with *Rabelais* among the Beings that never subsisted out of the Country of *Taπισtry*. *La-cetius* is of the same Mind;

*Sed neque Centauri fuerunt, neque tempore in ullo  
Esse queat duplici natura & corpore bino  
Ex alieni generis membris compacta potestas.*

*Gallien*, who lived not long after *Pblegon*, and who doubtless must have seen, or informed himself by conversing with Philosophers about the anatomical Representation of the *Centaur* sent to the Emperor *Claudius*, denies absolutely the Existence of those Sorts of Monsters (2). Thus 'tis necessary to enquire into the Origin of the historical *Centaurs*.

Under the Reign of *Ixion*, says *Palephatus* (3), certain Bulls that were feeding upon Mount *Pelion*, turned mad, and occasioned great Desolation in the Country, falling equally upon Men and Cattle. The King of *Thessaly* to get rid of them, published through all his Empire, that he would give a considerable Sum of Money to those who should kill the Bulls. Some  
young

(a) *Multa in orbe monstra generata sunt, Centauros & Sirenas in Italia legimus; Chimeram, atque Hydram multorum capitarum narrant fabula Poetarum. Contra Virgilium.*

(1) *De Animal. l. 17. c. 9.*

(2) *De usu partium. 3. c. 1.*

(3) *De reb. incred.*

young People having taken it into their Heads to break Horses, an Exercise then unknown in Greece, where only Chariots had been in Use, undertook to hunt down those Bulls; and having set about the Pursuit of them, shot at them with Darts as they were flying, and as they turned upon them fled into Places of Shelter where they were secure from their Attacks. Hence they got the Name of *Centaurs*, compounded of two Greek Words, *Κεντεῖν* and *Ταυρός*, that is, *to transfix Bulls*.

When these new Horsemen, adds the same Author, had received the Reward which the King had promised them, they grew haughty and insolent, and made several Inroads into the Country, pillaging all that came in their Way. It was ordinarily by Night that they made a Descent into the Plain, and retired in the Morning to the Mountains. As nothing of them was seen when they fled but the Tail of the Horse and the Head of the Rider, they seemed to be but one Animal: hence came the Fable, that those *Centaurs* were half Men and half Horses, whence they got the Name of *Hippocentaurs*. Again they were said to be the Offspring of a Cloud, because they were mostly from a Village named *Nepbelé*, *Νεφελή*, which signifies a *Cloud*.

This Explication of *Palephatus* seems a little adapted to the Theatre; for not to insist on those mad Bulls, whereof no other Author makes Mention, nor yet of the Village of *Theffaly*, named *Nepbelé*, unknown to all the Antients, and which appears a mere Fiction, is it probable that People on Horseback would be taken for Monsters whether they were seen flying, as this Author alledges, or when they led their Horses to drink in the River *Peneus*, as it is in *Servius*? and though People had even been thus mistaken at first, as *Hertera* (a) relates of some Savages of *America*, who took our Riders for a kind of *Centaurs*, would they not have been soon undeceived, and the Fable soon have lost all Credit?

*Isaac Tzetzes* who was not pleased with *Palephatus's* Explanation, passes a very harsh Censure upon it, and

M m 3

endeavours

(a) The History of the Conquest of the West-Indies.

endeavours to turn it into Ridicule; but in Truth what he himself says upon the Subject is still less probable. For who will believe the Rise of the Fable of the *Centaurs* to have been, that the Slave whom *Jupiter Pharaoh*, as he calls him, substituted in Place of his Queen, was denominated *Aura*? Which made it be said that it was a Cloud, and that the young *Imbrus*, who was the Production of this Embrace, was surnamed by Way of Derision *Centaurus*, as if the Expression had been intended to intimate that *Ixion* in his pretended Commerce with *Aura* had given her a pungent Wound, which is the Sense of the Verses made against *Palephatus* upon this Subject; a Piece of low and comic Wit, which bears no Stamp of Antiquity. Besides this Explication informs us not why the *Centaurs* were taken for Monsters compounded of Man and Horse; and it was not worth while to criticise an antient Author, only in order to substitute in the Room of his Explanation a poor Etymology of his own.

M. le Clerc, who likewise rejects *Palephatus's* Explication, says, the Name of *Centaurs* was given to certain Shepherds who had Herds of Bulls, that were very common in *Arcadia*; whence, according to him, those Shepherds are said to have invented *Bucolic Verses*, that is, Verses which they sung as they tended their Oxen: As they pricked forward their Bulls in leading them to Pasture, hence they were named *Centaurs*, or *Ox-goaders*. But, in the first Place, 'tis certain that the *Centaurs* were known in *Theffaly* before their Name was heard of in *Arcadia*; and it was not till after they were expelled by the *Lapithæ* from the Confines of the *Pencus*, as *Diodorus* expressly says, that they went and settled in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Pholoë*. In the second Place, why would the Name of *Centaurs* have been given to the Neat-herds of *Arcadia* rather than to those of other Countries? Did they not all drive their Flocks in the same Manner? In fine M. le Clerc assigns no Reason why the *Centaurs* were taken for half Men and half Horses, unless he will say it was because those *Arcadian* Shepherds were seen

on Horseback ; and then it returns to the Explication of *Palephatus*.

But what are we then to think of this Fable ? Here three Questions are previously to be examined. First, what those *Centaurs* were, and whence came their Name ? Secondly, why they were accounted Monsters, compounded of two Natures ? And then a third is, for what Reason they were taken for the Offspring of *Ixion* and a Cloud ?

'Tis certain, from the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* and other Antients, that the *Thessalians*, chiefly those who inhabited about Mount *Pelion*, were the first of the *Greeks* who applied themselves to the breaking of Horses. *Virgil* expressly says so in his *Georgics* (a). *Servius* confirms the Testimony of the Latin Poet : *Peletbronium est oppidum Thessaliæ ubi primum domandorum equorum repertus est usus* (1). The *Thessalians* sought thereby to distinguish themselves from the other People of *Greece*, who fought only on Foot, or in Chariots, the Use whereof they learned from *Erichthonius* the King of *Athens*, as has been already said.

*Pliny* who gives *Bellerophon* the Honour of having been the first that attempted to mount a Horse, owns at the same Time that the *Thessalians* of all the *Greeks* applied themselves most to this Exercise ; *Equo vebi invenisse Bellerophontem, frænos & strata Peletbronium, pugnare ex equo Thessalos qui Centauri appellati sunt* (2). 'Tis proper to remark by the Way, either that *Pliny* is mistaken, in taking *Peletbronius* for a Man's Name, whereas it was the Name of a Mountain in *Thessaly*, where was a little Town, or else that there is an Error in the Text ; upon which *Vossius* remarks that we are to read *Peletbronios*. 'Tis therefore in *Thessaly* we must seek for the antient Cavalry of *Greece* ; I say of *Greece*, for we have seen in the History of *Bellerophon*

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*Georg.* i. 3.

(1) In 3 *Georg.* (2) L. 7. c. 56.

*lerophon*, what is my Opinion as to the Origin of Riding. 'Tis then very probable, that in speaking of a *Thessalian*, they gave him the additional Epithet of *Hippios*, as for the same Reason it was given to *Neptune*, who had the Denomination of *Hippios Poseidon*.

If the Opinion of *Servius*, adopted by *Vossius*, were true, it would be a very proper Confirmation of my Conjecture, since those Authors take *Neptune* to have been *Ixion* himself (a). Those Horsemen afterwards, in order to acquire more Strength and Agility, performed a Kind of Exercise wherein they fought with Bulls, which they pierced with their Javelins, or overthrew in grasping them by the Horns. *Pliny* informs us not only that this Exercise was common among the *Thessalians* who invented it, but also that it was one of the Shows which *Julius Cæsar* exhibited to the *Romans* (b).

*Suetonius* says the same of the Emperor *Claudius*, and *Dion Cassius* of *Nero*. There is therefore great Probability, that in speaking of these *Thessalians*, they added to the Name of *Hippios* that of *Centaur*, and hence of these three Words ἵππιος, κέντει, ταυρὸς, was compounded that of *Hippocentaur*, a Horseman-Bull-shooter. As these Horsemen became formidable afterwards by their Depredations, the Equivocation which appeared in the Name made them be accounted Monsters compounded of two Natures. The Poets laid hold on this Idea: 'Tis well known that they improved every Thing that might give an Air of the Marvellous to the Subjects they treated of; and may we not assert, without any Danger of being mistaken, that Men who made Oranges pass for golden Apples, Shepherdesses for Nymphs, Shepherds in Disguise for Satyrs, and Ships with Sails for winged Dragons, would

(a) *Probus annotavit*, says *Vossius*, *primum in Thessalia equum esse conspectum, quem isthic exhibuerit Neptunus; qui Neptunus, si extra fabulas eatur, non alius sit quam Rex Thessalus, ut vocat Servius.*

(b) *Thessalorum gentis inventum, equo juxta quadrupedante, cornu intorta cervice, tauros necare: primus id spectaculum dedit Romæ Cæsar Dictator.*



would make no Difficulty in taking Horsemen for *Centaurs*?

In the old Language of *Greece*, as *M. le Clerc* has observed, these *Centaurs* were perhaps called *Nepbilim*: This Name may be understood literally, in which Case it comes from *Napbal*, *to fall*, or for that of a Giant, as the Vulgate renders it; and in both these Significations it was applicable to the *Centaurs*; for not only might they be considered as a dissolute Race fallen into gross Enormities, since *Diodorus*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Palephatus*, *Ovid*, and others, make frequent Mention of the Devastations they made wherever they came, and of their Incontinency at the Marriage of *Piritheus*; but also as real Giants. And indeed, may we not say those were accounted such who are said to have darted whole Ash-trees like Javelins (a).

Those Horsemen therefore were real Giants in History and Fable, especially if we join the Strength of the Horse to that of the Rider, as those did who spoke of them. The *Greeks*, who came afterwards, found in their antient Writings this Word *Nepbilim*, and not understanding its Signification, but only finding in their own Language it came near to that which signifies a Cloud; hence they conceived that the *Centaurs* were the Offspring of a Cloud, and invented the Fable of *Ixion's* embracing it; in regard, that under that Prince's Reign, and by his Orders, the *Lapithæ* had begun to break Horses, and to exercise themselves in fighting with Bulls, which, by a reasonable enough Hyperbole, made them be called his own Offspring.

But

(a) - - - *Quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos.*

As says *Juvenal* after *Apollodorus*, and who plucked up whole Rocks to crush their Enemies:

- - - *Saxumque a monte revulsam*

*Mittere conatur,*

As *Ovid* says; who by their Fall overturned huge Trees.

- - - *Et pondere corporis ornum*

*Ingentem fregit.*

Lastly a Race, whose Bones and Limbs were of an immense Size:

- - - *Cubitique ingentia fregit*

*Osse,*

As the same Poet says of one of the *Centaurs*.

But now having explained the Original of the *Centaurs*, and of their Name, we must pursue their History.

*Diodorus* informs us (1), that as they were mostly related to *Ixion*, they claimed after his Death a Share in the Inheritance; and that *Piritheus* having refused to enter into Partnership with them, they made War upon him, which at length terminated in a Peace; but upon what Terms he does not say. Some Time after, adds the same Author, the new King of *Larissa* having married *Hippodamia* (a), or, as others call her, *Deidamia*, the King of *Argos*'s Daughter (b), he invited the *Centaurs* to the Marriage, and they being heated with Wine, offered Violence to the Ladies, and were going to carry them off; but *Hercules* and *Theseus*, with the other *Lapithæ*, chastised the Insolence of those Miscreants, slew a great Number of them, and obliged the rest to fly to the Mountains; and this, by the Way, is the famous Battle which *Ovid* so elegantly describes (2). Every one knows in what Manner he embellishes this Narration with the charming Episode of *Ceneus*, whom *Neptune* endowed with a Capacity of changing Sex; as also that of *Hylonome*, who killed herself over the Body of *Cyllarus*, whom she passionately loved. I insist here only upon what is historical, and wave what *Hesiod* (3), *Valerius Flaccus* (4), and the other Poets say of this Battle, which *Pausanias* (5) says was represented in the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*; as also at *Athens*, by *Pheidias* and *Parrhasius*, as we read in *Pliny* (6). We are further told, that those who had been wounded by *Hercules*'s poisoned Arrows, having bathed themselves in the River *Anigrus*, which rises out of the Mountains of *Thessaly*, made the Waters thereof so infectious, that the very Fishes in it were not eatable. *Strabo* adds (7), that those

(1) L. 4.

(a) *Plutarch*, in *Theseo*, calls her *Deidamia*, and *Propertius*, *Iphimache*.

(b) Others say she was the Daughter of *Fylus* a Relation of the *Centaurs*; and *Palæphatus* says, it was a Festival which the *Lapithæ* were celebrating.

(2) *Met.* l. 12. (3) In *Scuto*. (4) L. 1. *Argon*. (5) In *Elisiacis*. (6) L. 36. (7) L. 9. *Geogr*.

those who died of their Wounds, having been buried near *Calydon*, in a Spot of Ground since called the Tomb, *ταφός*, bred a terrible Infection in all the Neighbourhood.

Whatever be in that, the *Lapithæ*, under the Conduct of *Hercules*, *Piritheus* and *Theseus*, the three *Lapithæ* who distinguished themselves most in this War, having pursued the *Centaurs* to their very inmost Retreats, as we learn from *Diodorus*, *Palephatus* and *Strabo*, had so often the Superiority over them, that they obliged them at last to quit the Country, and retire into *Arcadia*. But their brutal and insolent Temper not allowing them to live in Peace, they made several Inroads upon the Confines of *Pholoe* where they were settled. At last *Hercules*, with the Assistance of his Companions, rooted them quite out in the following Manner. As that Heroe was going, says *Apollodorus* (1), by *Euristheus's* Order, to the hunting of the Boar of *Erymanthus*, he lodged by the Way with the Centaur *Pholus*, the Son of *Silenus* and *Melia*. In the midst of the Feast, the Heroe was going to fall upon a Cask of Wine which belonged to the other *Centaurs*, but was given them by *Bacchus* only upon Condition that when *Hercules* passed their Way they should regale him with it (2), a Fable importing that it was excellent Wine. They run up to the Cave, armed with Stones and Darts, *Hercules* began to shoot his Arrows at them, and it being a very warm Engagement, several of the *Centaurs* were killed, and the rest put to Flight. *Hercules* pursued them, with those who accompanied him to the Chace, and who were probably very numerous; and tho' they were only Infantry, and the others fought on Horseback, yet he led them on fighting in a Country cut out into Woods and Mountains, as far as *Malea* (a), when they repaired to *Cbiron* the Centaur, the wisest and most renowned among them. This Horseman, expelled by the other *Lapithæ*

(1) L. 2. c. 6. (2) Lyl. Gyrald. Synt. de Hercule, p. 576.

(a) The Greek Word used by *Apollodorus* in this Passage is *γίγαια* but he had said a little before, and says immediately after *μακρόν*.



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